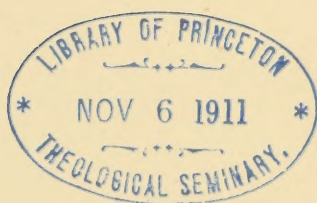


HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

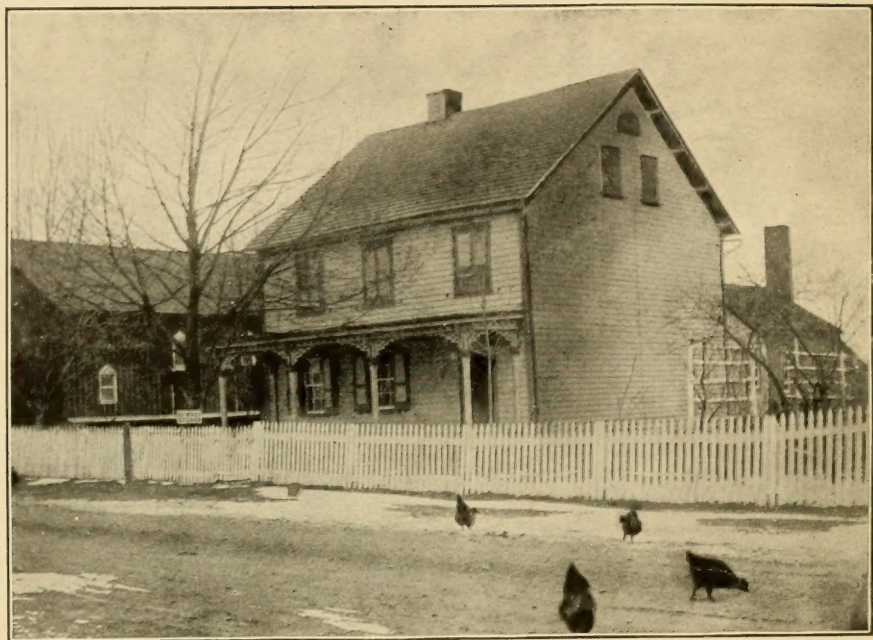


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"THE SWAMP COLLEGE" OF REV. DR. HERMAN.
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REV. THOMAS WINTERS PRIVATE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GERMANTOWN, OHIO.

HISTORY

of the
Reformed Church in the U. S.
in
the Nineteenth Century

By

REV. PROF. JAMES I. GOOD, D.D.

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Reformed Church," "Famous Missionaries of the
Reformed Church," "Famous Places of the
Reformed Churches," etc.*



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To the Memory of my father,
REV. WILLIAM A. GOOD,
who loved the Old Reformed
doctrines and worship

PREFACE.

This work brings the author's series of histories up to the present time. Although it is named after the nineteenth century, yet it includes a little more at each end of the century (1793-1910). It has been a difficult task, because of the comparative absence of materials during the first half of the century (up to 1840) and the excess of material during the last half. For the first period he has been compelled to seek information from all conceivable quarters; for the second he has tried to state the liturgical controversy fairly and fully. But his standpoint is that of the Old Reformed or low-church. It could not be otherwise as a historian. For the Old Reformed party represented the old views of the Reformed Church from her beginning. And yet he has tried to be fair in giving the opinions of the Mercersburg theology, letting its adherents speak as far as possible in their own words. He has even given unusually large space to them, so that their position might be fully understood. He feels that the controversy was a great movement by great men who were honestly contending for what they believed to be the truth. He has preferred to let the facts, articles and discussions speak for themselves rather than give his own summary of them. This has made the book much larger, but it better enables the reader to see things as they came up and enter more fully into the spirit of the past. The less important parts, as the book-contents and discussions are in smaller type, so that the general reader, who does not care to enter into details, can get a fine summary of the history from the large print. But, of course, there are many valuable facts hidden away in the fine print. In giving the discussions there are sometimes inaccuracies which he has not corrected because it would spoil the discussion as it appeared at the time. Any remarks of his own in the midst of a book-contents or discussion he has marked with

an *A.*, meaning the author. While there is much in the controversy that we would gladly have left out, yet we felt that the truth should be told, so that later generations might understand its significance. A controversy is not always pleasant reading, but God overrules it for his glory. Any corrections the author will be glad to place in the second edition, as also any reply to criticisms made on the book.

He desires to express his indebtedness and gratefulness to the many friends who have given him information and whom he fears he has often wearied with inquiries in order to find out the facts. He regrets that the already large size of the book precludes the mentioning of them by name.

JAMES I. GOOD.

May 6, 1911.

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PART I.

The Early Church (1793-1844).

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY SYNOD.

SECTION 1. THE FIRST MEETING OF THE SYNOD.

In 1793 the coetus of the Reformed Churches of Pennsylvania was transformed into a synod. From being a church subordinate to and dependent on the Reformed Church of the Netherlands in Europe, it now becomes an independent body. As early as 1791 the coetus began officially to show signs of independency by claiming for itself the right to ordain ministers without asking or waiting for permission to do so from Holland. In 1792 they went a step farther. Whether they, at the beginning of this movement, intended that it should be a breach with Holland is not clear, but it resulted in that. They appointed a committee consisting of Pomp and Hendel to prepare a new constitution. This decision to prepare their own constitution was a virtual declaration of independence on their part, especially as the Church in Holland was talking of preparing a constitution for them, and this fact may have led them to take the step they did.

The first meeting of what proved to be the synod was held at Lancaster, April 27, 1793. There were 13 ministers present and nine are noted as absent, making 22 in all. This, however, does not include all the Reformed ministers in America, as some were independent. The ministers present were Hendel, Helffrich, Runkel, Pauli, Rahausen, Faber, Mann, Wagner, Winekhaus, Wack, Stock, Hautz and Gobrecht.

Those noted as absent were: Dellicker, Otterbein, Troldenier, Dubendorf, Weber, Pomp, Gueting, Blumer and Herman. The statistics of the church at the time of the organization of the synod were 78 congregations (of them 55 were vacant), and about 15,000 communicants, representing perhaps about 40,000 adherents.* The congregations were mainly in eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland, though there were a few in western Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina and even in Nova Scotia.†

Domine‡ Winckhaus opened the session with an edifying sermon on 1 Cor. 15:58. On the next day (Monday) they went to the schoolhouse of the congregation, where they held their business sessions. Winckhaus was made president, and Wack, secretary. Blumer, Pomp, Otterbein and Weber sent excuses for their absence. Dellicker started from Falkner Swamp for the meeting, but was prevented from attendance by the rains. Troldenier was known to be sick. What caused the absence of Herman, Dubendorf and Gueting is unknown. The items of the synod were mainly of a routine character. Their special acts were in regard to a hymn-book, a catechism and also their independence from Holland.

A committee was appointed to prepare a new hymn-book consisting of Hendel, Helffrich, Blumer, Wagner, Pauli and Mann. Winckhaus also promised that he would do something toward an arrangement of the catechism and distribute it among the members of the synod. There seemed to have been no thought of preparing a liturgy, as it is not mentioned. The synod took the following action on its relations to the mother church in Holland: •

1. "Inasmuch as we have not received a reply to our last letters and procedure, it was resolved by a majority of votes that for the present we will transmit to the Fathers in Holland only a letter and not our proceedings."

*See Dobb's American Church History, Vol. 8, page 324.

†Where Rev. Bruin Romeas Comingoe labored in six congregations till 1820 and was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Moschell. When he resigned in 1840 the congregation went into the Presbyterian denomination.

‡They still, after the Holland fashion, called the minister "Domine."

2. It also completed its independence and organization by the adoption of its own constitution. This had been prepared and was submitted to the synod by Hendel and Blumer, the latter having for some reason taken the place of Pomp on the committee.* The adoption of this constitution made the coetus a self-governing body and changed it into a synod.

The cause of this separation from Holland was therefore not on account of any difference in doctrine. The Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania agreed with those in Holland in their adherence to Calvinism. Every minister that the Dutch had sent over had, before coming, signed his adherence to the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort, both creeds being strongly Calvinistic on predestination, etc. From their theological works, some of which we have seen in manuscript, we learn that Helffrich, Weyberg, Winckhaus and Herman were predestinarians, Helffenstein and Weyberg belonging to the Federal School of Holland, which emphasized the Covenants. Winckhaus was somewhat more liberal, but still strongly Calvinistic, and Herman, though trained under the rationalistic Mursinna, yet was also Calvinistic.

There had already been differences between the Pennsylvania coetus and the church in Holland mainly on two points:

1. The right of ordination. This the Holland Fathers had been slow to grant. The coetus, however, after waiting for a sufficient length of time and getting no answer, would ordain, as in the case of Rahausen and Stock. Or if it were considered a necessity (as in the case of Gueting), they would do so. In 1791 they took action affirming their right to ordain without waiting for permission from Holland.

2. A second difference of opinion had arisen in regard to education. Our Church felt the need of a school at which young men could be educated for the ministry. In 1785, Helffrich in a letter asked the Holland Fathers that the

*Blumer evidently sketched this constitution as a fragment of it is in his handwriting. We have always been suspicious that because Pomp did not serve on the committee, he was one of the minority in the coetus who were not favorable to complete separation from Holland. This, too, would accord with his generally conservative disposition.

Pennsylvania churches be allowed to move on this subject. The coetus of that year, however, is careful to intimate that this request was not made with any idea of separation from Holland, which they say "would be the basest ingratitude for all the kindness they had received." Later their activity and presence at the opening of the Franklin High School at Lancaster in 1787 fanned anew the suspicions of the Holland Fathers, that this was a new tendency to independency and they asked some pointed questions.

Another reason that led them to this desire was the unworthy character of some of the later ministers that Holland had sent over, as Pernisius and Willy; while on the other hand the young ministers who were raised up by the coetus itself were doing most excellent work. Still neither of these differences are mentioned as the cause of the separation. As to the second of these, too much stress should not perhaps be laid on it; for although Franklin High School at Lancaster had to succumb to adverse fate, yet the members of the synod made no attempt for nearly a quarter of a century to found a theological school of their own.

The only reason given is lack of correspondence. Correspondence across the Atlantic was always difficult in the eighteenth century. Winter would largely suspend commerce. Wars, as the American Revolution, interrupted it, yes often prevented it entirely. The Holland fathers, as well as the members of the coetus, complain of breaches of correspondence. The Classis of Amsterdam and the Synod of South Holland complain repeatedly of the lack of news from Pennsylvania. Holland, too, was undergoing serious political strife between the patriots and its ruler, which at times provoked war until Holland was finally taken by France. Hengstenberg* says that with the French occupation of Holland, the bond between Holland and our church was permanently broken. All this would tend to interfere with correspondence, and yet in the reports of the Holland ecclesiastical bodies every meeting has an item about the Pennsylvania affairs, whether any news were re-

*See Messenger in the Fall of 1847.

ceived or not, showing their continued interest in us. The only direct light, therefore, that we have as to the cause of separation is given in the action: "Inasmuch as we have received no reply to our last letters and procedure, it is resolved by a majority of votes that for the present we will transmit to the Fathers in Holland only a letter and not our proceedings."

Two facts are to be noticed in this action. One is that the action was not unanimous. Evidently there was a minority who still desired to continue their former relations to Holland. Another is that it is so worded as if it were intended to be temporary. It is to be "for the present." Either this indicated that they did not expect the separation from Holland to be permanent. Or if it were to be permanent, that modifying statement was made to satisfy the conservative members of the coetus who still wanted to remain under Holland. If the latter were the idea, it failed in its aim, for these seem to have voted against it, as it was adopted only by a majority, not by a unanimous vote.

One thing, however, is evident: The coetus was hoping to go slow about separation from the Holland Church. This is shown by two reasons: (1) In this action it was only a temporary arrangement. (2) In the previous coetus, although they had taken action that they had the right to ordain, they did not so notify the Holland fathers; for that action is not in the draft of the coetus' minutes sent to Holland. It is, therefore, very evident that the separation of our church from the mother church in Holland was not an act of rebellion or of any great difference in doctrine, but simply because they were drifting apart, due mainly to the lack of correspondence. This is proved by the report of the committee of the Synod of 1817 on the origin and progress of the synod. It says that because the last coetus' minutes sent to Holland were not answered, the separation took place.*

Before leaving this first synod it might be well to notice the men who organized it, cradled its infancy and guided the new-

*See also my History of the Reformed Church in the U. S., pages 659-665.

born child. Of the members reported, ten had been sent over from Holland: Otterbein, Hendel, Pomp, Blumer, Helffrich, Dubendorf, Herman, Dellicker and Trolldenier. Thirteen had been raised up by the coetus on this side of the Atlantic: Gobrecht, Wack, Neveling, Weber, Wagner, Runkel, Hantz, Pauli, Gueting, Rahausen, Stock and Mann. Besides these, there were some Reformed ministers independent of the coetus, as Willy, Lupp, Loretz, Wilms, etc. It is to be noticed that while the majority of the ministers were those raised up in America, yet the leaders of the synod were virtually the men sent from Holland. They were at this time the older members of the synod; and as a general rule were better educated than the others, as they all had a university training in Europe, although some of the latter, too, had a fine education, as Stock and Pauli. Hendel was evidently the leader, a fine combination of intellectual and spiritual power, but his life was soon cut short by death from yellow fever in 1798.

Of the first generation of Reformed ministers who came to America, Boehm, Weiss, Schlatter, Rieger, all were by this time gone. Of the second generation (those who came over with Schlatter in 1752), only one was still in the coetus, Otterbein. Of them Stoy was still living, but was independent and long a bitter enemy of the coetus. Otterbein, too, on account of increasing age and because living at a long distance from the centre of the church, found it difficult to attend the coetus, although he was present at the later meetings of 1797, 1800 and 1806, and still professed himself to be Reformed.* It was, however, the ministers who came over from Holland after 1760 who were now the leaders: Hendel, Pomp, Helffrich, Dellicker, Trolldenier and Herman. As, however, the synod grew in years, these fathers of the synod gradually passed away as follows: Hendel 1798, Dellicker 1799, Trolldenier 1800, Stoy 1801, Helffrich 1810, Wagner 1810, Gobrecht 1815, Pauli 1815, Weber 1816, Rahausen 1817, Pomp 1819, Blumer 1822, Hantz 1830, Runkel 1832, Faber 1833, Wack 1839, Neveling 1844, Herman 1848, the last living a

*See pages 128-130.

half century after its organization. Their passing away reminds us of the beautiful lines:

Our Fathers, where are they,
With all they call their own,
Their joys and griefs and hopes and cares
And wealth and honor gone.

Of all the pious dead
May we the footsteps trace,
Till with them in the land of light
We dwell before Thy face.

—*Doddridge.*

SECTION 2. THE CONFLICT OF LANGUAGES.

The first great problem that came up was that of language. The change from the German language to the English brought up serious complications. As the German families (especially their young people) became more English, they desired English services because of the difficulty of understanding German. On the other hand, the Germans clung tenaciously to their mother-tongue, because they loved it as Germans always do. The problem was made more difficult because different parts of the church differed, some becoming English before others. Had the change occurred simultaneously everywhere, they might have sympathized with each other. But as they did not, the prevailing German districts were apt to be more conservative than the English districts. Thus the Germans of New Jersey became English before those of Pennsylvania. Wack, in 1782, when pastor at German Valley, preached in English. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the district west of the Susquehanna, especially Maryland, became English faster than that east of the Susquehanna, which was the great stronghold of the church and which was conservative. This diversity later threatened to make serious trouble in the church when the founding of a theological seminary was talked of, as the Maryland Classis was far in advance of the German classes east of the Susquehanna. So great was the prejudice against the English by some of the German pastors, that at the Synod of 1826 the president

publicly reproved a young member for attempting to deliver an address in English. This inequality in the change of language is also shown by the cities becoming English faster than the country districts. Thus it is said that at Germantown, Herman preached English as early as 1792, although he had been but six years in America among English-speaking people. (President Washington is said to have attended the Reformed Church at Germantown when Provost Smith of the Episcopal Church preached English.) Runkel is said to have preached English in 1802, whether at Frederick or Germantown we do not know.

Controversies in denominations are caused by such differences as these and in this lay the possibility of serious danger in the church. The first appearance of trouble occurred at Philadelphia in 1804. The consistory of that church on April 2 appointed a congregational meeting for May 8 to test the feeling of the members on the subject of the introduction of the English language. In the meanwhile the synod met at Reading on April 29. One of the parties, evidently the German element, sent a petition to it, asking it to come to the assistance of this congregation, as it was threatened with total division because a strong party desired to have English worship every two weeks. The synod took no decided action except to write to the congregation a friendly letter representing the danger of an unhappy separation and exhorting them to walk together in brotherly love. But the quarrel had become too deep to be settled by kind advice. The congregational meeting was held and the result was almost a tie. Owing to some defects in the method of the election it was declared illegal. The agitation continued. Various petitions came before the consistory urging the introduction of the English. At the next synod (1805) a request came that English services would be permitted every third Sunday of the month and also a complaint was brought against their pastor, Dr. Helffenstein. The synod granted the petition of the congregation for an English service, but made it a condition that it should be held by either a minister of our own denomination or of the Presbyterian Church and that to it the consent of the

German minister must be obtained. The consistory therefore on July 9, 1805, voted on the question. It resulted in a tie. Dr. Helffenstein, who at that time favored the German element, voted in the negative and so it was lost. The result of this was that a large and influential part of the congregation withdrew in 1806 and organized an independent Reformed congregation. They worshiped in the Whitfield Academy on Fourth above Arch.*

For a time the differences in our First Church of Philadelphia ceased as the English party had withdrawn; but another English party gradually grew up, so that by 1812 the synod's attention was again called to it by complaints from different persons in the congregation. Its committee reported that the difficulties came partly from misunderstandings and partly from design. It ordered that the parties should be reconciled, or, if not, reprimanded. The differences seem to have continued, for in 1816 the sad state of the congregation was again brought before the synod and Dr. Helffenstein's removal urged. It seems that during these years Dr. Helffenstein had changed his views and now favored the English party. Perhaps the loss of so important an element of a congregation to the Dutch church had opened his eyes. The synod unanimously decided that there was not a single ground to justify the removal of Dr. Helffenstein. In 1817 the German party, having elected a majority of the board of the congregation, took summary action and dismissed Dr. Helffenstein. On the following Sunday, he took his place as usual in the chancel and gave the congregation an account of what

*They first called themselves the Second Reformed Association for four years. They hoped to be able to get a German Reformed minister who could preach English and thus remain in connection with our Church. It seems, however, that there was hardly a minister of our Church qualified to do so at the time except Lewis Mayer, then a young man and just licensed. It is said he preached for them, but no result followed. So they engaged Rev. Joseph Eastburn (1806-8) and then Rev. James K. Burch, of the Presbyterian Church (1809-1813), as stated supply. In 1810 they changed their name to the Evangelical Reformed Congregation of Philadelphia, and built a church on Crown Street in 1812. Finally, in 1813, despairing of getting a minister of our church as pastor, they entered the Dutch Church, became the First Dutch Church of Philadelphia, and in 1814 called Rev. Joseph Brodhead of that church as their pastor.

had been done. His remarks called forth strong sympathy for him. The next Sunday the corporation closed the doors of the church against him, so he and his friends went into the parochial schoolhouse and held services. The case was then taken to court, which ordered the board to open the church and give their pastor possession of the pulpit.* The tables seemed now to have been turned. In 1806 the German party forced the English party from the church; now, however, the English party did the same to the Germans.

The Germans having withdrawn, they worshiped at first in Old Commissioners' Hall on Third street. In September, 1817, they organized Salem's Reformed Church with 67 members, and in December, 1818, called Rev. F. W. Vandersloot as their pastor. The old congregation introduced alternate English and German services until 1828, when the German was discontinued. Such was the sad history of the first attempt of our church to solve the difficult problem of languages. It is true we lost a congregation to the Dutch but the experience derived from this prepared our church to better solve the problem of language.

What took place in Philadelphia threatened to be repeated in Baltimore. Rev. Dr. Becker, at the close of his ministry there was importuned by the English party to introduce English. At first he yielded, but his German friends interfering, he retracted and then the storm broke out. He did not long survive the conflict, for he died in 1818. The English party then appointed a committee to go to our Synod of 1818 to bring before it the importance of English preaching. This synod favored them and urged brotherly unity. Rev. Lewis Mayer preached there as a candidate. When he preached, there were police officers in and outside of the church, for an immense congregation had gathered. Some had

*When on the following Sunday, according to the statement of Dr. Helffenstein's son, he entered the pulpit, the leader of the German party rose, saying, "Come, this is not our minister," the whole party left the church. This seriously damaged the prospects of the German party afterward, for in building their church they received no aid from the English party, who remained in the church. This event is, however, doubted by some historians.

threatened personal violence if he preached in English, but nothing occurred. Mr. Mayer was called but declined. Rev. Alfred Helffenstein finally was called and accepted in 1819, but he had much opposition. Still, as he had studied there for the ministry under Dr. Becker and had many personal friends in the congregation, he was able to sustain himself. Alternate German and English services were held. The Germans, however, refused to pay anything to the support of the church except a pittance for their burial-rights. So finally the English party, as they had to bear the church expenses, decided to have only English services at the regular hours, and put the German services in the afternoon. Only a few attended, so they ordered them stopped. The Germans finally got hold of a Lutheran licentiate and again began services in the afternoon. But the consistory finding this was a plot to gain the church finally forbade it. The licentiate and the Germans soon disagreed and the German congregation went to pieces. Later a German congregation was organized. The feeling, however, continued between the Germans and the English even down to the coming of Heiner as their pastor in 1835.

The difficulty in Philadelphia and Baltimore repeated itself in many other congregations. Rev. Philip Gloninger wrote in the church-book at Harrisburg that English was first preached in that congregation Feb. 23, 1812. The Frederick congregation met the crisis about 1825, but wisely solved it by calling an English pastor as assistant, calling their pastor's nephew, Rev. Samuel Helffenstein. This was a new method of solving the question; instead of alternating English services it gave each a pastor. At Waynesboro, Pa., the controversy became so bitter that the attention of Maryland Classis was called to it. At Chambersburg there was a bitter controversy whose results did not heal until the wise pastorate of Rice in 1834. At Lancaster the controversy between the two parties forced Hoffmeier to resign in 1831. Glessner tried to control the elements there after him but it resulted finally in the formation of a new congregation, the St. Paul's. The

York congregation after a long controversy called an English pastor about 1850 and finally divided.

Our church finally learned how to deal with the problem of language. It was solved generally by one of three ways:

1. The introduction of English occasionally or alternately.
2. The calling of an English pastor.
3. A division in the church.

But our church has learned wisdom by experience and now English is gradually introduced by a gradual increase of the number of its services. The old prejudice of the German against the English has largely ceased and the English have been more careful in dealing with the Germans. Still the English denominations in this country knew nothing of the difficulties caused by the change of language. It made us lose thousands of members and caused strifes that greatly hindered our work.

SECTION 3. THE SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS.

The kingdom of Israel had its schools of the prophets founded by Samuel, and the early Christian Church had its catechetical schools as at Alexandria for the training of ministers. So, too, our early Reformed Church in Pennsylvania had its schools of the prophets. These were private theological seminaries; for the days of a church theological seminary had not yet arrived. Individual ministers tried to supply the increasing demand for ministers by educating promising young men. A study of these private theological seminaries is interesting and leads to some surprising results somewhat at variance with previous traditional opinions.

The first minister in our church who is mentioned as trying to prepare a student for the ministry privately was Stoy in 1756, but the young man (Bonner) never entered our ministry. The first effort that produced results was by Alsentz, who, when pastor at Wentz' church, prepared Gobrecht (1764-6), and Faehring (1765-6). From this time the preparation of young men privately by ministers received considerable attention. Thus Pomp aided in preparing Faehring (1766-7). Gros aided in preparing Neveling (1770) and also Wagner.

Weyberg was quite active in noticing young men fitted for the ministry and preparing them. He prepared Fachring (1766-7), Wack (1766-9), Neveling (1769), Weber (1770), and Stahlshmidt (1772). But the most prominent teacher was Rev. William Hendel. While pastor at Tulpehocken he prepared Wagner (1770-1), Stahlshmidt (1773), and at Lancaster Hautz (1785), Chitara (1785-8), J. Rahausen (1785-9), J. J. Faber, Jr. (1791-2), John Gobrecht (1793), and while at Philadelphia, S. Helffenstein (1795). There seem to have been very few years that he did not have as an inmate of his family some student for the ministry. Well was it for the early church that a man at once so learned and so spiritual could leave his impression on so many of her ministers. It did much toward giving her an efficient ministry.

When the synod separated from the Church of Holland, its supply of ministers from Holland was cut off.* It became increasingly necessary for the synod to provide for a supply of ministers. This was, after the difficulty of language, the second great difficulty that faced the early synod. After 1793, as we have seen, Hendel trained up two, Gobrecht and S. Helffenstein. Wagner, one of the best of the fathers of the synod, practical, efficient and spiritual, but lacking the university training of Hendel, educated a few of the most useful ministers. While pastor at York he educated Hiester (1797), and while pastor at Frederick, Lewis Mayer (1806), F. A. Rahausen (1807) and Fries (1808). But there were three ministers who were especially prominent in ministerial education. They were C. L. Becker, L. F. Herman and Samuel Helffenstein.

The first of these was Rev. Christian Lewis Becker, D.D. He was a fine scholar and eloquent preacher, "impassioned in his eloquence, sometimes swaying his congregation as a wind

*A few came over after that at their own expense from Germany. That our ministers of that day were concerned about the supply of ministers is shown by a letter from Hendel to Helffrich, August 21, 1793, in which he says that Troldenier and Herman would look after getting students of theology from Europe. But he says, "we must be careful lest the rationalism of Germany be brought in." Troldenier and Herman introduced quite a number of young men into our ministry, who came from Bremen and northern Germany.

moves the forest." Born at Anhalt-Cothen, in Germany, Nov. 17, 1756, he was educated at the university of Halle and the Reformed gymnasium there. In the former he was taught church history by Semler, and in the latter theology by Mursinna. Before he came to America in 1793 he had been a licentiate of theology for fourteen years at Bremen and had revealed considerable ability and scholarship in the publication of two works. One was an exposition of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah and the other a treatise on the best method of converting the Jews. The certificate of the Bremen Ministerium of May 14, 1793, bears high testimony to his ability and activity and especially commends his work on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. He was admirably fitted to prepare students for the ministry, for at Bremen he had devoted part of his time to preparing young men for the university. While pastor at Lancaster he began this work, by preparing Charles Helffenstein (1800), Jonathan Helffenstein (1804) and J. Diefenbach (1806). He continued his work after he removed to Baltimore, preparing Gloninger, Dechant, Schaffner, Albert Helffenstein and his son J. C. Becker (1807), Philip Mayer (1808), Reily (1809-1811), Hableston and Weincl (1814), Geiger (1816). Hess and Zwisler are also spoken of as having studied under him.* At the time of his death he was educating Denucs, Haeke, Koch and Hamm. Nineteen in all passed under his training. It was quite a compliment to his ability that the sons of the late Rev. J. C. A. Helffenstein, who, later, became leaders in our church, were one after the other committed to his care after the death of Hendel, who had begun their preparation. One of these, Rev. A. Helffenstein, thus describes Dr. Becker's methods of teaching:

"Every day except Saturday, Dr. Becker visited the class-room and heard recitations in Latin, Greek or Hebrew. Then he lectured either on dogmatics, moral theology, exegesis or church history. He had a short method for beginners in the languages, especially the Latin. He was a ripe Hebrew scholar. He always used the Bible without the Hebrew vowel-points, while the students had the pointed text, yet he always detected any mistake of their's. When he went to Baltimore,

*In giving the dates of the students in this chapter, we are uniformly taking the year before their licensure.

all his students went with him, boarded with him in the parsonage and were treated like gentlemen. Mrs. Becker always was kind, especially in sickness. He never made any charge for tuition to the students, whether they were rich or poor. All he charged was board at very moderate rates. From most of the students he received no remuneration during their whole stay, until after they were settled in a charge." Albert Helffenstein says that he thus became indebted to him for from five to six hundred dollars, which he later paid off. This account reveals Dr. Becker's thoroughness in teaching and also his kindness of heart.

Dr. Becker's interest in young men was shown by an illustration in the life of Philip Mayer,* a poor young man attending the Reformed church at Carlisle while at college there. Dr. Becker was invited by the pastor of that church, who had been one of his pupils, to preach the dedicatory sermon. While staying there, he was told by some of the members about this young man and he asked to see him. He quickly made arrangements for him to come to Baltimore and prosecute his studies under him. During the heat of summer, Dr. Becker would send out his students on preaching or mission tours, and Philip Mayer describes very graphically one of them in which a sermon, preached by himself, led three young men into the ministry.†

Dr. Becker told his students that if they lost the thread of their discourse, they should help themselves out by quoting the catechism. Once at a funeral of a drunkard's child, he lost his place. "Who made heaven and earth?" he went on to say. "What did God do on the first day? What is the name of the first man? Why is a drunkard worse than the devil? Because the Bible nowhere declares that the devil was ever drunk." By this time the thread of his discourse came back to him. As a result of his sermon, the father gave up drinking.

The next to train young men was Frederick Lebrecht Herman, D.D. He, like Becker, was born at Anhalt-Cothen, Oct.

*Messenger, Dec. 21, 1870.

†Becker, in bidding good-bye to one of his students as he went to his charge said to him: "Mr. Geiger, do you know how to keep a congregation together in peace and prosperity." "I do not know that I do," was his modest reply. "I will tell you how," said the doctor. "If you wish to call a flock of chickens together, would you seek to do it by throwing clubs and stones among them, accompanied with angry words, or would you throw grain and bread among them with a soothing voice of invitation?" "I would feed them with bread and grain and call them kindly," said Geiger. "That is right," responded the doctor, "and so, if you wish to keep a congregation together, do not cast in among them coarse, rough and contentious words, for that will divide them and cause them to fly for fear in all directions; but scatter among them the bread of life, the seed of truth, and they will gather around it to feed and love to be near him who scatters it."—(Harbaugh's Fathers of the Reformed Church, Vol. 3, page 287.)

9. 1761. Like him he had been a student at the university of Halle and the Reformed gymnasium of Halle; but a few years later than Becker. After being an assistant minister at Bremen for three years, he was sent to America by the Holland fathers in 1786, seven years before Becker came. Like Becker, he was an able scholar and though an excellent preacher yet had not so great a reputation for pulpit oratory as Becker. But his university preparation prepared him to do thorough work in teaching. While pastor at Germantown he prepared Samuel Weyberg (1790-2), the son of Dr. Weyberg, and in 1793 educated Geistweit. But it was especially while pastor at Falkner Swamp, east of Pottstown, that his work in preparing students became prominent. His school was popularly known as "the Swamp College." Before 1810 he began with the instruction of his son Charles, followed by that of his son Frederick, who was licensed 1815. This family school of his then grew into larger proportions. He educated Geistweit (1793), C. G. Herman (1809), F. A. Herman (1814), Guldin and J. D. Young (1819), Augustus L. Herman, Leinbach and Dubbs (1821), I. Stiely (1822), Schneek and P. S. Fisher (1824), R. A. Fisher (1825), Reuben and Tobias Herman (1828), Lewis Herman (1830), fifteen in all. His graduates formed quite a prominent element in the Free synod and to his school that synod looked largely for its ministers. He was a fine teacher, his methods being rigid and exact. His course of study required three years. He taught them not only theology but the ancient languages and kindred sciences. He would, after the German fashion, train them to speak Latin and write in it. On Sundays the more advanced of his students would exercise their abilities by filling appointments for him in his large pastoral charge.

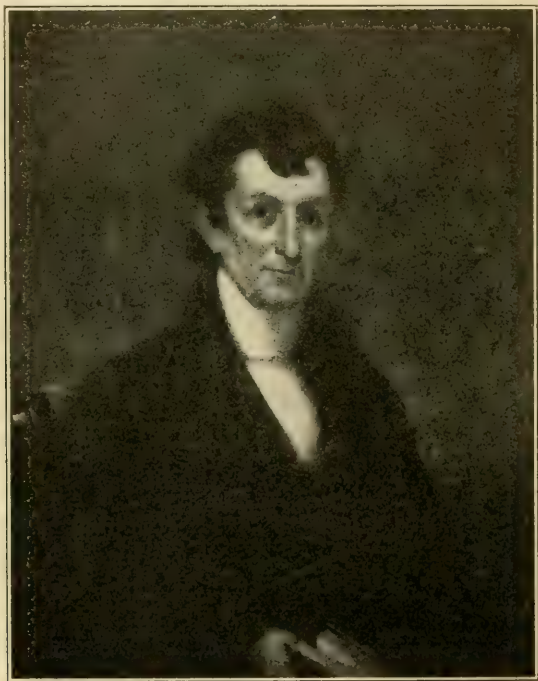
When Dubbs had been three years under Herman's tuition, the latter sent him one cold Sunday morning in winter to preach his first sermon in the Church at Limerick. The Church had just received from Squire Brook the gift of a stove, an article which was almost unknown in the Churches of those days and which in some localities was regarded as a new and dangerous innovation. The good people of Limerick offered no objection to having the stove in their Church, though they may have regarded it as a piece of useless luxury, but in this instance it was a

source of very little comfort. The stove unfortunately had no pipe, as it was found difficult to get one sufficiently long to meet the wants of the case. Things were suffered to remain in this condition for a considerable time. Fire was made in the stove before every service and the smoke permitted to take care of itself. Of course the church was so full of smoke that the people could hardly see the preacher. There he preached his first sermon amid the coughing and sneezing of the people. And between nervousness and smoke he says, "I almost feared I would choke to death." The people, however, were accustomed to the infliction and assured him that he had no occasion to be discouraged with his first sermon.

Dubb's first funeral was of a man residing at a place called Fox Hill, a great miser. As he was equally distant from three churches, he claimed a sort of relation to all, so that he might not contribute to any. When the deacon of the Boyertown church approached him for a subscription he was sure to say I belong to Pottstown; and when the Pottstown deacon approached him he would answer, astonished, "Did you not know that I belong to Falkner Swamp." In this way the miser for some time escaped entirely, but finally the deacons of the three churches arranged to meet him together and each demanded a subscription. This time there was no way of escape, and he at last declared his allegiance to one of the churches by agreeing to pay to Falkner Swamp ten cents a year. One day there was to be a funeral in this man's family and Dubbs as a student was sent by Herman to conduct the services. It was the custom to give the officiating clergyman several dollars and the organist a smaller sum. On this occasion the miser handed the student fifty cents and the organist twenty-five. The former thanked the giver, but the organist, determined to teach the miser a lesson, held up his coin so that all could see, and asked in a loud tone, "What is that for?" "That's your fee," answered the miser. "You miserable skinflint," responded the organist, "Do you imagine that I can afford to lose my school, hire a horse and give you a whole day's service for twenty-five cents. I insist on another dollar." The miser's contortions were very amazing, but at last he finally yielded and paid the dollar. Then, as if struck by conscience, he exclaimed "The minister deserves a dollar as well as the organist," and insisted on giving him the same amount.

Herman frequently sent his students to preach at the Hill or Indian-Corn Church (the Colebrookdale Church), so-called because the neighbors were accustomed to hang their seed-corn under the roof of a small porch before the church-door from one season to another (none was ever stolen). The trip to this Church was always looked on with favor by the students, for they were treated so kindly by the people. On one occasion, two of the students were entertained by an old lady who had a habit of saying "That is as true as gospel." At the table one

of her guests unfortunately spilled the coffee and blurted out in his confusion "I am the clumsiest person in the world." The old lady at once replied, "That is as true as gospel; but it does not matter." Her confusion, when she began to realize the meaning of what she said, was even greater than that of the victim of the accident.*



REV. SAMUEL HELFFENSTEIN, D. D.

The third private theological school was that of Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, D.D., the son of one of our most honored ministers, Rev. J. C. A. Helffenstein, in whose family the ministerial

*Herman sometimes sat as a hearer to the preaching of his students. On one occasion, R. S. Fisher was to preach and Schneck and P. S. Fisher sat in the gallery opposite the organ. They were very much afraid that he would break down. In the middle of his sermon he forgot himself. White as a sheet, he sent up a look of pain to his friends in the gallery as if seeking help from them. Without further application, the preacher suddenly closed, saying "In Christ Jesus, Amen." As he came down from the pulpit, Herman took him by the hand, comforting him and saying, "Richard, only do not forget the Amen at the end."

office had come down in lineal succession from the time of the Reformation.* He did not begin as early as Herman or did he continue so long. His school flourished during the middle period of Herman's seminary. But he educated more than either Becker or Herman, twenty-seven in all.† He did his work while pastor of our church in Philadelphia. He began in 1810, with I. Gerhart (1810-12), Hoeffditz and J. H. Gerhart (1811), F. A. Scholl (1813), Zeller (1814), Helffrich (1811-15), Bruner (1815), Weisz (1816), J. Scholl, Strassberger and Ebaugh (1817), Zulich (1818), Winebrenner (1819), Boyer, Rudy, Knaus (1820), Mills, Hamm, Albert Helffenstein, Samuel Helffenstein and J. Mayer (1821), Hertz and Hassinger (1822), J. Helffenstein, Bibighaus and Seibert (1823), H. Miller (1830), with Snyder and Hassler also spoken of as students. His son Albert, together with Hamm and J. Mayer, came to him from Rev. C. J. Becker, at Baltimore, after the latter had died.

In his history of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia, Dr. Van Horne says: "The students were accustomed to sit under the pulpit in the chancel during the church services and in many cases were received into the pastor's home as regular members of the family. Helffrich quite graphically describes his student days under Helffenstein, who was his cousin. He says: "The students were practiced by Helffenstein in the classic languages and all the branches of the theological sciences. Hebrew was Dr. Helffenstein's favorite language. Each Sunday they had to take turns in delivering addresses at the almshouse and the hospital of the city. The Germania, a German society of Philadelphia, was utilized by them for the cultivation of public address and the students often acted as its officers. Other exercises in oratory were held in the church. Each student had to preach a sermon under the criticism of Helffrich and the other students and also of invited guests." Helffrich was, like Helffenstein, a follower of rigid orthodoxy. Helffenstein was an able theologian.

*Appel, *College Recollections*, page 32.

†Appel is in error when he says that Herman's theological school was the largest.

as his published theology shows. We have seen his Hebrew notes. They reveal that he was a finished scholar.

In addition to these three private theological seminaries, other ministers were active in educating young men, although not to so great a degree. John William Dechant trained Willers (1820), Bindaman (1823), Hangen and Augustus Pauli (1824), Lechner (1828), and in part several others as Hoffeditz, Staehr, Riegel and Bassler. As his home was not far in Oley, his school was not far from the Swamp College of Herman; indeed they might have been to some extent rivals, Herman belonging to the Free synod and Dechant to the old synod. Rev. Yost Fries trained Gutelius (1821), D. Weiser (1822), and H. Snyder (1824). Rev. J. C. Becker, the son of Rev. C. L. Becker, of Baltimore, also did considerable work along this line. Several of his father's students at his father's death came to him, although he was still young.* He educated Weinel (1814), Geiger (1816), Koch and Hacke (1818), Riegel and Willers (1820), Zwisler (1824), Kemmerer and S. Hess (1826), Gerhard (1833), Daniel (1844). Graeff also studied somewhat with him. In Ohio some of the ministers, as Winters, did the same. Rev. Mr. Weisz educated Descombes (1823), King (1824), Hillegas and Long (1825), Keller (1826). Rev. G. Schlosser educated A. Stump (1839), J. Schlosser (1843), Hines (1844), and William Stump (1848). Some others educated two and quite a considerable number educated one.† All of these did good work in raising up ministers at a time when they were greatly needed. Without these private schools our Church would have been in great straits for ministers. We may, therefore, be very grateful for them and their memory should be treasured with thankfulness and respect.

*He used his father's lectures on theology, somewhat abbreviated. Kemmerer's copy is in the Central Theological seminary library.

†Some of the above mentioned studied under two teachers, which accounts for their names being mentioned twice.

CHAPTER II.

THE FREE SYNOD.

SECTION 1. THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE FREE SYNOD.

The Church, having found itself unable to supply ministers enough or to give them sufficient training in the private theological seminaries, began moving toward the establishment of a theological seminary of its own. The subject came up at the synod of 1817, where Helffenstein moved it, and it was seconded by Mayer. A committee was appointed to consider the matter, consisting of Hendel, Hoffmeier and Wack. They reported, suggesting that committees be appointed to confer with the Dutch and Lutheran Synods on the subject. Pomp and Helffenstein were appointed to confer with the Dutch, and Hendel and Wack, Sr., with the Lutherans. The Lutheran Synod in 1817 had asked them to observe with them the tercentenary of the reformation, as was being done that year in Germany. This prepared the way for this action. The synod also appointed a committee consisting of the president (Hendel) and the secretary (Hoffmeier), together with Wack, Sr., to prepare a history of the origin and progress of the synod, of which 3,000 copies were printed. Hendel prepared it. (Hendel was a graduate of the Dutch Reformed theological seminary at New Brunswick and deeply sympathized with the movement for a seminary.) In it he referred with commendation to the Dutch Reformed Church for establishing a theological seminary as an example worthy to be imitated, and he urged the German Church to consider the subject of a more thorough training of candidates for the ministry.

At the synod of 1818 the committee to confer with the Dutch reported that they had not been able to be present at the meeting of the Dutch Synod, but they had sent a communication to the synod about the matter. Weiser says that

the Dutch in 1818 moved to negotiate a union. The minutes of the Dutch Synod show that Labach and Schultz, their delegates, had been given authority to confer with a committee of our synod. So our synod appointed a committee consisting of J. Helffenstein and Reily. They reported that nothing decisive be done because the Reformed of Pennsylvania had an interest with other Germans of Pennsylvania in an institution (Lancaster High School.) But they recommended that delegates be sent to the Dutch Synod, and J. Helffenstein and Reily were sent. The committee to the Lutheran Church reported (1818) that they had been very cordially received and that that synod had appointed a committee of five to confer with our synod on the subject and asked that a similar committee be appointed. Hoffmeier, Hendel, Herman, Pomp and S. Helffenstein were named as the committee to negotiate with the Lutherans about a union theological seminary in connection with Franklin College at Lancaster. Rev. J. G. Schmucker, D.D., was chairman of the Lutheran committee and drew up a plan of an institution with two professors, one from each denomination and with eighteen trustees equally divided between the denominations. But at the joint meeting, says Dubbs,* at the house of Hoffmeier, pastor of our church at Lancaster, Dr. Enders, who really managed Franklin College, very decidedly opposed the plan. At the meeting of the Lutheran Synod he said, "Let the Reformed people cook the soup on their own fire"—so Hoffmeier wrote to C. Wack. This remark produced unpleasant feelings and the project was dropped.

Before the synod of 1819 met, Rev. Prof. John Livingston, D.D., of the Dutch Reformed Church, published an appeal, entitled "An Address to the Reformed German Churches in the United States." He presented 150 copies of it to the synod. He urged the German Reformed to establish without delay a theological institution of their own. He says the German Reformed Church is the only church in the United States not yet aroused to theological institutions and he aimed to in-

*History of Franklin and Marshall College, page 112.

cite the true German love for education in them. He explained what a theological seminary would consist of, namely, of a professor of dogmatics and of church history. He suggested Philadelphia as the most desirable place. The synod received the address with thanks and it doubtless aided in forming sentiment favorable to the founding of a seminary by the German Reformed for themselves. Prof. B. Wolff, D.D., says: "It was in a great measure owing to his influence that the project of a joint institution was abandoned in favor of a denominational institution." Rev. Lewis Mayer is also given as the minister in our church, who mainly led to the abandonment of a union institution with the Lutherans.

The joint committee of the Lutherans and the Reformed reported to this synod their project of a joint institution. Two hundred copies of it were ordered to be printed and distributed so that every one might have time to consider the subject. But nothing came of it. Our church had by this time gotten beyond the idea of uniting with any other church to found a theological seminary. She must have one of her own.

Before the synod of 1820 met, the actions of the various classes revealed the drift of opinion. Maryland classis instructed its delegates, Mayer and Reily, to use every effort to get the synod to found a seminary as soon as possible. Susquehanna classis noted that it had not yet received any plan of a theological seminary (noted above), but it was their united wish that it should soon come into existence and requested that it might receive such a plan soon. Zion's classis directed its delegates that if the Lutheran Ministerium would approve the plan of founding a theological seminary projected the previous autumn by the committee of both synods, it would approve it, but if not, it voted for a seminary for the Reformed Church and it supported Chambersburg as the place for it. Lebanon classis reported that no copy of the plan of the union seminary had reached it, but it declared itself ready to co-operate. Philadelphia classis took no action and Northampton does not refer to it.

The synod of 1820* brought the matter to a head. It decided that a union seminary with the Lutherans was not feasible and also that the German Reformed Church should have a seminary of its own. It went farther than this. It adopted a plan for the founding and control of the seminary consisting of five articles. It also appointed a board of twelve ministers as its superintendents: Casper Wack, Hendel, Hinsch, S. Helffenstein, Pomp, Jonathan Helffenstein, F. Rahausen, J. C. Becker, Lewis Mayer, Reily, Albert Helffenstein and Ebaugh. This would have been sufficient action for the time being, but they proceeded a step farther. They at once elected a professor of theology.

It happened that there was present at the synod as a delegate from the Dutch Reformed Church, the Rev. Philip Milledoler, D.D. He was of German birth, born at Rhinebeck, N. Y., where there was a German Reformed congregation. He studied theology under Rev. Dr. Gros, pastor of the German Reformed Church in New York City, and was ordained by our synod in 1794. He had been for a time pastor of a church then belonging to our synod located at New York City. He was, therefore, not a stranger to the synod. His remarkable ability, fine pulpit oratory and spiritual power won the hearts of the synod. He preached a sermon before the synod, entitled "The Faithful Servant of God," which was published. He was unanimously chosen professor of dogmatic, polemic and pastoral theology at a salary of \$2,000 a year, and Revs. Messrs. Reily and Becker were appointed a committee to formally extend the call to him.

Dr. Milledoler had been pastor of some of the most prominent churches in three denominations: the German Reformed at Nassau St., New York City (1794-1800); Pine Street Presbyterian, Philadelphia (1800-5); Rutgers Presbyterian, New York City (1805-1813); Collegiate Reformed Church, New York City (1813-25). He had been honored with the moderatorship of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1808 at

*This synod was the first to adopt the title of General Synod, perhaps because it was the first to be a delegated body. But later the title was given up.

the early age of thirty-three. Later he was made professor of theology by the Dutch Reformed at their theological seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1825. When elected to this professorship by our synod he was in the prime of life—about 45 years of age. He was admirably fitted for this position by his familiarity with both the English and German languages.

The synod also decided the location of the seminary. It is true that was left to the directors chosen, but it was understood that Frederick would be the place. This place was championed by Judge Schriver and it offered \$12,000. The locality was, however, left somewhat open so as to excite competition in bids. The synod, in order to provide funds for maintaining the seminary, at once proceeded to gather subscriptions and asked the different congregations to take up collections. It also passed an action prohibiting any minister from instructing young men privately in theology, although they were permitted to do so in the preliminary studies. This action was rather premature as the seminary as yet existed only on paper and in fact did not open till five years later.

The constitution of 1805 permitted ministers to instruct young men in theology privately. Synod could not, therefore, deprive them of this right without changing the constitution, which was the fundamental law of the Church. This it did not do. Later, as we shall see in the days of the liturgical controversy, this action of the synod of 1820 was referred to by the Mercersburg men and re-enacted against Ursinus college but just as illegally because even the later constitution of 1842 had never deprived ministers of the right to train young men privately.

After the synod of 1821 had adjourned, a great deal of criticism and opposition developed in the Church. This revealed itself publicly at the meetings of the classes. It seems that a conference of some of the ministers of Philadelphia classis was held at Norristown, March 26, 1821, which considered and took action on the foundation of the new theological seminary. Revs. Wack, Sr., Wack, Jr., Vandersloot

and others were there. They decided that the synod had exceeded its powers in founding a seminary and calling a professor. This decision was made known in a letter sent to all the classes. Every minister of Philadelphia classis except Herman signed the circular.

Philadelphia classis, when it met, received the recommendations of the committee appointed at Norristown and approved them. It gave as its judgment that such an action would only be constitutional if adopted by a convention-synod composed not of delegates, as was the Synod of 1820, but of all the ministers; or approved by two-thirds of the classes, so that all might have a voice in the matter. It therefore decided that it could not approve of the plan of the seminary or its execution. It unanimously adopted an action calling upon the president of the Synod, S. Helffenstein, to call a convention-synod instead of the delegate-synod that had been appointed by the last synod, and to call it at the same time and place as the regular synod. It also appointed a committee to confer with the directors of the Theological seminary, who were to meet in Philadelphia on May 31. The committee was Wack, Sr., Vandersloot and Dechant.

We also find the following note published in a letter of Mayer to Wolff. Whether it is confused with the meeting of the Philadelphia ministers or whether it was another meeting, we can not make out:

“Before the Synod of 1821, the opponents of the seminary met at Kutztown before June 25, organized themselves and issued a printed circular inviting the brethren to join them. It appointed a committee of Wack, Sr., Vandersloot and Dechant to meet the directors of the seminary at Philadelphia in June to protest against the synod’s action on the seminary and to recommend the calling of a professor from Germany. The managers met them kindly but showed them the wealth of the church west of the Susquehanna, their liberality to the seminary, and their attachment to Dr. Milledoler, their determination to support no other, the disastrous consequences if Dr. Milledoler would decline and that if the matter were defeated, the seminary party would secede to the Dutch. The committee was finally affected by the firmness of the board, abandoned the project and went home.”

This action of Philadelphia classis was echoed by Northampton classis, which met at the same time. The action of the special conference at Norristown was laid before it. The classis urged the holding of a convention-synod and asked the president of the synod on his own authority to call such a synod, because of the great dissatisfaction of the members of the classis with the decision of the synod and the possibility of a division of the church unless its action were reconsidered.

Ohio classis also protested against the action of synod about the seminary, that it was taken with too much haste and inconsideration. It especially protested against its forbidding of ministers teaching students theology, as it was impossible for them at their long distance from the east to send their students to the east for education, and they preferred the old method of private instruction by some minister.

This decided opposition of Philadelphia and Northampton classes was quite in contrast with that of Maryland classis, which met at the same time. It rejoiced in the action of the synod in thus going forward toward the founding of a seminary. It, however, reported that one of its members had received a letter from a member of the Philadelphia classis opposing the synod's action and also two papers sent by Philadelphia classis. These claimed that the synod had violated the constitution by taking on itself the responsibility to found a seminary without action by the classes, and they also objected to its action forbidding ministers to give young men theological training privately. Classis denied the positions taken in these papers,—that the synod had violated its authority, or the constitution by so doing. It also endorsed the synod's position against private theological training by ministers. It answered the charge that the decision about the seminary was hasty, by saying it had been discussed for three years. As those communications had asked that a professor from Europe be elected, it declared that the sending to Europe for a professor was an impossibility. It also defended the choice of Frederick as the location of the seminary. It deplored this attack on the synod's action; and in regard to

Philadelphia classis' request for the calling of a convention-synod, it agreed to such a call, providing a majority of the classes asked for it.

Susquehanna classis expressed itself dissatisfied with the synod's action on the seminary for the following grounds: Because the synod had no such authority; because it did not agree that all ministers must give up theological instruction, as that would be making young men go to the seminary by the use of force. It, however, expressed itself as favorable to the establishment of a seminary. But it did not express itself at all about the calling of a convention-synod.

Zion's classis refused to ask for a convention-synod. Lebanon classis took no action. The minutes of West Pennsylvania classis we have not at hand.

From these actions of the classes, it is evident that the main criticisms on the synod for its action about the seminary are as follows:

1. A constitutional one. Philadelphia classis claimed that the synod had no authority to go ahead with such a project until two-thirds of the classes gave assent to it. The constitutional point was whether the seminary was an ordinance or not; if so it required a two-thirds majority of the classes. Thus a new point in constitutional government had come up which needed to be solved. It was somewhat unfortunate that this project of a seminary came up and was decided at what was the first delegate-synod of our Church. Before 1820, the synod had always met as a convention; that is, every minister had a right to be a member in it, together with an elder from each charge. Each charge thus had a voice in its actions. But as the synod had become too large for this, it was decided in 1819 to change it into a delegated body, at which only a few from each classis would be present. But in this way it might be possible for a minority to dictate to the whole church unless their action was referred to the classes, where every minister and charge had a right to vote. It was felt, therefore, that a delegated body was not large enough to decide so grave a question for the whole church. The synod of 1820 was

composed of only 13 ministers (out of 68 ministers) and 11 elders. It was a rather small body for such responsible legislation. It would have done better had it gone more slowly and tried first to get the mind of the Church before coming to so important a decision. To some of the ministers it began to look as if a few aggressive ministers were leading the Church too fast, and so there came a reaction.

2. The action of the synod forbidding any minister to accept a student for the ministry was felt to be unwise, as the seminary had not yet come into existence. Such an action might be taken after its opening, but not before. Students for the ministry at that time would have no place to go to for education. They were forbidden to go to ministers to be educated privately, and yet there was no seminary existing to which they could go. No wonder the action was modified the next year and became, in the history of the Church, a dead letter.

Besides these two main reason given there were others.

3. A financial one. The largeness of Dr. Milledoler's salary (\$2,000) was so far beyond the salary of any minister in the Church that it was considered beyond the ability of the Church to pay.

4. A local reason. The choice of Frederick, Md., was considered unwise by many, as it was too far from the centre of the Church, which was still east of the Susquehanna. Besides, Frederick was located right in the midst of the very aggressive Maryland classis, which made the conservative classes suspicious of undue influences on their students.

5. A linguistic reason. The seminary, if located at Frederick, would be among the English-speaking churches. This would give the English undue influence, thought the somewhat suspicious Germans. The election of Dr. Milledoler, who was pastor of an English church, and the introduction of English into the instruction and preaching in the seminary was looked upon as an innovation.*

*Prof. Theodore Appel says another action of the Synod of 1820 prepared the way for ultimate division by declaring that it was contrary to the Scriptures that a minister should hold a secular office. This struck several ministers, who were holding public office.

The fact was that a dividing line was beginning to appear between the eastern and western sections of the church. The east was German and conservative, the west more English and aggressive. The east generally criticized the action of the seminary; the west endorsed it. It is evident that the synod of 1820, while enthusiastic and aggressive, was not sufficiently judicious and did not fully reflect the mind of the whole Church. Still its action was used by Providence to ultimately lead to the founding of a seminary, although many difficulties now loomed up in the way.

SECTION 2. THE SEPARATION OF THE FREE SYNOD.

It is evident, from what we have seen of the criticisms and differences engendered in the classes, that when the next synod met at Reading in 1821 a storm was brewing. Unlike the previous synod, it was not a delegated body but a convention-synod. The president of the synod, Rev. S. Helffenstein, on his own responsibility and at the request of only two of the classes, had called a convention-synod to meet at the date of the delegated-synod. This was not to the mind of the Maryland Classis, which granted that he could do so, if a majority of the eight classes had so desired it. So at the very beginning of the synod there was friction. Rev. Lewis Mayer took the ground that the president alone had not the authority to change the synod to a convention-synod. He demanded that if a convention-synod were to be held, the proper way was for the delegated body first to hold a meeting and resolve itself into a convention-synod. But the synod, which was a comparatively large one (43 ministers and 28 elders), was controlled by the German and conservative party. They went ahead and organized the synod without paying much attention to their opponents. Dr. Mayer, however, entered his protest against the constitutionality of the meeting.

Dr. Mayer was undoubtedly right constitutionally, and this was virtually granted at the close of the synod after all the differences were healed, when the president, Rev. S. Helffenstein offered a resolution explanatory of the powers of the

president of synod, by which that officer was forever precluded from changing at will the synod from a delegated to a convention-synod. Mayer then withdrew his protest. Another objection to the method of calling this synod in this way appears in a private letter of Mayer to Wolff, that the call was issued at so late a date that many of the brethren who lived at great distances could not attend.

The most prominent subject before the synod was evidently the seminary. The conservative Germans had formed a plan to kill the project by objecting to its being located at Frederick and by asking that Dr. Milledoler be made professor only on condition that he would teach in German. The seminary or English party felt themselves aggrieved at this because nothing had before been said about the use of English in the seminary, and they knew that Dr. Milledoler would not accept the call if he had to teach only in German. As a consequence all the funds pledged to the seminary on condition of Dr. Milledoler's acceptance would be lost. Mayer had reported to the synod a capital of about \$30,000 (\$22,500 in sight). He even ventured to anticipate a surplus above the salary, which might be applied to missions. Reily spoke against the resolution to have only German in the seminary. It was therefore altered to this—that Dr. Milledoler lecture both in German and English. But then it was again amended that he lecture principally in German and occasionally in English. On this the debate became very sharp, the English party opposing it with all their might. But it was carried by a vote of 45 to 20. Mr. Reily led the seminary party and was ably seconded by Hendel, Lewis Mayer, Jonathan Helffenstein, Albert Helffenstein and Frederick Rahausen. Reily then notified the synod that if the resolution remained as it was, his party would have nothing to do but to secede from the Church. It was their purpose to go over to the Dutch Church. Having made his address, he invited the minority to meet him at the place where he lodged to devise other measures. His remarks brought matters to a crisis. All felt the gravity of the situation. The synod was near division. There was silence for a few mo-

ments. Then one of the majority, J. C. Becker, proposed that Dr. Milledoler give instructions in both the English and German languages, which was unanimously adopted. The seminary party then made concessions by offering a resolution that every student must be able to speak German before he could be admitted to the ministry. Thus the threatened schism was averted. A committee was appointed to revise and amend the plan of the seminary, whose report would be submitted to the classes. The committee was Jonathan Helffenstein, Reily and Hinsch. The German party had gained its points, first, that German was to be recognized in the seminary, and, second, that all action on the subject must go before the whole Church by being submitted to all the classes. On the other side, the seminary party gained their point, that the seminary was to be founded and Dr. Milledoler was to be the professor. The extreme action of 1820 forbidding any minister to teach theology was modified, on motion of S. Helffenstein, that it did not affect those at present studying with any minister. The synod also appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the incorporation of the seminary (against which there had been considerable opposition) and submit it to the classes, and thus the next synod would have the information by which to come to a wise decision. The synod also ordered that ministers take up a collection for the seminary and those who did not preach on this subject and take a collection should be called to account. This latter action was misinterpreted by many—that the synod by legal and ecclesiastical force would compel them to pay to the large salary of Dr. Milledoler.

But as one cause for division was removed another suddenly appeared, although along somewhat different lines—along personal lines rather than party lines—the adherents and the opponents of the Hermans. The state of the synod was such that a slight cause was needed to produce division. This came in the suspension of the gifted but wayward Frederick Herman,* son of F. L. Herman, one of the oldest and most honored

*Frederick Herman was later reinstated by Lebanon classis in 1830, but in 1835 he left that classis at his own request.

ministers and the head of the "Swamp College." There was no doubt of the righteousness of the synod's action in so doing. But the manner in which it was done gave unnecessary offence. When his father asked the significance of the deposition of his son from the ministry, the president, Rev. Mr. Hinsch, replied, "In this case it means exclusion forever." In saying this, the president over-reached his powers. No exclusion is necessarily forever, for it may be rescinded in case of repentance. Instead of such severity it had been better if the synod had appointed, as it does now, a committee to draft its decision carefully. Still the action of the synod was not so severe as the remark of the president. Dr. Herman then left the synod without permission. That act was the premonition of the future division. It has been charged against Dr. Herman that his dissatisfaction with the synod was due to the founding of the new seminary—that he feared it would interfere with his "Swamp College"—that he was dissatisfied with the election of Dr. Milledoler because he had aspirations to that position. Whether there was any truth in this we do not know. There has been a false statement made by some of our historians which helped this idea, namely, that Dr. Herman's private theological seminary was the largest in the Church, and would be most affected by synod's action. This is not true. His seminary was not as large at that time as Dr. Helffenstein's. The new seminary would have interfered more with Helffenstein's school than with Herman's. At any rate, Dr. Herman had been a member of the Synod of 1820, and had there voted for the election of Dr. Milledoler, for the election, we understand, was unanimous. Also, when Philadelphia classis declared for a convention-synod in 1821. Herman did not sign his adherence to it. All this is significant for he would have done the latter if very much dissatisfied. We are, therefore, inclined to think that more was made of this charge by his opponents than the facts warrant. At any rate the only knowledge we have of these aspirations of his are from his opponents. That he would have made an excellent professor of theology, both intellectually and pedagogically,

we have no doubt. So would Dr. Helffenstein.* The only reason we have found given was what Dr. Herman himself gave, that he thought Frederick was not a suitable location.

After the synod was over, the tendencies toward disunion began to reveal themselves. The friends of Dr. Herman began to secede. In the eastern part of Berks and Montgomery Counties, congregation after congregation withdrew from synod. The first congregations to secede, as far as we know, were those of Guldin, the pupil and son-in-law of Herman, at Vincent, Coventry and St. Peters, in Chester County; also the Centre congregation in Lancaster County and the Allegheny congregation in Berks County. The next congregation was that of Kutztown on Jan. 30, 1822. This congregation published five reasons for declaring itself independent:

1. Because the synod had ordered that the seminary become incorporated. This would make each church-member responsible for its debts.
2. Because it was located at Frederick.
3. Because it called an English minister (Milledoler) as professor.
4. Because of the extravagance of his salary (\$2,000).
5. Because the cost of sending delegates to the classis and synod and to the Dutch synod was too great, especially at a time like the present.

This congregation asked its pastor, Charles G. Herman, to invite the pastors of other congregations to come together so as to form a free and independent synod.

New Hanover congregation declared itself independent on February 9, 1822, for the same reasons, only adding that all this project of the synod was looked upon as an aristocratic method of robbing the members of the church of their freedom. Zion's Church, Alsace Township, did so on February 23, as also did the Trappe congregation in Montgomery County on that date. Pottsgrove (Pottstown) declared itself independent on February 28. The Reformed Church of Pike Township, Berks County, did so on March 2, the Colebrookdale Church, on March 2. The Bensalem, Zion's, Corner and Jacob's Church in Lynn Township, Lehigh County, became independ-

*If the synod could have united the two seminaries of Helffenstein and Herman with both of them as professors, at some point between Philadelphia and Pottstown, where they were located, that would have been the simplest solution of the problem, but that was never thought of.

ent on March 20, Upper Bern (Salems) on March 30, and Muehlbach on March 24.

This continued withdrawal of congregations from the synod was aided by the formation of the first Free synod. A number of ministers favorable to the organization of a free synod met at the house of Rev. Charles G. Herman, in Maxatawny Township on April 24, 1822. There were five ministers present, all pupils of Dr. Herman: Charles G. Herman, Frederick L. Herman, Henry Diefenbach, John Zulich and John Guldin. They elected Frederick L. Herman president, Diefenbach secretary and Zulich treasurer. They adopted a constitution of fourteen articles. This constitution reveals quite a democratic presbyterial form of government in which the congregation has large powers. Their distrust of the tendency toward centralization in the old synod made them incline toward giving large rights to the congregation. They continued a convention-synod while the mother synod continued a delegated synod. They ordered the president to get a seal for the synod, to call a regular meeting of the new synod at Kutztown on the second Sunday of September, 1822, and to invite all congregations who desired to be independent to join them.

After this preliminary meeting the secession of the congregations from the old synod continued. The White Church, of Albany Township, Berks County, declared itself independent on May 26. In the *Reading Adler* of June 25 a number of the members of the Tulpehocken congregation, among them its treasurer, two trustees, three elders, three deacons and twenty-five members published a note signed in May, stating that they would not support a minister who supported the seminary. The Tulpehocken congregation held a meeting on June 26 and took action against the above-mentioned memorial, but Dr. Hendel, on account of the opposition to the seminary project, which he championed, resigned the Tulpehocken and Muehlbach congregations.

The second Free synod was held at Kutztown September 7, 1822, when the synod became thoroughly organized. It consisted of the ministers who were at the April meeting (except Zulich), with the addition of Joseph Dubbs, Thomas Lein-

bach and Augustus Herman, who as students of Dr. Herman were licensed at this meeting. Kemp, an elder, was elected treasurer in place of Zulieh. There were in all thirty ministers and elders present.

The gap between the two synods was finally completed by the action of the old synod in the autumn of 1822. After Philadelphia classis had reported that it had given F. L. Herman and Guldin, who belonged to it, until September 1 to declare whether they would remain in the old synod or secede,* the synod then took action that F. L. Herman, Charles G. Herman, Guldin and Henry Diefenbach, since they no longer desired to be members of the old synod, are, because of their actions, shut out from that synod. The synod was competent to take such an action, but it would have been better had they gone about it leisurely and appointed, as was done in later years, a committee to confer with them first before finally excluding them. Still it is to be remembered that the synod had had no previous experience in dealing with such matters, and, besides, feeling ran high at that time.

While only five ministers left the synod, yet a number of ministers who remained in the old synod were quite awkwardly placed, as either their Lutheran colleagues were inclined to independency or many of their people favored it. We have already noticed the awkward position of Hendel. Zulieh reported to the classis of Northampton that on account of the opposition of his people he did not deem it wise to come to the meeting of classis in 1823. Zellers complained to that classis of disaffection in his congregations and of opposition to the new seminary. Helffrich had a similar experience, especially as his Lutheran colleague, Knoske, became independent of the Lutheran synod; still he managed to retain his congregations in the old synod. Even in congregations that remained in the old synod a prejudice sometimes arose lest they would be subject to a seminary tax. For this reason Klopp's congregation and one of J. J. Faber's sent a committee to the synod of 1822 to inquire about this matter. The old synod replied that if

*Northampton classis took the same action and Zulieh returned to the old synod, but C. G. Herman and Diefenbach did not.

the congregation was unwilling to take up a collection, the synod had no idea of forcing them to do it. This action ought to have quieted the fears of many of the alarmists who opposed the seminary. But coupled with this was another prejudice, namely, against the incorporation and chartering of religious societies, especially theological seminaries. This was a new thing in those days and was looked upon with great suspicion as an effort of the church to get the state under its domination.* Still the main force of the movement toward secession abated in 1823, as we find very few congregations leaving the old synod. Thus the Bethel church of Albany Township declared itself independent on February 18, 1823, and the Reformed Church of Hereford Township, Berks County, on June 12, 1823.

SECTION 3. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE TWO SYNODS.

It has hitherto been said that the mother synod did not carry on any controversy with the Free synod, but left it alone after having disciplined its members. This is not true. There was an active controversy between them in which the contrary was the truth. The ministers of the old synod took part in it while the ministers of the Free synod rather avoided it, for their side of the controversy was carried on by laymen. It is very evident that there was a great deal of feeling at that time and considerable rivalry between the synods. The old synod was fearful lest it might lose more congregations to the Free synod, while the latter was just as anxious to increase its number and enlarge its influence. Thus, in 1824, the Salem's German congregation of Philadelphia, Rev. Mr. Bibighaus, pastor, left the old synod for the Free synod. This act caused great anxiety in the former. On the other hand Schneck left the Free synod for the old synod. Hiester, the pastor at Lebanon, who died in 1828, was so fearful lest after his death his congregation would go from the old synod

*Thus, as late as 1835, the argument was used against Governor Ritner, then a candidate for the governorship, that he had voted for the incorporation of religious institutions in 1826 and 1827. A broadside to that effect was printed and widely scattered to win voters against him.

to the Free synod that he spent hours in talking with his people, arguing with them in favor of the seminary and the old synod. He often closed with this appeal: "Since you can not accuse me of having at any time told you an untruth, why should you not believe me when I speak on this subject." A few days before he died, he called one of his congregation to him and charged him that the congregation should procure a minister from the old synod.*

The controversy between the two synods appeared in two forms:

1. The pamphlet controversy between laymen.
2. The newspaper controversy of Dr. Mayer and others.

1. The pamphlet controversy between laymen. In this Carl Gock championed the Free Synod, while Gossler and Eylert defended the old synod. They were all schoolmasters.

Gock was a Lutheran, yet he was interested in the controversy because of his opposition to all tyranny, whether in church or state. He had come to America about twenty years before and settled in Albany Township, Berks county. He became a politician, then a strolling herb-doctor, finally a drunkard and died in the Berks county almshouse.† His book is entitled "The Vindication of the Free Church in America" (1822-3),—a small pamphlet of about 120 pages.

It was a weak, serappy, wandering sort of book, full of low misrepresentations and bombast and appealing to ignorance and prejudice. His main contention was that synods are tyrannical and that only a republican synod is desirable. He gives illustrations of tyranny in some of the Protestant churches in Europe, where church and state are united. He urged that money collected in the congregations should not go into the hands of the ministers, but be given to widows and

*There was a strong rivalry between the two synods. Schneck, when in the Free synod, once asked Rev. Yost Fries, who was in the Old synod, to announce his preaching in a certain church. This Fries did, but added in his characteristic odd way, "They say he belongs to the Free synod, and if it be true, he is not worth much" (nichts werth).

†Prof. Dubbs, "The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania," page 283, says Gock was a local politician and for twenty years a delegate to the county convention. As long as the nominees were chosen by secret ballot, Gock conducted a prosperous business by secretly selling his vote to all candidates and then voting as he pleased. See also "The Guardian" of August, 1863, page 256, for an interesting visit of Dr. Harbaugh to him in the Berks county almshouse.

orphans and to the mission treasury to aid such ministers as preach according to the gospel. After a meaningless digression into the religious history of the world since the creation, in order probably to show his learning, he closes with a bitter attack on the old synod's resolution to establish the seminary; adding an appeal for the Lutherans and Reformed to unite in forming an Evangelical synod which would resist all ecclesiastical oppression.

Gock later in this controversy published (1830) another book, entitled "My Religious and Political Views on North America and Continuation of the Vindication of the Free Synod." This book was so weak and vapid as to deserve no notice except the fact of its publication. In it he expresses the lowest views of church government and civil authority.

Gossler, who replied to Gock, was a publisher at Reading.* His book was published in 1823 and was entitled "Carl Gock's Calumnies, or The Defence of the Lutheran and Reformed Synods of North America." His book was stronger and more logical than Gock's.

He takes Gock severely to task by telling him that he also was from Europe and knows whereof he speaks. After an introductory chapter on the origin and history of the Reformed synod, he takes up Gock's book, section by section, and ridicules his arguments. He reveals considerable knowledge of Reformed Church history and ecclesiastical law abroad. He gives illustrations in Europe to prove there was no tyranny in the Protestant churches. He does not leave a peg for Gock to hang an argument on. He, however, stirred up the ire of the members of the Free synod by making a personal charge against old Dr. Herman,—that he had put Peter Miller's name as president of the congregational meeting at New Hanover, Feb. 26, 1822 (when it declared that congregation independent), without Miller's permission. He also charged that Dr. Herman in 1818 had collected \$10.32 from the Oley congregation and yet paid only \$5 to the Synod.

Theodore Eylert's book was the strongest of the three. He calls himself a schoolmaster in Tulpehocken Township, Berks county, not far from Rehrersburg. The pamphlet was published January, 1823, and entitled "The Darkness of the Free Synod of America."

He says in the beginning that as no one else had taken up the defence of the old synod he felt it his duty to do so, He declared that he

*He published the *Life of Napoleon* in German in 1822.

knew what oppression in the Fatherland was, for he had been oppressed at Hamburg, Germany, for five years by Napoleon, where he had been a merchant and had been robbed by the French of \$25,000. He charged Gock that his object in writing his book was mercenary, —that he might go through the congregations of the Free synod and sell it for 50 cents a copy. He asked Gock where in Europe were the people so severely oppressed as he had stated. Eylert says he had traveled over a large part of Germany, Holland, part of France, England, Denmark and Sweden,—he had lived many years at Hamburg, Lubeck and Bremen and four weeks at Lisbon, but had heard nothing of such oppression as Gock spoke of. He had never heard that people had to leave Germany because of religious oppression, at least not in the Protestant Church or even in the Catholic Church of that time. He declared that no pastor in Germany could of his own will punish a member without the latter having the right of appeal to a higher church-court. He facetiously suggested that the Free synod ought to make Gock its president. He denies Gock's charge that all schoolmasters were nothing but bootblacks and menials to their ministers, etc. He claimed that a theological seminary was a necessity.

These various publications against the Free synod, especially the charges of Gossler against Herman, greatly stirred up the members of that synod. As a result, on June 12, 1823, representatives of fifteen congregations met at the church in Hereford Township, Berks County. They adopted a series of resolutions declaring that the Free synod was persecuted by tracts, hand-bills and especially defamed by Gossler's book. They especially declaim against his charge against Dr. Herman that he had received over ten dollars from the Oley congregation for the synod and had handed in only five dollars. They reply by showing that according to the minutes up to 1819 it had been properly paid. Two of the Oley members declare they were ready to take oath if necessary that when Dr. Herman returned from the synod he told them he had not paid it all, because he did not see the necessity of it at synod. They thus fully answer the charge and clear Dr. Herman's character. It is evident, however, that great bitterness had been stirred up. This meeting also answered Gossler's charge that Dr. Herman had started the Free synod. These congregations say it was *their* wish that it should be founded, and

they thank Herman for carrying out their wishes. They say that the charge that Herman wanted to found a sect came from his publication of a catechism of his own, but he did this at the request of his congregation and he defended himself by the fact that other Reformed ministers of the synod had done the same thing as Helffenstein, Becker and Hiester. The resolutions of their meeting were signed by three representatives each from the congregations of Falkner Swamp and Pottsgrove (Pottstown), two each from St. Peter's, of Richmond Township and Longswamp; one each from Zion's (Alsace), Trappe, Vincent, Centre, Allegheny, Dunkel's, Zion's (Windsor), the White Church (Albany), the Mountain Church and Boyer's, and by seven from the Hereford congregation, where the meeting was held. No ministers are mentioned in the proceedings as present at the meeting, the laity being the active forces there. This strong protest of so many congregations doubtless served as a bulwark to retain their churches in the Free synod.

2. The newspaper controversy between Mayer, Dechant and Fries with Berkenmeyer.

This was a far abler controversy than the former. Its leaders were Rev. Dr. Mayer, of York, for the old synod, and Carl Berkenmeyer, of Kutztown, a leading laymen of the Free synod. Rev. Messrs. Dechant and Fries tried to mediate, yet standing on the side of the old synod. This controversy especially on the part of Dr. Mayer, was in every way worthy of the dignity and gravity of the subject.*

The published news, that so many congregations of the old synod were withdrawing from it, led its ministers to come to its defense. It was especially the published action of the Kutztown congregation, February 19, 1822, that led Dr. Mayer to come out in print. He wrote his first article on February

*Rev. Dr. Dubbs, in summing up Gock and Gossler, says: "The strong men of the Church (old synod) declined to enter the controversy." In saying this he appears to have erred, yet he was only echoing the traditional rumor that had come down. This Mayer controversy seems to have been unnoticed until the writer discovered it a few years ago in the columns of the Reading *Adler*.

28 and it appeared March 26. He replies to the complaints of that congregation against the old synod:

1. That if the seminary would be chartered, all the congregation and members would be compelled to support it by contributions.

2. The high salary of Dr. Milledoler (\$2,000), and that he was an English preacher and not a German.

3. The expense of sending delegates to classes, synods and especially as corresponding members to the Dutch General Synod.

Dr. Mayer takes up these objections one after the other, answering the first in his first article. He asked the Kutztown congregation whether the incorporation of a school or any other society would compel all its individual members to support it whether willing or not. Incorporation was necessary in the case of the seminary, because without it, its funds could only be held by private parties whose heirs might claim the money. But he said the synod never could use force to collect the money, as she had not the power nor would it be well-pleasing to God. But she would be glad to receive free-will offerings for the seminary, especially an annual collection. The action of the synod to take up an annual collection was proposed by Hoffeditz and unanimously adopted, but all understood it was to be a free-will offering. He therefore declared that the first complaint of the Kutztown congregation was based on a misunderstanding.

His second article, written on April 2, dealt with the second complaint of the Kutztown congregation under three heads:

1. That the professor-elect is an English minister.

2. That he was from New York.

3. That he was promised a salary of \$2,000.

As to the first he said it was well known that Dr. Milledoler was by birth a German and in the early years of his ministry had been in the German Reformed Church,—he understood German and although most of his pastorates had been English, he would soon regain power with the German if he came to the seminary.

He then proceeds to answer the complaint that Dr. Milledoler was from New York and from another denomination. He says he fails to see as his opponent had suggested that it was pride that led them to choose Dr. Milledoler. If our denomination could better itself by calling a man from another denomination she ought to do so. Had the German Church of Pennsylvania not called on the Dutch Reformed Church of Holland for nearly a century in the 18th century for help? The Dutch Church of Holland was our mother and the Dutch Church of America, to which Dr. Milledoler belonged, was our sister. Is the German Church so ill-bred as to forget her mother or despise her sister.

He then took up the third part of the complaint, namely, that Dr. Milledoler was to receive a salary of \$2,000. This he proceeds to

answer in various ways. The laborer was worthy of his hire, for the professorship of theology was a very responsible position. The professors of theology at Princeton, who were asked to teach only in English received that amount and Dr. Milledoler was to teach in both languages. Besides, if \$2,000 were divided among the members of the synod (20,000), it would mean only 10 cents a member. Dr. Milledoler at New York received a salary and gifts of \$3,500. He would be giving up \$1,500 to accept this professorship at \$2,000.

On March 12, Dr. Mayer wrote a third communication which answered the third charge of the Kutztown congregation,—that the cost of sending delegates to the classes and synods and to the Dutch General Synod was too great for our congregations. He said the synod aimed at economy and not extravagance, for the division into classes in 1820 had been made in order to save expense. He reminded them of their inconsistency, for they had organized a new synod and that, too, would involve extra expense. As to the expenses to the Dutch Synod, little had been spent. During the nine years of correspondence with them before 1820 there was no expense to the synod. In 1820 the delegates received ten dollars, in 1821 the two delegates received between eighty and ninety dollars as the Dutch Synod was held at Albany, which was a great distance away. But if this amount were divided among the members of the synod each would have to contribute one cent. Who ought therefore to complain? After having answered their arguments, he then proceeded to the offensive. He reminded them that the pastor of the Kutztown congregation had brought to the synod of 1819 a contribution of only \$4.50 from a congregation of 883 members, while his (Mayer's) congregation at York, which had only 262 communicants, had contributed \$67. In four years (1818-1821) York had paid \$283.89. Here was an example that the Kutztown congregation would do well to follow, for during that time, notwithstanding the fact that they were three times as large, they had raised only \$8.50.

These three published letters of Mayer so completely exposed the fallacy of the published charges of the Kutztown congregation that their secretary, Frederick Berkenmeyer, evidently felt called upon to reply. He therefore wrote an article, April 5, which was published in the *Adler*, April 23. He declares that their object in declaring themselves independent was to escape religious slavery so common in the old world and brought about by regulations like those adopted by the old synod. He tries to defend himself against Dr. Mayer's article, but his defense is very weak.

In the same number of the *Adler* in which Berkenmeyer's article appeared, there was also a communication from the Rev. Yost H. Fries, a prominent Reformed minister and pastor of the Reformed congregation at Youngmanstown up the Susquehanna (Mifflinburg, Pa.). He opens by declaring his neutrality, that at neither of the synods

of 1820 or 1821 had he voted for or against the seminary. He believed that a seminary was a necessity but he was not satisfied with the plan proposed for it. His plan had been to unite with the Lutherans in the project. But if this were impossible there would be plenty of time to elect a professor from the German Reformed Church if necessary, for he said that there were six men in the synod who could fill the office with honor. Two men could be gotten for \$1,000 each, or at the highest \$1,200 each. But his ideas had not been accepted. He had, however, this to say, that Dr. Milledoler was a very learned man and truly converted, a thing very necessary in a seminary professor. His election was not caused by pride in the synod, as had been charged. As to the cost of it, the amount would soon be raised if each member were to give from one to twenty-five cents. As to being forced to raise money for this object, no seminary in America could do that. But he adds, if I were opposed to the seminary, I would not lift my finger against it but would say with Gamaliel if it be the work of God it will be blessed. He then warns them against division and schism as great evils and entreats them not to leave the old synod.

Berkenmeyer wrote a second article (April 30) in which he replies to Mayer's second article, making the startling assertion that Dr. Milledoler was not a German by birth but a Dane,—that he was so English that if the young men of the German congregations were to go to the seminary they would not be able to understand him. He asks if Dr. Milledoler receives such a high salary in New York whether it is not a shame to call him even at so large a salary as the synod offered him. He claims that Mayer's arguments only strengthened his position, which we do not see.

Then Rev. J. W. Dechant, of Montgomery County, also came to the aid of Dr. Mayer by a communication to the *Adler*, dated April 8. He declared that he was urged to do so by a number in his congregation. The plan of the seminary and the election of Dr. Milledoler in 1820 had been against his wishes, because he felt the synod was too small a body to take such an important and far-reaching action; and a number of the elders had thus spoken to him both publicly and privately, but to his regret he found no following in synod. On his return home he found that his views were shared by most of the members of his classis. He describes the appeal sent out by the Norristown conference March 26, 1821, against the plan of the seminary. At the last synod (1821), the majority (the German party) had given in to the minority (the seminary party) for fear of division, but it was not to be wondered at that some ministers were estranged. As to the expenses caused by classes and synods they were light as only those delegated usually go to synods; and when classis met, their members had usually not far to go. After all, he says, the main question at issue is one of liberty. That the synod would take the right of liberty from a congregation is ridiculous.

If the Americans came out victorious against Great Britain, ought one be afraid of seventy ministers who compose the old synod. He says division in the church is painful. He warns against it and pleads for unity.

After the appearance of these moderate articles by Yost and Dechant, the controversy was continued by Mayer and Berkenmeyer. Berkenmeyer in his article written April 15 finds great difficulty in replying to Mayer's third article in which he compares the liberality of the York congregation with the stinginess of the Kutztown congregation. He really makes no answer except to say that their congregation honors its pastor, Charles G. Herman.

Mayer, however, continues the controversy. In his fourth article, written April 30, he answers Berkenmeyer's first reply to his first article. He asks him, where in any of the theological seminaries in the United States could it be shown that they had brought men into slavery. There were many incorporated literary institutions and seminaries in Pennsylvania and other states. Had they ever led to slavery or forced money from the people. Mayer says he had no desire to continue the controversy with one who perverts and ridicules his words as did Berkenmeyer. In his fifth communication of June 4th, Mayer says he finds himself again compelled to answer Berkenmeyer in order to correct him. He denies the latter's statement that Dr. Milledoler is a Dane, for he had told him that his parents were Germans. He declares that Berkenmeyer perverts his meaning, and that he did not say that Dr. Milledoler could no longer preach German or that Dr. Milledoler had an annual income of \$4,000. Berkenmeyer's ridicule, as if he were not acquainted with the difference between Germany and Denmark and between high and low German, he passes by as unworthy of answer. He calls Berkenmeyer's attention to the ninth article of the Pennsylvania constitution which forbids taxation for religious purposes, to show that the synod looked upon the church and state as separate. He reminded him of the action of the synod in 1820-1 forbidding a minister to engage in a worldly occupation. He closes by declaring that the annual collection asked for by synod would produce no slavery.

Berkenmeyer then answers Dechant and Mayer by trying to show that they contradicted each other about slavery, Mayer denying it and Dechant virtually granting its possibility. He denies that the incorporated institutions mentioned by Mayer were generally for the education of ministers. He said he was not opposed to a seminary but to its location at Frederick.

Mayer wrote his seventh article to correct Berkenmeyer's misstatements about his article, because he had given the impression that the collection in each congregation for the synod was to be weekly and not yearly. This he denies. He charges Berkenmeyer with knowing that the synod receives only free-will offerings; yet, by his language, he heats

up the farmers against the seminary. He closes by saying that hereafter he would write no more and that Berkenmeyer had not answered any of his arguments but had given vent only to unfounded arguments and sharp ridicule. The controversy closed in June, 1822, the last article being by Berkenmeyer in answer to Mayer's sixth article but nothing particular was added to the controversy.

In these controversies both in the pamphlets and the newspapers the old synod had by far the ablest defenders. Eylert and Gossler proved far abler than Gock, and Mayer far outdistancing Berkenmeyer. But the Free synod had by that time passed beyond the sphere of argument. It had become a fact and no newspaper articles or arguments could keep back secession or cause them to return to the old synod. Providence and grace alone could bring them together again, which it afterward did.

SECTION 4. THE HISTORY OF THE FREE SYNOD.

As the Free synod is now an almost forgotten fact and its minutes almost inaccessible, we will give a brief outline of its history.* Harbaugh, in his work on Schism, has dealt severely with the Free synod, too severely, we think, probably owing to his high-church view of the Church which looked on schism as sin. But as one reads the minutes of that body and gains some idea of its influence and work, it is easy to see that Harbaugh's strictures are entirely too severe. It was a very respectable body, though not without its faults and it had in it a number of excellent, earnest and strong men. Beginning on a small scale in 1822 with five ministers, it grew until in 1836 it had on its list 23 ministers and 10 candidates. In all, 55 ministers had been connected with it and it had in it over 80 congregations by 1836. During its existence of 15 years it had licensed 51 persons and ordained 34.

In comparison with the old synod it seems to have been a somewhat more harmonious body, as the old synod was kept in a turmoil for a number of years by difficulties and differences about the theological seminary. The Free synod also

*The Minutes of the Free synod have been kindly loaned us by the late Rev. Prof. J. H. Dubbs, D.D.

seemed to be very happy in its return to the original form of church government, that is of a convention-synod, where all the ministers could meet together, while the old synod continued to be a synod of delegates from the different classes. The minutes of this synod reveal quite a decided advance, both in numbers and in aggressive work. It became so widespread as to extend from New York to Carlisle and even to Ohio. It, therefore, added the phrase "and adjacent states" to its original name "Synod of Pennsylvania." This was a larger name than the old synod then had. Its main work for the first few years was the licensing of candidates for the ministry and the reception of new congregations. In 1828 it began to come into correspondence with the Ohio synod and the Lutheran Synod of Tennessee. In 1829, although it had at its beginning been so strongly German in its sympathies, it began to print its minutes in English as well as German. In 1830, when it held its session in Philadelphia, it looked very much as if the First Reformed congregation of which Rev. S. Helffenstein had been pastor would join it, as its consistory asked it to ordain young Charles W. Wack, of the Dutch Reformed Theological Seminary. Two of the members of that synod, A. L. Herman and Guldin, preached in the Race Street Church. It, and not the old synod, ordained Wack as pastor in the Race Street Church, where he was pastor for a year, during which time that congregation did not report to the old synod. However, with the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Sprole, May 1, 1832, it returned to the old synod.

The meeting of 1832 seems, however, to have been an epochal meeting. A committee appointed by the old synod in 1831, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Hinsch, C. Helffenstein and C. Berentz, appeared before it, asking that measures be taken to reunite the two synods. The Free synod, however, was not ready for union as yet, but declared itself willing to come into fraternal relations with the old synod, which it did by an interchange of minutes. The old animosity between the two synods was dying out and the cordial understanding here arrived at prepared the way for their ultimate union. It was, however, very evident that this synod was gaining momentum

and moving on, breaking away from its former conservative traditions. Thus it took action favoring the introduction of Sunday schools into the congregations and requested the congregations to co-operate with one of its members, Rev. A. Berkey, missionary of the American Sunday School Union, in founding them. This action, in view of the great prejudice against Sunday schools in many of the country districts, and in contrast with the action of the Northampton classis of the old synod in 1829 which virtually opposed these things, shows the spirit of liberality and progress in the Free synod. At the synod of 1832 it even took an action toward establishing a theological school. This would seem to be going back on their traditional opposition to the seminary, but in reality the members never expressed themselves opposed to a seminary, only to the manner in which the seminary movement had been begun by the old synod. Toward such an institution a friend in Cumberland County offered to donate 50 acres for the better preparation of ministers. But nothing came of it. The synod also took very decided temperance action: "*Resolved*, That it be the solemn duty of every member of this body to use every effort to bring into disrepute the practice of habitual drinking and by precept and example to expel forever the use of ardent spirits from his congregation." Prof. F. L. Herman, the leader of the synod, was a strong temperance advocate. The synod of 1834 founded a mission treasury for which a yearly collection was to be taken. This was going back on their original ideas, for they were now doing what Berkenmeyer attacked in the old synod, namely, its tyranny in taking up an annual collection. But they were becoming more liberal minded. In 1835 a missionary constitution was prepared and a traveling preacher's association was organized to send ministers to destitute fields or to vacant charges. Its last synod reported \$250 for missions. In various ways it tried to stimulate genuine piety. It repeatedly recommended Zollikofer's prayer-book, which Guldin had had printed, so that there might be more religion in the homes of the synod. It had sunrise prayer-meetings at the synods of 1832 and 1836, showing that it was not as formalistic as it had been

supposed. It set apart September 13, 1832, as a day of prayer and humiliation because of the prevalence of the cholera, and it several times urged that New Year's day and Good Friday be especially set apart as days of prayer.

While the Free synod was thus growing in size, influence and activity, it however was beginning to become heavy with its own weight. It had been rather lenient in licensing candidates, although it compelled them to be licentiates for at least a year before ordination and would not ordain them unless they had a call to a charge. It was, however, very careful (as was also the custom of the old Synod) in examining the diaries of its licentiates at each of its sessions. But it was overrun with applicants for licensure. Thus its minutes of 1832 reveal 9 ministers present, 5 candidates and 15 applicants. Perhaps its ambition to rival the old synod in size may have led it to laxity in licensure. Dr. Herman educated the most of the candidates, but other ministers, as Leinbach, brought candidates before it. Still laxity about admission into the ministry is apt to produce adverse results.. We thus see that this Free synod was not without its excellences and produced many good results. Whatever of failure may have characterized it at its beginning, when Eylert wrote his "Darkness of the Free Synod," had passed away, and although not perfect, yet it was a genuine part of God's church, doing earnestly his work on earth.

SECTION 5. THE RELIGIOUS AGITATION OF 1829.

As an appendix to this Free Synod movement, we add a section on an agitation, not a movement and not of the Reformed Church, but in which many of her members, together with the Lutherans, were concerned.

In 1829 the agitation against the progressive movements in the church broke out anew. It was also a time of great political agitation. A strong crusade had been made against secret societies which were denounced as tending to subvert free American institutions. The report that a traitor to the Free Masons had been abducted in New York created a tremendous reaction against that society and against all secret societies. The state of Pennsylvania became almost evenly divided on the subject. In its second contest, the Anti-Free Masons lacked only

3,000 votes out of 200,000 to carry the state. The old Federal party went down under the Free Mason party and the Democratic party became the Republican-Democratic party, a curious combination, which, in these latter days, sounds strange to our ears when these two parties, Republican and Democratic, have been life-long rivals. Through this agitation many Christians were led to oppose secret societies as anti-Christian. On the other hand many rationalists and the worldly-minded openly opposed the Church, declaring that the state was gradually coming under the control of the Church. The opposition to the Sunday mail service by many Church people led to a reaction, as many looked on it as an attempt to limit personal freedom. This movement was helped on by political demagogues and by editors inclined to lax religious views and even by some rationalistic intriguing ministers, who went about in sheeps' clothing.

All this agitation did not fail to have its effect on the simple-hearted German element, especially in the country districts, whose traditions had led them to be opposed to any union of church and state. It happened, too, that certain other events became known just at that time which also tended to increase the anxiety and opposition of such misled but honest people. For the Churches were becoming incorporated societies and holding property of increasing value. Thus in 1829 the representative of the Bible Society reported receipts amounting to \$143,184 and the Tract Society reported more than \$60,000. These seemed enormous sums to many of the plain Pennsylvania-German farmers with whom money was a scarce article. All these things were made to appear to them as efforts to advance the Church in power and the ultimate outcome would be the union of Church and state, in which the Church would rule the state.

Certain other events also tended to cause irritation. The introduction of Sunday schools was looked upon with suspicion, for the Sunday School Union was looked upon as a new Church society whose object was to enslave the people and of it each Sunday school was to be an active agent. The increase of revivals caused great excitement in certain districts, where such things had been hitherto unknown; and the wild excesses permitted in some of them roused still greater opposition. Of course the worldly-minded opposed such things, but many seriously-minded very properly objected to some of their extravaganees. As a result of all these movements, matters came to a climax in 1829 in Berks and Lancaster Counties and the adjacent districts.

As far as Berks County was concerned this agitation was helped on by the Finney revival at Reading in 1829. Rev. C. G. Finney, D.D., the great evangelist, had come to Reading at the earnest request of Rev. Dr. Grier, pastor of the Presbyterian church. His erratic course and outspoken denunciation of all who opposed him caused great excitement. Dr. Grier died suddenly in the midst of the revival and before

he died Dr. Finney asked him to remember him to the Apostle Paul in heaven. Such a remark was looked upon as sacrilegious and caused much criticism. Dr. Finney openly charged the Lutheran pastor of Reading with making Christians at a dollar a head, referring to the usual custom of the minister in receiving the free-will offering of his catechumens. These and other things caused so much opposition that the elders of the Presbyterian church published a statement in the papers that Dr. Finney was not an adventurer but a regularly ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church. And to prove his efficiency to the German element in Reading, they published an action of the Board of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia dated January 5, 1829, which stated that Dr. Finney had had wonderful success in the revival that he held in their Church and recommended him to all the Churches.

This agitation revealed itself in a number of public meetings which severely denounced all these forward movements in the Church as Tract, Bible, Mission, and Sunday School Societies and also revivals. The first of these meetings was held at the Swan tavern, Cocalico Township, Lancaster County, March 19, 1829. The next was held at the public house of George Gernand in Heidelberg Township, Berks County, near Wernersville, May 21, 1829. This meeting went so far as to declare they would not procure a minister who favored such things. The action was signed by many present, among them two of our ministers, Dubbs and Leinbach. Against the action of this meeting the "Magazine of the German Reformed Church" had an article, August, 1829. The next meeting was held in Exeter Township, June 27, 1829. There was also a meeting at the Black Bear tavern, June 27, 1829. These meetings were continued at the Muhlbach Hotel, Heidelberg Township, July 25, 1829, and at Gicker's hotel, Bern Township, July 24. Some of these meetings were largely attended, the number running into hundreds, yes, occasionally a thousand. We do not know whether a county meeting was held as was suggested at the Bern meeting. But the next year, January 23, a meeting was held in the court house at Reading to protest against interference with Sunday mails.

This agitation placed many of the ministers in the country districts in awkward positions as their congregations sympathized largely with these movements. The Free synod did not notice them but, on the contrary, expressed itself favorably to Sunday schools, etc., as did East Pennsylvania classis, 1827, on Sunday schools. But East Pennsylvania classis of the old synod, however, took action at Trexlertown, May 25, 1829, trying to stem the tide by a sort of compromise statement. The action is very shrewdly drawn up. They declare that a respectable denomination (the Presbyterian) had gone too far in their religious zeal and had given cause for suspicion to the feeble-minded. They declare Sunday schools good but not when they are used to entice their young to other denominations,—they esteem missionary societies but not when

they are used to make proselytes to other churches. They add a statement which threw them on the side of their members and against these things, as they say they had no desire to mingle church affairs with state affairs, and therefore will not aid in opposing Sunday mails; that the German Reformed have no Bible Society in their synod; that the Reformed have a missionary society it is true, but its object is to send ministers to destitute parts of the country. This action was signed by every minister in the classis with one exception, Rev. S. Helffenstein, who showed his protest by leaving the meeting and going home.

This action was at once taken up as hostile to the best interests of religion. The *New York Observer* criticized it severely. So did Dr. Mayer.* But his article never was finished. Perhaps he had received a quiet hint from the members of East Pennsylvania classis that enough had been said. The agitation against these forward movements in the Church gradually died out, although as late as 1842 some of the citizens of Upper Mahanoy and Jackson Townships held a meeting to take action against such church societies and organizations. Dr. Mayer, in a private letter to Rev. Dr. Wolff, says: "The spirit of the late meetings in Lancaster, Berks and Philadelphia Counties in opposition to all religious activity prevails with great violence among the ignorant and vicious of that region and ministers have abandoned the ground to the enemy. This opposition to incorporated religious societies existed considerably within our Church, for Dr. Mayer, as editor of the "Magazine of the German Reformed Church," was severely criticised for an article published in 1828, favorable to the American Tract Society and to the distribution of German tracts. Dr. Mayer replied by asking from the critic for proof whether he is right or wrong. He claims, however, that the object of a religious publication is the spiritual improvement of the church and therefore the article was proper. Dr. Nevins, in writing of this agitation of 1829, said it shook the Church.

SECTION 6. THE RETURN OF THE FREE SYNOD.

As the years rolled on, the causes that led to the separation of the synods gradually passed away. The bitterness and personalities indulged in at the beginning had long since been forgotten. Whatever conservatism the Free synod may have had at its beginning, it becomes on some things more aggressive than the old synod, and the extreme progressiveness of some of the old synod for the seminary had been tempered by time and by the difficulties in establishing it. The ministers of the one synod would occasionally attend the other synod

*See "Magazine of the Reformed Church," September, 1829.

and found themselves cordially received. The feeling gradually grew that the two synods were too nearly alike to remain separated. The personal cause of the Free synod, the disciplining of Frederick Herman by the old synod, had been removed as he had been received back into the old synod. The younger members of the synod, who had no personal grievance, felt their synod had no apparent mission. It needed but a slight providence to be the cause of bringing them together again. This occurred at the meeting of the Free synod in 1836.

That synod was held September 18, 1836, at Salem's Reformed Church, Philadelphia. Rev. T. H. Leinbach was elected president. Old Professor F. L. Herman was present at its sessions but was frequently absent on account of illness. As he was supposed to be opposed to any union this hindrance was providentially set aside. It seems that a delegate from the Lutheran Synod brought before them a proposal from the Lutheran Synod looking toward union. It was kindly received but led to an entirely different result. In the discussion that followed, one of the members of the Free synod stated that he had conferred with Dr. Milledoler, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and offered a resolution that the Free synod take measures to unite with the Dutch. After he had finished his remarks, there was perfect silence for about five minutes. Everyone seemed to feel that a crisis had come in the history of the synod. Then Rev. Mr. Dubbs rose and stated that he was in favor of union, but of union of a different kind, namely, with the synod of the German Reformed Church. "We are German Reformed," he said, "and not Dutch Reformed." He feared union with the Dutch might produce confusion and heart-burnings and proposed that, laying aside all personal feelings and looking only to the best interests of the Church, the synod take measures to promote union with the German Reformed synod. Rev. J. S. Ebaugh rose and asked him to commit what he had said to writing, which he did, offering the resolution that the Free synod appoint three delegates to attend the next meeting of the old synod and report the result to the next session of the

Free synod. Dubbs was supported in his position by other members of the Free synod as Bibighaus, Guldin and Ebaugh. After considerable discussion the resolution was adopted and three delegates, Dubbs, Guldin and Charles G. Herman, were appointed. Two of the delegates attended the next meeting of the old synod at Baltimore, Dubbs and Guldin, C. G. Herman having been providentially detained at home. It happened that while they were on their way to Baltimore, Dubbs accidentally met Rev. J. C. Becker, D.D., of the old synod, who was surprised and delighted to hear of their mission. The two delegates were very cordially received by the old synod. Their overtures were referred to a committee, with J. C. Becker as chairman. It reported favorably on their reception as a body. There was some discussion about their admission. Some of the members were not so favorable at first because some of the members of the Free synod had been under suspension in the old synod, especially Ebaugh (who, as we shall see, had given the old synod a great deal of trouble in regard to the seminary at Carlisle), and also Hassinger and Leidy.* Gutelius also thought that it was not possible to arrange a union between the synods. Dubbs replied that the Free synod had received these ministers without knowing they were under censure. Besides, if they were received back into the old synod, that synod could then deal with them again by disciplining them, whereas now they could not reach them. Smaltz said, "Perhaps Ebaugh had changed," and Berg said "it was our duty to forgive." Gutelius replied that he would stand alone as he had done once before in the synod. The only real opposition came because the Free synod had been somewhat careless in granting license. But when the final vote was taken it was unanimous in favor of union.

*To show the feeling that had existed, it might be mentioned that some years before in 1828 the old synod had received Schneck, one of the members of the Free synod. At that time there was some objection to his reception because he had been ordained by the Free synod, and this was looked upon as irregular by the old synod because performed by a body in secession. But this objection was overruled by the synod and after he had sustained a satisfactory examination he was received into membership. By this time, however, most of that feeling had passed away.

The next meeting of the Free synod was held at Pottstown in 1837. The delegates to the old synod presented their report. It was found, however, that there was unexpected opposition, as old Dr. Herman was said to be opposed to the union and his influence was still great in the synod. But he was no longer able to control that body as he used to do in its early days. Most of its members had determined to return to the old synod. So, after considerable discussion, the report of the delegates was ratified and the Free synod passed into the old synod and the schism of fifteen years (1822-1837) was healed.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND THE COLLEGE.

SECTION 1. THE FOUNDING OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The seminary project had been formally launched in 1820. We have already seen some of the opposition to it in the Free synod movement. We will now look at its history in connection with the old synod. Here various difficulties arose, mainly educational and financial.

The first was the declination of Rev. Milledoler. He has been at times severely criticized by some in our church for this action. But on careful study, the criticism does not seem to be just. It is to be remembered that from the first, his congregation in New York was very bitterly opposed to his acceptance. Besides, there was the uncertainty about the raising of sufficient funds for the seminary. So, before February 15, 1821, he sent his declination to the managers of the seminary. He has been charged with keeping our Church in suspense for a long while. But it is to be remembered that his later actions were the result of the advice of the managers of the seminary. At a meeting in March, 1821, it was at their request that he finally agreed to suspend his decision while they made desperate efforts to raise the necessary funds. He was finally persuaded by them to accept conditionally, conditioned however, that if by the next synod sufficient funds were not at hand, he would be at liberty to withdraw.

The synod of 1821, instead of clearing up matters brought them into greater confusion. It was a stormy synod, as we have seen. But it approved the location of the seminary and Dr. Milledoler's election, which had been criticized by some. In that regard, it was a gain. He was now the choice of the whole Church. But the synod desired him to give instruc-

tion in German as well as in English, which, however, was not agreeable to him. The financial aspect, too, began to clear up. Dr. Mayer reported cash and subscriptions amounting to \$22,500, and that nearly \$30,000 was in sight. Of this, however, \$14,500 was conditioned on Dr. Milledoler's acceptance. On account of the favorable appearance of things, Dr. Milledoler, in December, 1821, accepted the call and arrangements were made for his installation at Baltimore, June 18, 1822.

But now two events occurred to change everything. His consistory at the last moment refused to let him go. And at the same time the Free synod had sprung into existence and was rapidly spreading in eastern Pennsylvania, revealing division in the church and protesting against his election. He, therefore, in March, sent his declination to the managers of the seminary. His letter reveals that he was influenced in his decision by the action of his consistory and by the dissensions that had appeared in the German Reformed Church, especially in the formation of the Free synod and in the action of the West Pennsylvania classis, which urged the appointment also of a German professor. He says that "H." and "V d S." declared that the seminary would not have their support.

The resignation of Dr. Milledoler left everything at loose ends. The subscriptions, conditioned on his acceptance, of course fell, as also did many of the others. The Church was now faced by the difficult problem of finding a suitable person to be professor. Rev. S. Helffenstein was in favor of calling another convention-synod to select a professor. Hinsch and others thought that a suitable person should be imported from Germany, but Dr. Mayer was suspicious of this lest, as he says, they might get "a cat in a bag."

The action of the classes in 1822 reveal the varied state of opinion in the Church. Philadelphia classis favored the calling of a convention-synod. North Carolina classis also asked synod not to elect a professor even temporarily but to call a convention-synod. Zion's classis asked that a professor be elected as soon as possible. Northampton classis asked Becker as its representative in the seminary corporation to ask them

not to elect a professor but to postpone it until synod met on account of the restlessness in the Church.

The synod of 1822 at Harrisburg revealed a reaction. Instead of the progressiveness and seeming extravagance of the synod of 1820, it now went to the other extreme of penny-wise economy and conservatism. Harrisburg loomed up as a suitable site and it was suggested that the professor be also pastor there and the salary (\$1,000) be divided between the congregation and the synod.

But there was a difficulty in the way. The pastor of the Harrisburg congregation at that time was Rev. John Winebrenner. An influential party in the congregation were seeking to get rid of him and thought this a good method of doing so. It made the proposition to the synod and a committee was appointed to confer with the Harrisburg congregation. The consistory were favorable to it, but Winebrenner sought for time to consider it. And so the synod had to leave the matter with a committee. The synod, however, changed the constitution of the board of managers from having only ministers to nine ministers and three laymen.*

As if prophetic of the future location of the seminary, some of the classes in 1823 took action about Franklin College at Lancaster. Zion's classis declared against applying funds to that institution. Lebanon classis declared that under no circumstances should our synod relinquish its share in the college. North Carolina classis declared that the plan to place the seminary at Harrisburg would fail and asked synod that the plan be given up for the present. Maryland Classis asked that, as there seemed to be no hope of founding the seminary, synod give permission to found a society which should labor toward founding such a school.

The synod of 1823 appointed a committee to confer with the delegates of the Harrisburg congregation, Judge Bucher and F. Kelker. They reported that their congregation was without a pastor and that the way was open to enter into the

*This was the synod which the Governor of Pennsylvania, Joseph Hiester, visited in person and was recognized and received by them standing. He was a prominent member of our church.

arrangement. The synod therefore chose Harrisburg as the location and elected a professor. Three candidates were named: S. Helffenstein, L. Mayer and J. C. Becker. On the first ballot the votes were nearly equal. But on the third ballot Mayer withdrew and Helffenstein was elected at a salary of \$1,000, one-half of which was to be paid by the Harrisburg congregation to him as pastor. Dr. Helffenstein was a very worthy selection. He was descended from a family of preachers both in Germany and here. He was himself one of the ablest and most influential of the ministers in the church. Besides, he had ample experience in this line of work, because for years he had been preparing young men for the ministry in his own private theological seminary at Philadelphia.

But after the synod adjourned, it became evident that the way was not clear yet. The Harrisburg charge got into controversy with Winebrenner, who had a considerable following in it. He continued to officiate in the country congregations belonging to it, as Shoup's and Wenrich's. His opponents in the Harrisburg charge brought charges against him to the synod of 1824, which, however, sent the matter for decision down to Lebanon classis, to which the charge belonged. Winebrenner, however, did not go to Lebanon Classis but to Susquehanna classis, to which Harrisburg had belonged before 1822, on the plea that the synod had transferred the congregation but not himself to Lebanon classis. And, strange to say, in this he was supported by a majority of votes in that classis, which complicated matters still more. It brought up the constitutional question whether the transfer of a congregation also meant the transfer of its pastor or not, a point which synod had never before decided. It arrayed one classis against another—Susquehanna against Lebanon. Lebanon classis declared Harrisburg vacant. Winebrenner then appealed to synod which very properly in 1825 sustained Lebanon classis. Finally, after three years of this controversy, Winebrenner wrote a letter, November 2, 1825, stating that he had in contemplation the formation of a new denomination. His case was continued in the church courts until 1828, when synod finally excluded him. He then, in 1830, or-

ganized the denomination which he called "The Church of God" and which was a combination of the Methodist and Baptist principles.

Winebrenner had not at first opposed the seminary project, but had been quite sanguine in it, for in 1821 he pledged \$200 a year toward it. It has been suggested that later, when he found that Harrisburg would be its location, he conceived the notion that, as he was pastor there, he might be elected professor. But he was as yet too young a man for such a position, having been only two years in the ministry. While he afterwards revealed elements of ability and became a man of considerable talents and popular gifts, he was as yet untried and his later course shows how unreliable he would have proved in the professor's chair. It has been said that he was driven out of our church because he was a revivalist. That is not true, for at that time there were other men in the synod as full of revival zeal as he. It was his continued insubordination that drove him out. He had refused to notice the citations of synod and had begun preaching against infant baptism. Synod finally, after waiting for years, deposed him. Synod did not act hastily, as if glad to get rid of him, but carried it along, hoping for a reconciliation. The great opposition to revivals did not begin till about 1844, after Dr. Nevins wrote his tract on the Anxious Bench. And with the writing of this book, as we shall see, Winebrenner had inadvertently something to do.

The seminary movement thus far seemed to have brought only harm and no good. It had a professor-elect, Dr. Helfenstein, but no place for the seminary. And the result had been two schisms in the church, the first the Free synod in 1822, and later about 1830 the organization of the "Church of God" under Winebrenner.

But the darkest day is just before the dawn. The Synod of 1823 found the church divided as to the best policy. Philadelphia classis asked for a further postponement and suggested there be a board of three or four ministers to examine young candidates as also did Northampton classis. Maryland, with its usual boldness, was ready to shoulder the movement

alone by erecting a seminary, but Philadelphia classis objected to synod giving any such authority to any classis. Susquehanna and Lebanon classes left it to the wisdom of the synod.

The synod of 1824 was a convention-synod, not a delegate-synod. So the whole church was virtually present to come to a final decision on this important question. This synod revealed another critical time in the history of the seminary. In 1821 the difficulty had been between the German and English sections of the church. In 1824 the difficulty was that the church was becoming disheartened with the repeated difficulties which had come up one after the other. So great was the opposition to going forward that the whole matter virtually rested on one vote. When the vote was taken it resulted in a tie. Then the president, Dr. Hendel saved the day by voting, saying, "I vote for the seminary," adding, on account of the opposition to it: "I have broad shoulders and can carry very much." (He had to carry much for voting thus, for because of it he afterward resigned his charge.) His course was considered all the more remarkable, since he came from a section of the state that was German and prevailingly conservative.

Fortunately at this synod there came an offer from the trustees of Dickinson College, a Presbyterian institution at Carlisle.* Dr. Cathcart, its president, thought it would be strengthened by an alliance with our Church, and so he made overtures. He made a liberal proposition, offering the use of the lecture-room in the college and the conveyance of a lot 100 feet square for the erection of suitable buildings, and also giving to the students the use of the college library and granting tuition free of charge in all lectures in moral philosophy, evidences of Christianity, natural theology and political economics. They would pay the house-rent of the professor, for which he, in turn, was to teach history and German in the college and also be a member of the faculty. This proposition was accepted, although the report of the committee led by Hinsch, the leading representative of the uncompromising

*It had been founded 1783 but had been declining because other institutions had been started.

Germans, reads as if the leading purpose of the seminary were the perpetuation of the German consciousness and literature.*

The synod having at last found a place for the seminary renewed the call to Rev. S. Helffenstein to be professor of theology and elected Rev. L. Mayer as his alternate. Dr. Helffenstein declined the call, so it was offered to Dr. Mayer, who accepted it at a salary of \$700. Dr. Mayer was a suitable person for the position in many respects. Although he did not have the advantages of a college training (very few of the ministers then were college graduates), yet he had had a fine classical education and had been a diligent student. His theological studies had been under Rev. Daniel Wagner, one of the most pious and judicious ministers of our church. He had not had an experience in educating young men for the ministry like S. Helffenstein or J. C. Becker. He, however, had been a leader of the seminary party in the synod since its beginning and had borne much of the brunt of the opposition to it. He was, therefore, the natural choice of the synod for a position which he had so largely helped to create. With some diffidence and reluctance he accepted it, rather from a sense of duty than of the honor connected with it. He thus wrote about his acceptance of it more than ten years later:

"When I accepted the call, the prospect of establishing a seminary was so dark and discouraging, that no brother whose situation was pleasant could have been induced to accept it. I gave up a certainty for an uncertainty, relinquishing a better living and subjected myself to a sense of untried labor, resolved at the hazard of all I found dear, to make the effort to lay the foundation of an institution which I hoped would be a blessing to the church for ages to come."

Before he began his work, he visited the theological seminaries at Princeton and New Brunswick, seeking information about studies and books. He then returned to Carlisle after a twenty-two days' trip and opened the seminary March 11, 1825, with five students (one of them a Lutheran), John Frederick Huber, of Bedford; Henry Wagoner, of Centre

*Appel calls attention to the interesting custom of our synod at that time, that the ministers all sat in a row on the front seats around the chancel, arranged according to age. The elders sat behind them in like order. The ministers spoke according to their seniority of age.

County; John Fritchey, of Dauphin County; John H. Crawford, of Frederick County, Md., and Daniel Heilig, of Cumberland County. Of these Huber alone had considerable preparation. The rest were raw young men. "I am obliged," he said, "to teach them the rudiments of Greek and even of the grammar of their mother-tongue." He taught them the first chapter of Genesis, Shuckford's Connections and Greek. For dogmatics he used Stapfer's as well as Mursinna's. He delivered his Inaugural Address April 6, at Carlisle. It was an Evangelical defense of Christianity and the Bible. In it he says of his work that "the course in the institution was designed to be Biblical, not scholastic. Our principal book will be the Bible and an instant eye will be kept on the religious character of the students. Nothing inconsistent with piety will be allowed."

SECTION 2. HISTORY OF THE SEMINARY AT CARLISLE (1825-29).

The seminary was now at last opened, but its course was not smooth. It had five students, \$300 in funds and a library of 100 volumes. Its first difficulty was lack of students. In November, 1825, there were ten. Then, in the fall of 1826, they fell off to eight, but rose to twelve in January, 1827, and at the beginning of 1828 to thirteen. Another difficulty arose from the relations of the seminary to Dickinson College. The students of the college did not care to study German and the recitation room of the seminary was found to be unsatisfactory because of the pranks of the students. As the college was itself continually embarrassed for want of funds, Dr. Mayer was not willing that they should pay his house-rent without being able to render the college some equivalent, so the next synod (1826) agreed to pay his house-rent. This set him freer in his relations to the college. Reily speaks of a misunderstanding between Dr. Mayer and some of the trustees of the college, but does not state what it was.*

The financial difficulties of the seminary were the most serious. The agents of the seminary had been able to raise very

*From 1825-1828 Dr. Mayer is mentioned in the catalogues of Dickinson College as professor of history and German.

little money. Dr. Mayer reported that up to Oct. 1, 1826, only four ministers had taken up a collection for the seminary, which, all told, amounted to about fifty-eight dollars.

Then it was that one of the most faithful friends of the college, Rev. J. R. Reily, pastor of the church at Hagerstown, suddenly conceived the notion that money could be raised in Europe. He almost took away the breath of the board of managers by the proposition. He rode up to the house of Dr. Bernard Wolff's father at Martinsburg, Va., sprang from his fine horse to the pavement, grasped the hand of young Wolff and startled him by saying, "I am going to Germany." "But you are not on your way," replied Wolff. "No, but I soon will be. Wait till I get in the house and I will tell you." They went in and he told Wolff of the idea which had struck his mind on the way. When the matter was brought before the seminary board on April 25, the board was at first somewhat doubtful whether it ought to undertake such risks. But Mr. Reily was ready to father all losses if there be any, while the seminary was to get all the profits. All he asked was that if successful, his salary might be paid out of the fund. Still many looked on it as a wild-goose chase.

He went on his journey with the recommendations of the board. To the surprise of many, he made a wonderful success at it. He was, however, admirably fitted to it. He was of Irish and German descent, and combined in himself the best elements of both nationalities. He was as well equipped in German as in English, and to the thoroughness and patience of the German he added the fluent oratory and quick wit of the Irishman. On the floor of synod he was the equal of any in debate.

He sailed from Newcastle, Delaware, May 20, 1825, and arrived safely at London. There Rev. Mr. Ziska, pastor of the German Reformed Church, encouraged him and gave him letters to Germany. Rev. Dr. Wer-ninck, the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church of London, gave him letters of introduction to Holland which proved of the greatest value to him in giving him a hearing in that land. On June 23 he arrived at Rotterdam, but getting no aid he went to The Hague, where he also met with no success. He then went to Leyden and Haarlem; at the latter place, Rev. Dr. Haacke encouraged him to go to Amsterdam. There

Rev. Dr. Weyland, to whom he had a letter of introduction, encouraged him, recalling the fact that there had once been a Pennsylvania fund in the Holland churches.* He counselled him to wait until the synod of South Holland would meet at the Hague, July 6th, which he did. He went to the synod with letters of introduction and recommendation from Dr. Weyland. The synod cordially welcomed him.

This was the first time that the mother-church of the Netherlands and the daughter-church in America had been brought face to face since their separation in 1792, 33 years before. He inquired about the fund that had belonged to the Pennsylvania churches and was afterwards notified by the president that it had been distributed to destitute churches. However, the synod appointed a committee to confer with him and voted 1,000 guilders (\$400) for the seminary in the hope that the broken-off correspondence between the two churches might be restored. And now, having the authority of the synod, liberal gifts began to come in. At Utrecht the Shunaman brothers had the appeal of our seminary board translated into Dutch and printed at their own expense, with an introduction by Professors Heringa and Schroeder, of the University of Utrecht, and Rev. Mr. Weyland. Reily succeeded in interesting prominent ministers in Haarlem, Leyden, Hague, Rotterdam and Schiedam. On October 7 he left for Germany. At Elberfeld, Oct. 25, that Reformed centre of Germany, he was most cordially received. The Appeal of the seminary board was reprinted in German and distributed. At Saren, near Muehlheim, he called to see Rev. Mr. Stahlschmidt, then aged 85, who had labored in our church in America at the beginning of the revolution. He was glad to see some one from his former church in America, but died soon after Reily's visit. Reily visited Dusseldorf, Crefeld, Cologne, Mayence and Frankford. He arrived at Heidelberg (Nov. 18), where he was ably supported in his efforts by Professors Daub and Schwartz, and by Rev. Mr. Dittenberger, who collected books for the seminary library. At Stuttgart the king of Wurtemberg gave him permission to take up collections. At Tuebingen Prof. Staeudal aided him. He then left Germany for Switzerland, going first to Schaffhausen (Dec. 29) and to Basle (Jan. 7). At Basle he received his most cordial welcome in that land. He stayed six weeks with Mr. Stahelin and created great interest among the ministry in his work. Prof. De Wette became so interested that he wrote a pamphlet on the seminary which was published by Spittler, an elder of the Reformed Church of Basle. This pamphlet contained the letter of Hengel, the president of our synod, and Hinsch, its secretary, and the endorsement of the seminary by Governor Schulze of Pennsylvania, Henry Clay and others. It gave a brief history of the German Reformed Church

*See my "History of the Reformed Church in the U. S.," pages 666-673.

in America, of Reily's journey, the articles of the seminary and its opening, also letters of recommendation by Veith, antistes of Schaffhausen, dated Jan. 1, 1826, also of the Dutch ministers and of Inspector Blumhardt of the Basle Mission-house. DeWette offered to continue raising funds for the seminary and to continue the publication of reports on the condition of the church in America.

Reily then visited Zurich where Antistes Hess, then 80 years of age, although too old to do much personally for him, yet endorsed his efforts and issued a circular commending him, which brought in considerable money and books. He also visited Bern and Geneva successfully. Indeed he was so successful in pleading his cause that ladies gave their jewelry and one gave her gold watch. But unfortunately his health, which had been restored by the ocean voyage, broke down and he was prevented from going to the more distant parts of Switzerland. He, however, recommended to the seminary a young tutor at Basle (who was willing to come to America) that he might become the second professor in the seminary. Dr. Mayer generously offered to give up his position in Dickinson College to him if he would come, so that his appointment might conciliate the German brethren who were still somewhat lukewarm toward the seminary.

From Switzerland Reily returned to Germany. At Darmstadt, Van Ess gave him 500 copies of his New Testament for the poor people of America. At Leipsic the booksellers aided him with gifts of books. At Berlin, though unwell, he was very cordially welcomed by the King of Prussia, who was a warm adherent of the Heidelberg Catechism. The king gave him 200 rix-dollars and the royal sanction to collect funds (June 18, 1826). He was supported in this by the press and the ministers. A female society was there formed to aid the seminary. He then went to Hamburg and Bremen, where he also raised money. Then he traveled to Amsterdam, Leyden, Liverpool, whence he sailed (Oct. 14), arriving at Philadelphia Nov. 16, after an absence of a year and a half.

1826 The total amount raised by him was \$6,695, to which were added about 5,000 books. The shipping of these cost \$1,653, leaving \$5,042 for the seminary. But more important than the money returns, etc., from this trip was the impulse it gave to our church in seminary matters, for it served to rouse our congregations. If foreigners were so willing to do so much, our churches felt it their duty to do more.

During Reily's absence in Europe an interesting correspondence occurred. It is very hard to find any material on the period of the seminary at Carlisle, but Dr. Mayer's letters to Reily give some very interesting sidelights to it. These letters

were written 1825-6, and have been published in the *Hausfreund* in 1879. From these we see that in the first years of the seminary's existence, its future was by no means assured.

One of the letters says that if the seminary project fails, then Maryland and Zion's classes will unite together to raise money so that young men can be educated in an eastern seminary. In his first letter, March 25, Dr. Mayer says: "Your mission to Europe is my chief source of encouragement." It seems that although the board of directors of the seminary had assumed no responsibility for Reily's success in Europe, yet after all his lack of success would have been a severe blow, while his success abroad would stimulate greater efforts at home.

On October 7, 1825, Dr. Mayer writes that he had laid Reily's letter before the synod, stating that he had been raising money and getting books and that they had produced a great impression. As a result all opposition to the seminary was given up, although on the part of a few ministers there was still a decided indifference. He refers to a suggestion Reily had made of getting a second professor from Germany, and says that there was some opposition to it, and that before it was done the support of the first professorship must be better provided for. He also says that the students of Princeton seminary had begun to take a lively interest in the new seminary and were remembering them in their prayers,—that some of them expected to come to the seminary so as to catch the German spirit and be better prepared for work among the Germans. In a later letter, June 28, 1826, he tells Reily that one of the Princeton students, Binger, had entered the seminary and was helping him in teaching Hebrew and Greek. He speaks of forming a Mission Society which would be auxiliary to the one in Princeton.

In Dec., 1825, Dr. Mayer reveals the gravity of the situation. He says: "Your lack of success abroad would be the signal for an open and strong opposition against the seminary by its enemies and perhaps for its being closed because of lack of confidence by its friends. If that were to happen, it was to be expected that Socinian errors would be widely scattered by a small party who are opposed to the seminary because its Evangelical principles oppose their views." (This is the only reference we have yet been able to find in our many researches to any element of rationalism in our church. To whom it refers we do not know. If to the members of the Herman Synod, he is mistaken and his statement is due to prejudice, for Dr. Herman was Evangelical. It would seem, however, that he refers to an element in the old synod, who were in a position to injure the seminary if Reily failed, which the Hermanites could not do. But as Mayer and the seminary party became victorious it is evident this Socinian element was small and not influential. Our Church as a Church was orthodox.)

Later another effort to raise funds for the seminary was attempted by the organization of educational societies, a number of which were organized in congregations and classes. But the financial problem was always a difficult one and the seminary ran back in its finances. In 1828 a new scheme was evolved by Elder Jacob Myers, of Virginia, to raise \$10,000 by \$100 subscriptions so as to complete the endowment. In less than a year the amount was raised, mainly through the efforts of Rev. Jacob Beecher, of Shepherdstown, a young minister of devoted piety and great energy, who had just entered our ministry. Mr. Beecher's congregation, though not strong, contributed one-tenth of the amount. Beecher, like Rice later, broke down his health by overwork for the seminary and died prematurely. Mr. B. C. Wolff also collected for this \$100 fund, raising \$1,200 in New York City, of which Col. Rutgers gave \$200 and John Jacob Astor, the millionaire, \$50. Dr. Mayer, in May, 1829, reported that the total subscriptions were \$10,719.17, but the Synod of 1830 reported that only part of it had been paid in.

Another complication that came up was the difficulty in getting a charter and the unfortunate controversy that came out of it. The Synod in 1825 had appointed a committee to procure a charter from the legislature of Pennsylvania. A charter satisfactory to the synod had been prepared. But although it passed the senate, the house left it slumber in committee. There was a very strong prejudice in some quarters of the state, as we saw in the chapter on the Free synod, against chartering religious corporations. Many looked upon it as giving too much power to the church over the state and leading to their union. When the next synod (1826) learned that the last legislature had pigeon-holed the charter, it appointed a committee of five gentlemen prominent in the state, Judge Bucher, Gabriel Hiester, surveyor general of the state, Dr. Luther Reily and J. P. Helffenstein to aid the directors in securing a charter in the legislative session (1826-7). Finding this difficult, they placed the matter in the hand of Rev. Mr. Ebaugh, the pastor at Carlisle, who claimed to have been appointed agent for the seminary. He still further compli-

cated matters. By nature an enthusiast and visionary, he conceived the idea that the seminary ought to buy the Reformed church and parsonage at Carlisle. The value of the property was about \$5,000. He offered to collect the amount in Cumberland County. This would have enabled the congregation to build a new church. To this plan five members of the seminary board, (less than a quorum) agreed on May 24, 1826, and the consistory of the church also agreed to it. Mr. Ebaugh looked on this transaction as a contract, entered into by the directors of the seminary with the congregation. But the majority of the directors did not so view it, but only as advisory. The synod, they said, must approve or reject the purchase. This synod did not do but claimed it was not binding. Meanwhile, Mr. Ebaugh had gone ahead, collected a thousand dollars in subscriptions and also some books. He and his congregation had the Reformed church altered into a lecture room and some of the classes of the seminary used it. They also began building a new church. The result was (as the directors claimed they were not bound to him, as the synod gave them no authority,*) that the church became bankrupt. Their new building was sold and purchased by the Methodists.

While Ebaugh was thus complicating matters financially, he was in the meanwhile also complicating the matter of the charter. After the matter had been placed in his own hands, what did he do but on his own authority amend the charter by changing it so as to give the synod less authority and give more authority to the board itself. He omitted articles which gave to the synod the absolute control of the seminary, of its property and of the election of professors. These matters were placed in the hands of the directors. This gave the directors such great powers that it virtually made them a close corporation. He then appealed to the supreme court for a charter, instead of to the legislature as synod had ordered, and it granted the charter.

*Ebaugh's consistory, after synod had met, forbade him to go any farther in collecting money, as synod was not favorable to his proposals and did not promise to make Carlisle the permanent location of the seminary.

The next synod (1827) repudiated this charter and ordered the articles omitted by Ebaugh to be restored. It also changed the charter so as to allow its removal from Carlisle, if deemed necessary. (Ebaugh had had it stated in his charter that it must remain at Carlisle.) But the synod, while rejecting the charter, unfortunately for the sake of a compromise, left the old directors in office. It appointed a committee, with Rev. Mr. Reily, as chairman, to apply for a charter to the legislature and not to the supreme court. He could have gained it if he had been sustained by all the members of the committee, but there was one member on the committee who, in spite of its adoption by synod, prevented the verdict. So when the next synod (1828) met, there was still no charter. The synod, having by this time lost faith in Ebaugh's judgment and lost patience at his actions, now took matters into its own hands and appointed a committee of five to take charge of all the property of the seminary and instructed that nothing be paid out except by order of this committee. Reily was again instructed to secure a charter. This was a great disappointment to Ebaugh and he entered his protest, which synod did not heed, and later Hinsch, Ebaugh and Jacob Hendel as a committee of the board filed a protest.

In the meantime another difficulty came up. The charter rejected by the synod had of course by that act become a dead letter. But as the directors named in it were retained as directors of the synod, it had, as a legal document, a certain degree of vitality. The members present at a board meeting under the pseudo-charter, gave Ebaugh a judgment bond of \$2,024 against the seminary for losses sustained by the Reformed congregation in Carlisle in building their church, as it was sold by the sheriff at that much less than cost. So Ebaugh had sold, as the property of the seminary, the Reformed church parsonage and three lots, although the seminary never had any papers of transfer or deeds for any of it. This property, said by Ebaugh to be worth \$7-8,000, was sold at only \$1,500, and the sheriff was authorized to get the balance out of any property the seminary might have.

Such was the state of affairs when the Synod of 1829 met. There was still no charter. The seminary was alienated from the Reformed church at Carlisle. Ebaugh was the bitter foe of Dr. Mayer. At this synod, Ebaugh read a statement vindicating himself and his friends. Reily, as chairman, replied and was supported by Dr. Mayer. All these things revealed the strained condition of affairs at Carlisle. Dr. Mayer wrote that as the sheriff was only waiting to levy, he was careful that no one should get the keys of the library. It was evident that Dr. Mayer and the seminary were very uncomfortable at Carlisle, also that the church at large had entirely lost faith in Ebaugh. So at this synod Dr. Mayer gave it as his view that Carlisle was not the place for the seminary. Besides the Cumberland Valley was a Scotch-Irish district, with comparatively few Germans and, therefore, was not sympathetic to our work, while York was located in a German settlement with many adherents of our Church and especially of Dr. Mayer, who had formerly been a pastor there. And Dr. Mayer also reported that there was no room at Carlisle for the library or for recitations, and he had to have them in his own house. The synod then, by a vote of twenty-three to one, ordered its transfer to York. This change originated with Rev. Dr. Catheart, pastor of the Presbyterian church at York, who suggested that probably considerable subscriptions might be there obtained. It is interesting to notice that if it had remained at Carlisle it might have become heir to Dickinson College which was later (1833) transferred from the Presbyterians to the Methodists. Had we remained, we would have been on the ground ready to take it. But evidently God's plan was otherwise.

Thus the seminary, after being about four and a half years at Carlisle, was removed to York. The number of students continued small, but these few were greatly needed by the Church and proved the usefulness of the seminary by becoming influential in the Church.

SECTION 3. THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT YORK AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL (1829-1835).

The seminary was opened at York November 11, 1829, with twelve students. Dr. Mayer, on his own responsibility, purchased a property for the seminary at the northwest corner of Market and Penn streets, which synod later accepted.*

An important step had been taken by the Synod of 1829 in the election of Rev. Daniel Young as professor. He was of Reformed ancestry but had been reared and educated in the Presbyterian Church. He was a brilliant young man and when delegate from the Presbyterian General Assembly to our synod in 1827 had made a most favorable impression. He was also elected to the editorship of the new "German Reformed Church Magazine." He was well versed in Hebrew and cognate languages and wrote an article in the Princeton Biblical Repertory (1829) on "The Sacred Poetry of the Early Christians" which reveals his Syriac studies. He also wrote a "Review of Essays and Dissertations on Biblical Literature" in the same work in 1830. In early life he had hoped to go as a missionary to Arabia, and so had made a special study of Arabic and Syriac. He understood German well. At first he taught Biblical literature, exegesis and church history. Unfortunately his health soon broke down and he was compelled to go south, where he died at Augusta, Georgia, in March, 1831. He was a beautiful Christian character and his death was a great loss to the seminary and the Church.

The most important step taken at York was the founding of a Classical School, which was opened in 1831.† So many students for the ministry came so poorly prepared that such a school became a necessity. The school seems at first to have been taught by Rev. Mr. Boyer, a Presbyterian minister, who had had charge of the York Academy, then by William A.

*It had been an old-time school-house and was about fifty feet in length.

†According to a well-founded tradition the classical school was started in a building on South George Street, adjoining the site of the present St. Mary's Catholic Church, says William Welsh. In this building the Goethean Society of Marshall College was founded.

Good, one of the few students in the seminary who had had the advantage of a good preparatory training and was therefore better qualified than most of the students. He taught during the summer term of 1832 "with much acceptance," says A. H. Kremer, one of his students. In September, 1832, Dr. Rauch was elected principal of the classical school and by the synod, professor in the seminary. Rev. John A. Agnew, formerly professor of languages in Washington College, had been appointed assistant. The latter resigned September, 1832, and Rev. H. Miller, a licentiate of the Free synod, was his successor till 1834. Later, Rev. Mr. Dober, of the Moravian Church of York, taught (1833-5).^{*} Finally Mr. S. W. Budd, later Prof. Budd, became teacher. The number of seminary students slowly increased, Mayer reporting fourteen in 1831. But it was especially the founding of the classical school and the coming of Prof. Rauch that gave the educational movement a boom. Rauch reported already in 1833 forty-seven students, and in 1834 seventy-six students. In 1834 the name was changed to High School, which was the German name for a small university.

But in spite of the prosperity of the seminary, its old troubles about the charter followed it. Ebaugh had tried to retain the seminary at Carlisle. As he could not do that, he made its departure as difficult as possible by taking out a judgment against the seminary for the amount of money which he said was due his church. As a result, the sheriff of York County, by reason of a process from Cumberland County, in which Carlisle was situated, levied on the property of the seminary and sold a part of the library, which Reily repurchased on his own responsibility and money. (When the charter troubles were over, he afterwards sold it to the seminary for what he here paid for it.) In return, the seminary took a process of trespass against the sheriff of York County. The lawyers of York, says Prof. Theodore Appel, were pitted against those of Carlisle. This suit was finally gained for the seminary in 1831. A motion, however, was made for a new

^{*}He used to say, "O, Hebrew; I have learned it seven times and forgotten it seven times."

trial and the decision of the jury was set aside by the court on a legal technicality. This further delayed and complicated the case. The seminary pressed its suit and the case was continued for a number of years, becoming known in the annals of the synod as the Sheriff Duncan case. It became a by-word at the synod's meetings, all becoming heartily tired of it, and nothing was ever expected to come out of it. But it was pressed by John L. Mayer, Esq., of York. (a son of Dr. Mayer and a leading lawyer), and in 1836 it was reported that the case with Ebaugh was settled. The costs of the suit were \$1,187, and this was apportioned among the classes. Synod finally made a full settlement in 1839. The suit against ex-Sheriff Duncan was continued. Rev. J. O. Miller, of York, and J. J. Naille, of Hanover, were a committee to take charge of it. They continued it until 1866, when they reported that the heirs of Duncan, to get rid of a lien which the committee had placed on their property, paid \$1,000 to the seminary. So closed one of the unpleasant experiences of the Church. Rev. Mr. Reily, after his return from Europe, learning of the difficulties that had come up through Ebaugh, retained the money and books he had collected in Germany until all the differences had been adjusted and a charter for the school obtained. After this was done he turned over both books and money, with interest, to the seminary in 1829. And finally the seminary gained its charter in 1831. But financial difficulties continued to harass the seminary. The increase in the number of students brought new expenses which the tuition fees did not cover. In November, 1832, Rev. Dr. Cathcart, of the Presbyterian church at York, made a suggestion that \$2,500 be raised by \$50 subscriptions. This was pushed and considerable money was realized. But in 1834 the agent of the seminary was dismissed at his own request, because the money collected was not sufficient for his expenses.

At a meeting of the Synod of 1835 the prospects of the seminary were very depressing, there being a deficit of over \$2,000, which had to be paid out of the synod's treasury. It looked as if there were some danger that Prof. Rauch would be compelled to resign for lack of support. He had flattering

offers from other institutions. One old minister at the synod hearing of this said, "he had flour and potatoes at home, but that if the prosperity of the High School required it, Rauch should eat the flour and he the potatoes."

So two new movements led to new unrest about the location of the seminary. The first was financial stringency, the second was the growth of the classical school toward a college. It was felt that something must be done to meet these two conditions. It had been expected that York would do much for the seminary, but she had done nothing, so its removal to another place was suggested. The subject of removal came up at the synod of 1834 at Pittsburg. As Pittsburg was so far from the centre of the synod, it was a small synod; so a convention was ordered to be held at Harrisburg in December to decide on the removal of the seminary. When this met, it declined to come to a decision. In June, 1835, a convention of ministers and the board of visitors decided to throw open the matter for bids. At the synod of 1835 propositions came in from Mercersburg, Chambersburg, Lancaster and also from York. Mercersburg was especially strongly championed by Rev. Jacob Mayer, the Reformed pastor there. He so interested that community that it made an offer of \$10,000 and also ground for a building and a house for the professors till their houses were built. Lancaster wanted the classical school, so as to add it to its Franklin College. Chambersburg also presented its claim through Rice, the Reformed pastor there. Prof. Dubbs says that the school might easily have been retained at York if there had been, as in the other places, any one to rouse the people to a sense of its importance. The Synod of 1835 decided for Mercersburg, probably on the ground of its gift of \$10,000 (of which only \$3,934.37 are said to have been paid,* although there was a promise held out then that the great railroad (later the Pennsylvania Railroad) would go west through Chambersburg and Mercersburg, a promise never fulfilled. There was, however, considerable opposition to the seminary

*Dubbs's History of Franklin and Marshall College, page 243, note.

removal at York, and among the students as well as in certain parts of the Church.*

Thirty-four students were graduated from the seminary while it was at York, many of whom soon became leaders in the Church. The classical school was removed in the fall of 1835. But the theological seminary was not removed at that time, for the board of trustees objected to its removal, fearing lest by consenting to the removal, the charter would be forfeited, the board dissolved and legal control of the funds lost. The treasurer refused to pay the salaries of the professors if it were removed to Mercersburg. For this reason and because of affliction in his family, Mayer refused to go to Mercersburg. The synod, however, took legal advice on this subject and, when the legal difficulty was removed, ordered the seminary also to be removed to Mercersburg. For this reason the seminary was not removed until 1837, a year and more after the removal of the preparatory school.

SECTION 4. THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT MERCERSBURG AND THE FOUNDING OF MARSHALL COLLEGE (1836-1844).

The Classical School opened at Mercersburg, November, 1835. It came from York with eighteen students and two professors, Rauch and Budd. The college soon after, March 31, 1836, received its charter from the State of Pennsylvania. The state also made an appropriation of \$12,000 towards its endowment, but required it to give tuition to twenty students free of charge. It was named after the late Chief-Justice Marshall who had died the year before, "out of respect to his exalted character, great worth and high mental attainments." Of the board of trustees of the college, Rev. Mr. Rice, pastor

*Rev. Moses Kieffer, in a reminiscence, tells the story that the students used to go out canvassing for the *Messenger*. A pious elder of one of the congregations met one of them, who was bemoaning the change and asked him what was the matter. He replied that the institutions were to be removed to Mercersburg, an out-of-the-way place,—a mudhole,—where there was no society or religion either, nothing but blue stockingism. "O," said the elder, "you must not take it so hard; Mercersburg will pay \$10,000 for the buildings." "Ten thousand dollars," he replied. "The ten students who are working for the *Messenger* could easily have raised \$10,000 for York in order to put up buildings."

of our church at Chambersburg, was made president. He greatly aided in securing money. The board, July 12, 1836, elected Prof. Rauch president of the college and also professor of Hebrew, Greek, German and evidences of Christianity. He was also to remain as before, professor of Biblical theology in the seminary. Prof. Budd was made professor of mathematics, chemistry, natural philosophy, etc. Rev. Mr. Berg, pastor at Harrisburg, was later elected professor of Latin and Greek. This action of the college board, in going ahead and organizing the college without waiting for the action of the synod, was criticized by some at the next synod.* The board replied that it became necessary for it to do so, as Dr. Rauch had an urgent call from Ohio and by electing him president he was induced to remain. A law school was also established in connection with the college in February, 1838, but located at Chambersburg. Judge Alexander Thompson was made professor of law in it. It continued in existence up to 1848, but was not closely identified with Marshall college except that its graduates received their degrees from the college. The Preparatory School was established as soon as the college was organized and Rev. W. A. Good† was made its first rector.

We can not pass from this notice of the beginnings of Marshall College without some reference to the Rev. Mr. Rice, the president of its first board of trustees. He was elected the agent of the college in 1836 and with his usual earnestness he undertook the work, his pulpit being supplied by neighboring brethren during his absence. He returned in the spring of 1837, having raised, it is said, nearly \$6,000 but at the sacrifice of his life, for he returned unwell and died on May 3. He was a most spiritually-minded, self-sacrificing man. When he died Marshall College was on his mind. As he died, he whispered to a friend at his bedside, "Give my love to the professors and tell them not to despond."

*Already the question was coming up whether the college should be under the direct or indirect control of the synod. The latter finally prevailed and it has been controlled by its own board, though reporting to the synod.

†The father of the author of this book.

The Theological School was not removed until 1837. A new building was erected for it, its corner-stone being laid August 17, 1836, when an English address was delivered by Rev. Mr. Rice, of Chambersburg, and a German address by Rev. William A. Good. Dr. Hendel had charge of the ceremonies. As the seminary virtually owed its existence to his vote at the Synod of 1824, he was very cordially welcomed. The building was completed by December, 1837, but Dr. Mayer refused to come to Mercersburg and had resigned February, 1837. Prof. Rauch was therefore the only professor of theology. Fortunately the number of theological students was small. Rauch reported, September 24, 1838, that there were only three, of whom two had to give up studying and only one (Bomberger) remained. The resignation of Dr. Mayer produced a new emergency in the Church. Lebanon, Maryland and Susquehanna classes requested that some one from our own Church be elected and the latter desired Prof. Mayer again. At the synod of 1838 there were three nominees, Smaltz, Willers and Mayer. The two former declined and Mayer was re-elected at a salary of \$1,000.

He removed to Mercersburg, re-opening the seminary November 9, 1838. He taught for one year (1838-9). At first everything went along harmoniously, but soon friction began to develop. Dr. Mayer was charged by some of the students with heretical teaching. Five of the students became dissatisfied and after one of them had interviewed Dr. Mayer to see if they were right in their understanding of his views, one of them went to Dr. Schneek at Chambersburg to notify him of their proposed withdrawal from the seminary. None of the students preferred any charges against Dr. Mayer. They only gave notice of their dissatisfaction. So the board of visitors was called together. The students one by one were brought before the board and examined. Afterward Dr. Mayer was interviewed by the board. The decision of the board was: (1) that the students had failed to understand Dr. Mayer correctly and (2) that he was advised to be more careful in the expression of his views so as not to be misunderstood. But the students

were not satisfied with this reflection on their ability to understand. So four of them* asked for letters of dismissal. Another left without dismissal and a sixth left to earn some money to pay his way through the seminary: so that by the end of the term there were only three students, G. Williard, Miller and Webb. Dr. Mayer became sick and resigned at the Synod of 1839. When the matter came up before synod there was a sharp discussion. Dr. Mayer attempted to vindicate himself and in so doing made statements that reflected on Prof. Rauch, who then replied at length. The synod accepted the resignation of Dr. Mayer, passing a vote of thanks for his faithful and valuable service.

The synod then proceeded to elect a successor. Three candidates were named: J. C. Becker, Willers and W. A. Good. Rev. Dr. Becker was elected. He was a man of ability and one of the last ministers to prepare students for the ministry privately. But he declined. The board of visitors then elected Rev. A. Helffenstein to the position temporarily but he declined. So all the theological teaching (1839-40) was given into the hands of Dr. Rauch again. He reported, however, that the number of students in the Fall of 1839 was increasing, being nine. Finally a special meeting of synod was held, February 5, 1840, at which Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., professor in the Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Allegheny City was elected. On May 20 of that year he was inaugurated as professor of theology.

But the college and seminary were called upon to pass through a very severe trial in the death of Prof. Rauch, on March 2, 1841. At his death Dr. Nevin was asked to accept the presidency, which he did. Dr. Nevin now had also the sole charge of the seminary, assisted only by a teacher of Hebrew.

The financial condition of the college still gave concern. Still, with the election of Dr. Nevin came new inspiration to lift the seminary out of its financial troubles. Rev. Jacob Mayer was appointed special agent for the seminary for eight years. Finally a movement was started in 1841 to put the col-

*Kieffer and A. Kremer, of the Class of 1839, and Gerhart and Martin, of the next class.

lege and seminary in a good financial condition by the offering of a Centenary fund. This movement was first suggested by Maryland classis, but was later ordered by the synod. Why they chose 1841 as the Centenary is not clear. Perhaps because the Philadelphia congregation had recently observed its centennial in 1839, or perhaps because Boehm's church, which was then reputed to be the oldest church, had over its door the date 1740. The Holland records, since discovered, reveal how wrong they were in observing this year as a centennial, for the centennial of the organization of the first congregation would have come in 1825 and of the coetus or synod in 1847, so that 1841 was not the Centenary of anything.* But right or wrong they observed this centennial and it turned out to be a financial success as a large amount of money was raised. The plan was to raise \$100,000, \$1,000 for each year of the existence of the synod.

The project was taken up with great alacrity in different parts of the church. Special meetings of the classes were held in order to further the movement. Mercersburg classis agreed to raise \$25,000 and Nevin called on Franklin County to raise \$10,000. At Mercersburg an enthusiastic meeting was held. Dr. Rauch pledged himself for \$500, as did Prof. Budd. Dr. Nevin gave \$1,000 for himself and family, the largest amount, says Dr. Appel, probably contributed during this Centenary year. As far west as Ohio the centennial movement found some support. Of the three district synods there, only the third took special action, for it resolved to gather \$20,000 for beneficiary students and missions. Maryland classis aimed to raise \$30,000. Much was raised in \$500 scholarships, payable in five years, and named after the congregations raising them or after individuals designated by them. Thus the Philadelphia congregation raised three scholarships and named them after their former pastors, Weyberg, Wynekehaus and Hendel. By August, Nevin reported upward of 100 scholarships taken. Various towns raised considerable,

*For in 1741 the Pennsylvania Reformed were in a sad condition. Boehm was trying to get the Holland Churches interested in us and the Holland fathers were trying but in vain to do something for our Churches.

Easton, \$1,200; Lebanon, in four days, \$4,300; North Carolina, \$5,000; Reading, \$4,-\$5,000 and expected to raise \$7,000. To stimulate the interest, Rev. S. R. Fisher wrote his excellent "Notes on the Palatinate Catechism," which were published in the *Messenger* and afterwards in book form. Dr. Nevin wrote a long series of articles in the *Messenger* on the "History of the Heidelberg Catechism," which were afterward published in book form but very much changed, altered and abbreviated to suit the later Mercersburg theology. Dr. Heiner also wrote a series of articles in the *Messenger* on the Swiss Reformers. A centennial hymn was published, written by Lydia Jane Pierson,* which was set to music by Rev. Dr. Schneek.

Thou, who are enthroned in glory,
Crowned with joy and robed
with grace,

Lo, we humbly bend before thee,
Offering up our songs of praise.
Mighty God and gracious Saviour,
Spirit of enduring grace,
Come in thine especial favor,
With thy glory fill this place.

Since our fathers — poor — and
strangers

Sought the western forest's
shade.

From Helvetia's vine-clad moun-
tains

Came a little friendless band.
By the rich Rhine's infant foun-
tains

Others left their fatherland.

See the star whose riding splendor
Heralded a Saviour's birth,
Now in its meridian splendor
Smiles upon the joyous earth.
Heart and hand and effort blend-
ing.

In its radiance now we meet,
And our mingled prayers ascend-
ing
Seek thee at the mercy seat.

Germany's bright streams are
flowing

Through the vales where others
dwelt,

O'er her mountain's winds are
blowing

Past the altars where they knelt.
Thou went with them o'er the
ocean

To these wilds where freedom
strayed,

'Neath her bowers with true de-
votion

First those grateful pilgrims
prayed.

We would celebrate the changes,
Which an hundred years have
made!

*Mrs. Lydia Jane Pierson set apart in 1847 500 volumes of her poems, "The Forest Minstrel," for the cause of Christian benevolence. Some of them were sold and \$85.00 were given to the benevolences of our Church.

Here the little vine increasing
Spread its branches green and
fair,

Now, by thine especial blessing,
See how wide thy vineyards are.
Come and take the ripened cluster,
All the vintage, Lord, is thine.
But let mercy temper justice
Where thou meet'st a fruitless
vine.

Humble are the gifts we offer,
Bless them in thy grace divine.
Thou wilt not despise the proffer
Though the universe is thine.

Make our gifts a rich oblation
Many a mourning heart to cheer:
While the light of thy salvation
Gilds each penitential tear.

Let our institutions flourish,
Sending forth a pious band
With the words of life to nourish
All who hunger through the
land.

Zion spreads her hands before
thee,
Come and in her temples reign,
While we give all praise and glory
To the Triune God. Amen.

Rev. Mr. Duenger also wrote a centennial hymn, which was printed and ordered to be sung by Susquehanna classis.

But the best effect of this Centenary was the uplift it gave to our Church as a denomination. It roused the Church and revealed her latent powers. The moral and spiritual effect was even greater than the financial, and the contributions relieved the college from its pressing financial necessities.

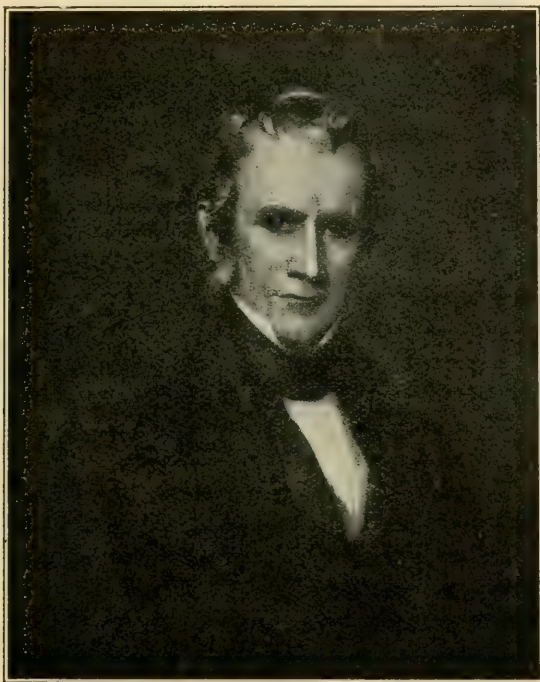
SECTION 5. REV. PROF. LEWIS MAYER, D.D.

Prof. Lewis Mayer was born at Lancaster, March 26, 1783. He was there carefully educated, paying special attention to the German language, which became of the greatest value to him later in his theological teaching. For a time he turned his attention to business, but at Frederick, where he had gone from Lancaster, he was awakened in soul. The preaching of the earnest and godly minister there, Rev. Daniel Wagner, led him to deep conviction of sin. He could find no peace day or night and was often in fearful darkness, even to the verge of despair. But at last light broke on his soul and with it came the joy of sins forgiven.*

Soon after his conversion, the claims of the gospel ministry began to lay hold on him and he studied theology under his pastor, Rev. Mr. Wagner, who read Latin, Greek and Hebrew

*For an account of his conversion, see *Western Missionary*, May 12, 1851.

fluently, having studied under Prof. Gross at New York. From Gross Wagner got his scholarship, from Hendel, his theological teacher, his spirituality. Mayer having already had an excellent preparatory training, was able to prepare himself rapidly for the ministry, so that he was licensed by the synod of 1807.



REV. PROF. LEWIS MAYER, D. D.

His first pastorate was at Shepherdstown, Va., where he labored twelve years. When his spiritual father and teacher, Wagner, died at Frederick in 1811, he preached the funeral sermon, a eulogy such as a Timothy would have given to Paul. The sermon was afterward published. He was then asked by the Frederick congregation to become a candidate for their pulpit, but he declined. In 1818, when the Baltimore congregation became vacant by the death of Rev. C. L. Becker, D.D.,

it urgently called him but he declined. From 1821 to 1825 he was pastor at York, Pa. Thus very early in his ministry he came to the front among the ministers of the church. This was partly due to his ability to preach in both the English and German languages at a time when few of the ministers could preach English, and also to his native ability and aggressive temperament. When the project of founding a seminary came before the church, he was one of its champions. By correspondence as well as on the floor of synod he urged it.

Prof. Mayer, as we have seen, became the first professor of the seminary in 1825, after Dr. S. Helffenstein had declined the honor. He entered on his professorship from a sense of duty. He said, "If no one accepts the professorship till it is a safe and profitable office, the seminary will never get into operation. If the Son of God gave himself for us, tell me when the duty of disinterested, thankful devotion to his service ends. I am willing to go as far as I know his holy will and what things are discouraging I leave to him." We have already followed his work in the seminary, first at Carlisle, then at York, and finally at Mercersburg. His work was laborious and successful except in the last year, when some of the students brought charges against his orthodoxy.

This whole subject is a difficult one, especially because some who charged him with heresy were later biassed in their opposition to him by their Mercersburg theology, whose beginnings Mayer opposed. Prof. T. G. Apple* charges Mayer with having varied from the accepted orthodoxy of the Church on the trinity, person of Christ, atonement and original sin. Prof. Theodore Appel† says he diverged on the trinity and person of Christ. Dubbs‡ says he had peculiar views on the trinity and eschatology. Prof. E. V. Gerhart adds that he lowered the supernatural in the miracles. Schaff§ says Mayer had been under DeWette's semi-rationalistic in-

*Semi-centennial of Theological Seminary, page 59.

†Beginnings of Seminary, page 94.

‡American Church History, Vol. VIII, page 360.

§Kirchenfreund, 1849.

fluence and adds he had no churchly sense,—his liturgy shows this as it is only a gathering of theological and sensible reflections. In this latter clause Schaff reveals the animus of a good deal of criticism against Mayer, namely, the bitter animosity of the Mercersburg men against him. Against Schaff, we should say that we find hardly a reference to De Wette in Mayer's dogmatics, though he frequently refers to other German theologians. Appel reveals the same bias when he says that under Mayer the German section of our Church had not yet come into much acquaintance or sympathy with the seminary. This is not true as some of the strongest supporters of the seminary as revealed by the synod and the Church papers were from the German part of our Church.

The history of the matter seems to be this: As early as 1834 there was an action of Maryland classis which says that in view of the repeated and unwarranted attacks on Dr. Mayer's orthodoxy, it declares its implicit confidence in his integrity, orthodoxy and piety and prayed the synod to treat with contempt all insinuations against him brought without good and sufficient evidence. On the other hand, we find a series of resolutions adopted later by East Pennsylvania Classis in 1839, reaffirming its adherence to orthodoxy. After a conference about the theological seminary, it passed resolutions

“praising the college and declaring its adherence to the authority and inspiration of the Bible, also to the seventh answer of the Catechism on original sin, opposing the views that man by the fall was only placed in an unfortunate position or had sinned only because his soul had been placed in a fleshly body. It also declared that according to the Catechism (answers 15, 33 and 35), Jesus is the eternal Son of God and it opposed the view that he had his origin in his human nature and was only clothed with divine attributes. It held that God exists as the trinity and declares that the view that God is only unity in any sense is unitarianism and a calumny on our doctrine. It held to the twelfth answer of the Catechism, and opposed the view that contemplates the death of Christ as only necessary to bring his perfect nature to light. All these were against the Bible and the doctrines of our Church.

This action was evidently aimed at Prof. Mayer, and it has been suggested on good authority that it was inspired by Rev. B. C. Wolff, then pastor at Easton, who seems to have been

prominent in this movement against Mayer. This action of East Pennsylvania Classis may have paved the way for his resignation to the synod. But when Mayer resigned he evidently retained the confidence of a large part of the Church, for both Susquehanna and Zion's Classes passed commendatory resolutions.

The only other sources to which we have access are his printed books and theological articles and also the manuscript notes of his dogmatics, of which we have two copies. In the latter we find no marked divergence from orthodoxy. But they give the impression that he wrote his dogmatics early in his professorship and did not change them; so that any later divergences would not be apt to appear. However, in one of his theological articles in the "Biblical Repository," 1840, on "The Sonship of Christ," he emphasizes the inferiority of the Son to the Father and claims that the phrase "Son of God" does not prove Christ's divinity. "The Son of God is not properly a designation of the God-man but of the man Christ Jesus." This would seem to bear out the statement made by one of his students that "he uniformly spoke of the man Christ Jesus. He affirmed his divinity, but by it meant that God had endowed Jesus with divine authority, divine knowledge and divine powers, above Moses, above all the prophets, above all other men. Jesus was called the "Son of God" because he was the most beloved of the Father and was commissioned to perform the great work of redemption." (In a word, he built Christ's divinity on his manhood and not on his essential divinity.—A.) "On the Godhead he taught the threefold manifestation, but denied personal distinctions in God's being." This would prove a charge made in the *Messenger** that he taught Sabellianism—"that there was only one person in the Godhead and that the Son and Spirit are only different powers, operations and offices of the one God the Father."†

*January 22, 1867.

†Rev. Dr. Williard, one of his latest students, once told the author that Dr. Mayer did not hold to the full divinity of Jesus Christ.

Farther than this we can not get the facts. But this charge is a serious one, for the doctrines of the trinity and the divinity of Christ are fundamental and logically lead to serious departures on other correlated doctrines, as the atonement and regeneration. We are suspicious, however, that these divergences did not become very prominent until his second period as professor (1838-9). The earlier charges may have been due to his use at the beginning of the seminary of the dogmatics of Mursinna, a supernatural rationalist, who taught at Halle, as this would be somewhat in contrast with what Helffenstein would have taught, as revealed in his published severely-orthodox theology. (Still Herman used Mursinna's work and yet was orthodox.) It is also to be noticed that the influence of Mayer's teaching did not lead any of his students to rationalism or unitarianism, as has occurred later in other directions in our Church; although one of them, Raschig, of Cincinnati, was afterwards charged with rationalism.

Having discussed his departure from orthodoxy, we are ready now to look at the unfortunate controversy in the seminary in 1839. For this there were probably several reasons:

1. An educational one. Dr. Mayer seems to have forgotten that the students he now had under him were not the unprepared men he formerly had, but were college graduates. His method of teaching had been formed for the former type of students, and yet he continued it. Rauch had moulded these young men by his enthusiasm and fine pedagogical method, while Mayer, never strong physically and now getting old, had no enthusiasm. "Dr. Mayer," says one of his students, "was at that time exceedingly slow in his delivery and style of teaching," while Rauch had trained his students to quick thought. This difference between the two doubtless unconsciously provoked comparison by the students. Prof. Rauch was progressive and fresh in his teaching, up-to-date, ready with the latest views, while in the later period of his teaching, Dr. Mayer was non-progressive. Our two copies of his lectures, one an early one and one a late one, reveal

that they are about the same. He seems to have written his theological lectures early and did not change them. This would make them cold and formal, uninteresting to his students.

2. A philosophical one. Rauch was a German in philosophy, while Mayer's views had originally been moulded by the Scottish type of philosophy then popular in America, although he was later influenced by his extensive German reading. Rauch had made his students approach things from a different standpoint. With him the first fundamental was the difference between the subjective and the objective.* Dr. Mayer's view-point was entirely different. He viewed matters from the standpoint not of philosophy but of the Bible and of theology. One writer says, "The dualistic tendency of Mayer on the doctrine of man in which he set the higher nature of man over against the lower in strong antithesis, was contrary to Rauch, who emphasized the organic idea." Rauch had trained his students to view all from the philosophic standpoint and Mayer from another point of view, the theological. Perhaps they had had too much philosophy to be theological, and as Mayer's theology was not philosophy they disdained it.

3. A theological cause. Dr. Mayer was at that time veering from orthodoxy, Rauch toward it. Rauch, in Germany (as we shall see), had gone through semi-rationalism and come back, in America, to Evangelical views. And there is a great difference between men going thus in these opposite directions. Mayer's divergencies made his pupils, trained under Rauch, feel the great difference and any divergence from orthodoxy would be apt to be magnified out of its due proportion.

After his resignation, Dr. Mayer spent the later years of his life in quietness at York, where he died ten years later,

*Kieffer, in his *Reminiscences*, says of his students: "They would talk about the objective and the subjective, the abstract and the concrete, the general and the particular, the absolute being and the relative being and the relations of these different things. One student would ask another, 'Where is the absolute ground of all relations?' He replied, 'in personality.'" "In God," was asked, "or the personal creature." The reply was "ultimately in God the Absolute. God is a personal being." "Yea, tri-personal," was the response.

August 25, 1849. Dr. Harbaugh says "Mayer was always gentlemanly, polite, generous and noble-hearted, courteous and obliging." Says Dr. Schaff at the time of Dr. Mayer's death, "Dr. Mayer was a man of reverent and devout character, clear and tempered judgment and profound learning."

As a preacher, Dr. Mayer's sermons were able and learned. They were carefully prepared, clear and chaste in style. The weakness of his body, however, prevented him from excelling as a pulpit orator. Nevertheless he was impressive and solemn, although he could not be called a popular preacher in our modern sense. He was especially strong in expository preaching, as his "Lectures on Scriptural Subjects" (1845), published a short time before his death, reveal. Rev. Dr. Cathcart, the Presbyterian pastor at York, considered him one of the ablest lecturers on Bible subjects. After preaching on Sabbath some thirteen miles out of York, Dr. Cathcart would aim to return to listen to Dr. Mayer's lectures in the Reformed church in the evening. Dr. Mayer was learned in the Scripture. Dr. Heiner tells of a Universalist minister who came to York when he was a student, preaching several sermons in the court-house to crowded audiences. The students of the seminary asked Dr. Mayer to reply. He did so by preaching on the parable of the tares so convincingly that the Universalist preacher left on the first stage for Philadelphia and the few whose faith had been wavering were restored. Dr. Mayer never preached an indifferent sermon, said an eloquent minister. As a pastor, says Wolff, he was unsurpassed for truth and tenderness in the sick-room—in dealing with persons concerned on the subject of religion. In debate, there were few superiors to him, for he was always ready with abundant resources at command.

As a professor, he was an excellent scholar, especially in the classics, Greek and Latin as well as in the Hebrew. He mastered the Dutch and knew some French and was enthusiastic in the natural sciences. His lectures reveal a careful study of the Biblical languages. He was familiar with the Biblical systems of his day, referring to a number of them as Reinhard, Dwight, Bretschneider, Dick, Knapp and others.

His theological ability is revealed in his pamphlet on "The Sin Against the Holy Ghost," whose authorship he at first concealed because of his modesty, when it first appeared in German.

In it he holds substantially the view of Whitby, that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost was the malicious reviling of the testimony which the Holy Spirit bore to the divine mission of Jesus and the truth of Christianity,—in his miraculous operations in the Church after he came in Christ's stead. The sin was not a single transient act of special enormity, but a permanent disposition of mind and manner of acting, which terminated only with the end of life, by which the person set at naught all the evidences of Christianity, even the testimony of the Holy Spirit and therefore shut himself out from faith and repentance.

Dr. Mayer also wrote other able Scriptural articles in the "Biblical Repository" on "The Scriptural Idea of the Angels" (1838), and "The Agony in Gethsemane" (1841). His largest published work was his "History of the Reformed Church," published after his death by his pupil, Dr. Heiner. It covers only the history of our church in Switzerland and it reveals Dr. Mayer to be a church historian as well as a theologian. It is an excellent work, careful and painstaking in its statements but somewhat cold in style.

Dr. Mayer's theological standpoint was not the Christocentric view so prominently developed in the nineteenth century. While he occasionally refers to Schleiermacher, the author of that view, he did not follow him in it. He reflected more the older type of dogmatics. On some points his dogmatics is very excellent and he reveals ability. His general position is that of the lower sublapsarian Calvinists. (There are three schools of Calvinists, supralapsarian (highest), infralapsarian (high) and sublapsarian (low).*) While in one or two places in the *Messenger*, he seems to incline to a belief in synergism that would make him Arminian, yet in his dogmatics he argues against synergism and is Calvinistic, arguing against the Arminians on the subject of predestination. He ascribed election only to the free grace, good pleasure

*The two former make God's sovereignty prominent and hold to limited atonement—Christ died for the elect: the latter makes sovereignty less prominent than redemption and holds to universal atonement.

and purpose of God.* He is, however, quite low in his statements of predestination, placing it late and discussing it under the topic of "calling" rather than under "providence." He did not, therefore, agree with the infralapsarians in making it a formative principle in his theology, as did the Federalists, but one of the less important doctrines, although still a true doctrine. He also held with the Sublapsarians to the universal atonement over against the limited atonement. In these views he probably followed Stapfer, although he does not refer to him. And as compared with the other theological teachers of his day, Helffenstein and Herman, he was low-Calvinistic or sublapsarian, while they were high Calvinistic. He was not, however, in any sense a theologian of the Mercersburg theology. That theology came up later. It remained for Dr. Nevin to develop it after Mayer's time. Of Nevin's idea of religion as a life rather than a doctrine, he knew nothing. Salvation to him was a gift rather than a life. Of Nevin's high ideas of the sacraments and of generic humanity of Christ he knew nothing. This is virtually granted by Dr. T. G. Appel, in his address at the Semi-centennial of the Theological Seminary, where he says Dr. Mayer's theology was theistic as compared with the Christological and Christocentric system of Nevin.

Dr. Mayer's life was one of great usefulness to the Church. During the forty-three years of his ministry he filled the most prominent and burdensome of the positions as pastor, professor, editor and author.

SECTION 6. REV. PROF. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS RAUCH, PH.D.

Prof. Frederick Augustus Rauch, the second professor of theology, was born at Kirchbracht in Isenburg-Birstein,† Germany,‡ on Tuesday, July 23, 1806. He was the second son of Rev. Henry Rauch, formerly from Wachenbuchen, in the province of Hanau. His mother was Frederica Carolina Haderman, from Philipseich. His father during his

*See also his "Sin Against the Holy Ghost," pages 44-5.

†Or, as he once called it, Isenberg-Hesse.

‡Isenberg was incorporated in 1816 into Hesse-Darmstadt, although lying on the borders of Electoral Hesse.

life was pastor at Kirchbracht (1805-22), at Hitzkirchen (1822-33), and Langenselbold (1833-53), where he died April 12, 1853.

He was baptized on Wednesday, July 30, 1806, by his father. His baptismal name was Frederick W. Justus Rauch, so named after one of his sponsors, Frederick Justus Wittich, the head-butler of the noble Prince of Birstein and of the



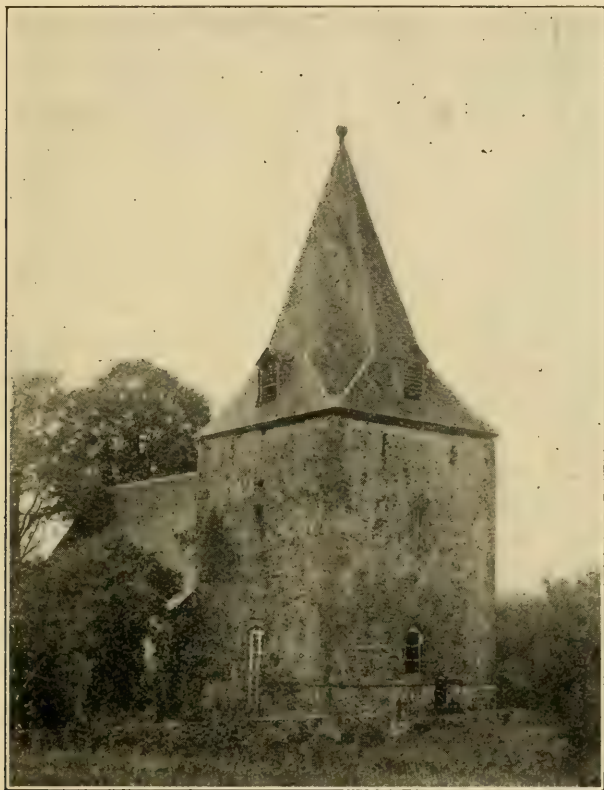
THE HOUSE IN WHICH PROFESSOR RAUCH WAS BORN.

Princess Dorothea Wilhelmina of Birstein. He later changed his name to Frederick Augustus Rauch. In the baptismal record, written after his name in another's handwriting, are the words in Latin, "he became a celebrated man."

His mother died when he was only fifteen days old and later his father married again. He early revealed the tendencies of his nature. As a boy four years old he would get on the steps of the parsonage and preach. As he was often interrupted by his step-mother the father said, "Let him go, he will make an excellent preacher."* Frederick was cate-

*The father was a very strict man. He would say to his catechumens, "My name is Rauch (meaning 'smoke') and when I smoke I smoke right." But he was an earnest preacher.

chized by his father. The catechumens, usually sixty to eighty in number, met in the parsonage in a room set apart for them. He was confirmed by his father at Lichenroth, June 4, 1820,* when he was fourteen years old, after which he went to



THE CHURCH IN WHICH PROFESSOR RAUCH WAS BAPTIZED.

study at the gymnasium at Hanau.† He entered the fourth grade and studied there for three years. Dr. Welker, in his Eulogy after Rauch's death, gives the fact that his father

*One of the branch churches of the charge of which the church at Kirchbracht was the chief.

†When he came home, the people used to say he was "over-studied."

thought him too young to go to the gymnasium, although his eager thirst for knowledge would brook no delay. At this time he visited an aunt, to whom he confided his difficulties and desire to prosecute his studies. She sympathized with him and furnished him with the means to go. His father finding him creditably attending to his studies, later cheerfully supplied him with the means. At Hanau he was especially impressed by the teaching of Prof. Schuppius, who taught him Nepos, Caesar and Ovid and inspired him with a great love of the classics.

From Hanau he went to Büdingen because "of necessity" he says. We notice among the teachers there a Haderman, perhaps a relative of his mother's, with whom perhaps he could live cheaply. After a year or two he went to the university at Giessen.* His father wanted him to study for the ministry and take up especially religious and theological branches, but to his father's regret he preferred linguistic, philosophical and historical studies. He remained at Giessen for three years (1824-27). Then he went to Frankford-on-the-Main, where his uncle (his mother's brother) had opened a commercial school,† and Rauch was to help him because he was in ill-health. While at Frankford, he made application to the University of Marburg to grant him the degree of doctor of philosophy, submitting to them a Latin dissertation on "The Electra of Sophocles," which he published (1827) at their request. It was an able and elaborate discussion of the literary and philological characteristics of that Greek work. He was finally granted his degree while still teaching in the Haderman Institute at Frankford. On December 17, 1827, he matriculated at the University of Heidelberg as a student of philosophy. Prof. Daub was the great attraction there, but as vacillating in judgment as he was brilliant in

*These main facts of his early life and studies we have gleaned from a Latin autobiography which he submitted to the University of Marburg on his application for his degree.

†Haderman's Erziehungs-anstalt was opened March, 1802, and continued in existence till September, 1832, says Dr. Ebrard, the director of the City Library at Frankford.

mind, swinging the circle philosophically. He was first a Kantian, then a follower of Schelling and finally a Hegelian, and for this changeableness he has been called "the Tallyrand of modern philosophy." When Rauch came under him it was during the Hegelian period of his life. Like Hegel, Daub resolved everything down to ideas. Thus he made Judas Iscariot the incarnation of evil just as Jesus was the incarnation of God. While Strauss carried these Hegelian ideas out into rationalism, Daub still tried to keep near the borders of orthodoxy, although very speculative. Rauch always spoke of Daub with great veneration. Indeed he was one of Daub's favorite pupils. "He was favored," says Welker, "with private intercourse with Daub, and the conversations during their private walks formed epochs in his life to which he often loved to refer. At such times the great truths of ethics were investigated in their origin and consequences." Daub gave a great intellectual stimulus to Rauch, as had Schuppius at Hanau and Schmidhenner at Giessen.

A year later, November 29, 1828, he again matriculated at Giessen University. In 1829 he was noted in its catalogue as the youngest private docent or teacher. He made a request, March 31, 1830, to be allowed to give thirty lectures during the summer semester on logic, dialectics and psychology according to Hegel. There was considerable negotiation between him and the faculty about the recognition of his doctor's degree, which had been gained at another university (Marburg), but finally the Bureau of Justice of Hesse-Darmstadt granted it on April 18. In that year he also published at Marburg an elaborate pamphlet, "The Identity of the Hindu, Persian, Pelasgic, German and Slavic Nations as Shown by their Languages and Customs." It was dedicated to Daub and to Schmidhenner, his professor of history at Giessen, the preface being dated April 15, 1830. It is an elaborate discussion, revealing great linguistic ability and considerable research. In the preface he pays a special tribute to Prof. Schmidhenner. He evidently intended publishing another volume, probably giving a comparison of the

customs of these nations as this is taken up only with the languages.

In 1830 he published at Büdingen his Lectures on "Goethe's Faust," part of which he had given as lectures at Giessen to a considerable body of students and as he had been prevented by "external circumstances" from delivering the later lectures, he published them. Welker says that Goethe in his conversation with Eckerman, pronounced it to be the best of the numerous works that had been written on his Faust. It reveals fine literary criticism. He aimed, however, to show the theological meaning of the work as well as its literary character. But it reveals his theological standpoint as Hegelian and very speculative. He evidently was inclining to be, like Daub, quite lax in his views. There is a tradition that when he would preach for his father (as he did occasionally) he revealed his tendencies toward rationalism. He was at this time a teacher rather than a preacher. There is a tradition that he was invited to a position in the University of Heidelberg, but we have been able to find no record of it. He remained at Giessen until the Fall of 1831.

Of the other works mentioned by Harbaugh as having been published while Rauch was yet in Germany, as the Resurrection (in Latin), Auricular Confession, Separation from the Church, a treatise on Apostasy, we have not been able to find them or even a notice of their publication. He, however, published a small work which appeared after he left Germany, 1832, entitled "The Glorification of the Universe, or The Destiny of Men."*

The cause of his sudden departure from Giessen was the fact that he expressed himself too freely on the subject of civil government. After the Napoleonic wars a spirit of freedom was awakened in Germany. The assassination of Kotzebue by Sand in 1819 aroused the suspicions of the German rulers and they began a policy of repression and espionage. As this movement was prominent among the students, many

*A copy of this work was sold at Heidelberg in 1910, but we have never been able to see a copy of it, as the university libraries do not have it.

professors and students were compelled to flee from the country. Thus De Wette lost his professorship and went to Switzerland. The Burschenschaft arose out of the French wars and was founded by Welcker. A society was founded at Giessen in 1814 and Carl Follen became a leader. Suspected of revolutionary tendencies by the university, this society was outlawed and he came to America.* But in 1826 a new German Burschenschaft was organized. "This Burschen element was prominent at Giessen," says Prof. Schiedt.† "Its greatest enemy, Baron Franz Joseph von Ahrens, was appointed chancellor. He imprisoned Pastor Weidig and other patriots. Rauch publicly declared himself in their favor and was threatened with arrest. As this might mean life-imprisonment or even death, he fled." He went first to his father, then pastor at Hitzkirchen, but could spend only a couple of hours at midnight secretly with him. His father, then in an agony of sorrow at his departure, upbraided him, saying "O, Fritz." Frederick then took a solemn vow that when he would reach America he would be a different man. His previous manner of life seems not to have been quite pleasing to his father, as we have seen, not because there was any immorality but perhaps because he was inclined to literary and philosophical studies rather than theological, perhaps because he was too impulsive or inclined too much toward liberal theological views. Whatever the reason, he kept his promise on arriving in America. He became a new man, as we shall see.

This, however, does not seem to have been the only reason, according to our recent researches, of his departure. There had evidently been a controversy for some time against him in the faculty of the University of Giessen. When attending the lectures in philosophy (or philology) in the winter of 1828-9, Prof. Osann, because of some absences from lectures, which Rauch claimed were unavoidable, forbade his further attendance. And Prof. Osann afterwards in his lectures referred to him publicly as "a poor subject," and in speaking of him, refused to give him his title of "Doctor," and called

*See "Karl Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen" by Haupt, 1907.

†Reformed Review, 1906, page 438.

him only "Mister." This, in Germany, was usually considered a gross insult. Rauch, therefore, complained against this to the state authorities, who had charge of the education of the duchy and under whom the university was placed, that such language was abusive and that he rightly was entitled to the title of Doctor because he had received the degree from the University of Marburg. This controversy with Prof. Osann lingered on from 1829 until after his coming to America, and must have made him very uncomfortable.*

He arrived at New York after a voyage of forty-nine days. for on November 14, 1831, he wrote a letter home, telling of his safe arrival. He went to Easton, where he learned the English language, also giving lessons in music and teaching German in Lafayette College. There he became acquainted with Rev. Thomas Pomp, the pastor of the German Reformed church. He was present at East Pennsylvania classis in the spring of 1832, and asked the classis to support him in the publication of a work on the trinity. Classis agreed to support him and gave him a special recommendation. In June, 1832, he went to York, highly recommended by President Junkin of Lafayette College, Rev. Dr. Gray, the Presbyterian minister of Easton, and the Rev. Messrs. Pomp, Becker, Hoffeditz and Gerhart, of our church, as a person fitted to be the principal of our newly-founded Classical School there. His election to it met with general approval. Susquehanna and Maryland Classes in 1833 both approved of his election as principal of the Classical Academy. He soon revealed his remarkable linguistic talents and in 1832 the synod elected him professor of sacred languages in the theological seminary at a salary of \$600.† He was

*Not infrequently a professor in Germany is forced out of a university faculty by the continued opposition of one or more of the other professors. Cuno Fisher, the eminent professor of philosophy at Heidelberg, was thus forced out of that faculty many years ago, though he returned after the death of his enemies.

†The synod ran a great risk in electing an almost unknown young man (so soon after his arrival in America) to such a responsible a position as professor of theology. If Rauch had continued holding the speculative views he had, under the influence of Daub, held in Germany, our church would soon have had trouble with him. But fortunately he

ordained to the ministry October 17, 1832, when the sermon was preached by Rev. A. Helffenstein and the charge delivered by Prof. Mayer, Dr. Zacharias presiding. The next day he was inaugurated as professor in the theological seminary, when he delivered an address on "The Object of Theological Study." It was a fair production, stating the Evangelical standpoint but not revealing his peculiar ability. His appointment gave great satisfaction to the German part of the Church, as many of them had all along felt that the seminary was too much under English influences. The election of Rauch disarmed much of the opposition of the Free synod to the seminary and was one of the causes that prepared the way for the return of that synod to the old church. Dr. Rauch's fine pedagogical talent soon brought the school into great prosperity. In the Spring of 1833 he was called to the presidency of Pennsylvania College, the Lutheran institution at Gettysburg, but at the urgent request of his Reformed brethren he declined. His salary was raised to \$800.

In 1834 he prepared a work, "History of Neology in Germany," a defense against the rationalists. A prospectus of this work appeared in the *Messenger*, stating it was to be translated by Rev. Herman Bokum, professor of German literature of the University of Pennsylvania.* This work was, we understand, never published because not sufficiently supported by subscriptions.

In 1835 he went with the Classical School to Mercersburg and soon after was elected the first president of Marshall College (1836) at a salary of \$1,000. He, therefore, refused

became a changed man, as he had told his father, and through the influence of Rev. Mr. Rice was thoroughly converted to Christ, so that to intellectual ability he added genuine heart-experience of salvation. This the author was told by Mrs. Young, a near relative of Dr. Rauch's, and corroborated by Rev. Dr. McCauley, of Reading, her pastor.

*It was to be a careful, comprehensive survey of the rationalism of Germany and a reply to its pretensions. In it he would discuss:

1. Rationalism in its idealistic and poetico-mystical schools.
2. Rationalism in theology, especially in dogmatics and ethics.

He aimed to give a fair view of Kant, Jacoby, Schelling, Fichte and others in relation to the great doctrines of religion.

a pressing call to be professor in Western Reserve College, O., and also a call from West Pennsylvania Classis.

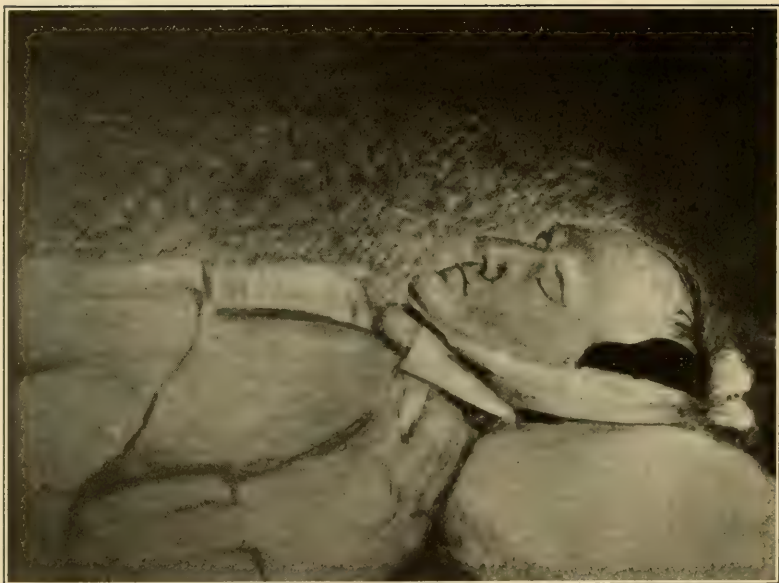
In 1837 he published in the "Biblical Repository" a remarkable article on "The Ecclesiastical Historiography of Germany.*

In it he discusses its demands, the proper uses of its sources, the character of the historian and his style and arrangement. He then passes on to review the different classes of Church historians, the orthodox school as Seckendorf, the more impartial as Mosheim, the heterodox as Henke and Planck, the transitional as Gieseler, the evangelical as Milner, Neander and Guericke. He gave a splendid summary of the effect of Kant's philosophy and especially of Jacoby, over against Kant's emphasis on morals. Neander united the spirit of Pietism with the views of Jacoby who based everything on man's innate consciousness of God which he calls faith. It was a masterly, comprehensive view of German Church History and of the philosophy that was underlying it. He holds to the historical doctrine of the church as an organism like Neander.†

In 1840 he published his *Psychology*, which introduced the German type of philosophy to American readers. When Dr. Nevin became his colleague, he was greatly relieved of the excess of his college and seminary duties. But his health began to fail early in 1840 and for a year he was not well. He spent the summer of that year in traveling.—visited Saratoga in the hope of regaining his health. During the latter part of the Winter of 1841, a catarrhal fever became epidemic in Mercersburg. It seized his already weakened frame and carried him off on March 2, 1841, at the early age of 34. Welker says, "In the last conversation I had with him on the prospect of death, he told me that if it were the Master's will he had no desire to remain and that he was willing to leave behind the world and his contemplated labors for its benefit." He was buried on a balmy fourth of March.

*This work has recently been reprinted in the *Reformed Church Review*, 1905, page 380.

†It is very remarkable that Rauch, who had given most of his studies in Germany to philology and philosophy was able to write so comprehensively on a theological subject. With his usual clearness of thought he gives a masterly bird's-eye-view of the history of Church History just before his time.



REV. PROF. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS RAUCH.
The only true picture. The original being kindly loaned by
Mrs. Prof. J. H. Dubbs. (See page 101 note.)

the same day that President Harrison was inaugurated. His remains were afterwards removed (1859) to Lancaster* As a teacher, Dr. Rauch excelled. Welker says:

“For a period of five years I have enjoyed the privilege of his instructions and advice. His felicitous faculty in communicating knowledge is spoken of in highest terms by all who enjoyed his instructions. The most dry and abstruse subjects of study would assume life and agreeableness under his explanations. It did him good to see an inquisitive mind and he took pleasure in urging such a youth onward. I have heard him unravel a tissue of contradictions and seeming absurdities by a simple and comprehensive course of reasoning, that when he was done my every difficulty had vanished as if by magic: and I was left to wonder when introduced into this flood of light and reason how it was possible I did not see it before, now it appeared all so simple and natural.”

Dubbs tells a story of Rauch that he did not like text-books, and once threw the book across the room, exclaiming: “I don’t want that; I can teach you all that is in Aristotle without a book.” The truth was that his mind was so full that it went out beyond the book. He had the wonderful power not merely of imparting but of inspiring thought in the student. He would say, says Kieffer in his *Reminiscences*, “Now, young gentlemen, think.” He aimed to make them thinkers for themselves.

As a preacher, he was not so great as a teacher. The desk was his throne, not the pulpit. Especially in preaching English was he diffident, for he never mastered our language with the fluency of his successor, Dr. Schaff. Yet his volume of sermons published posthumously by Gerhart reveals a very sweet religious spirit. Welker says:

“The great distinctive features of the religion of Jesus Christ were themes he loved to dwell upon. It created a pleasure that warmed up the heart to listen to him when conversing or discoursing on the love of God. He never grew weary in telling of the love of heaven. Then it was that a celestial flame seemed to burn in his bosom for he became truly eloquent.”

As a writer, his special field before he came to this country had been in the line of philology and philosophy. In this country he issued but one great published work, his *Psy-*

*A painting of him when dead was made by an artist of Mercersburg, Jonathan Good (an uncle of the author), which is in the library of Franklin and Marshall College. It gives a much better idea of Dr. Rauch’s appearance than the portrait commonly shown, which is said to look very little like him.

chology. His intention was to have followed it with a work on Ethics and another on Aesthetics. The peculiarities of his Psychology were:

1. His emphasis on Anthropology, looking at it from the standpoint of the physical—a sort of forerunner of the later theory of evolution. In this Rauch followed the philosophical anthropology of Daub. Scotch philosophy criticized this peculiarity of German philosophy.

2. His emphasis on idealism as over against Scotch realism in philosophy.

3. His popular presentation of the most profound subjects. Such a gift of popular style belonged only to a master, to one who had thoroughly grasped his subject.

Prof. Murdock, of New Haven, in his work, "Sketches of Modern Philosophy Especially Among the Germans," devotes a whole chapter to Rauch's work, and charges him with pantheism and transcendentalism, because he never alludes to a special revelation, man's apostasy, a Saviour's forgiveness, atonement, judgment and eternal punishment. He says that "he is a transcendentalist and pantheist of the school of Hegel. He utterly denies the freedom of the will in the natural man and gives to the divine will absolute control over the human in regeneration" (see pages 155, 292, 309). "Religion is not a mere quality but the substance of man. He ceases to be a man in the full sense of the term when he has no religion (page 4, preface). Regeneration is a change in man's substance or nature. It is by the power of God, yet allowing no room for pardon of sin through an atonement and no work for a mediator between God and man. In short, like other transcendentalists he makes religion an operation of God, carrying out and perfecting the creation of a rational soul (199-201)." A minister of the Presbyterian Church in 1855, who published a series of articles in the *Christian Observer* on German Theology in America, quotes these remarks of Murdock as conclusive testimony in favor of Rauch's pantheism.

Dr. Nevin declared that Rauch was not a pantheist when he wrote his Psychology. Whatever he may have been in the fatherland, his sermons are against this. Schneek refers to his "Inner Life" (page 152), "Christ died that he might reconcile the world to God. And the Father makes use of their (the Jews') arms to slay him whose pure and innocent blood was to be the ransom of our sins." Such is not the language of a pantheist. Welker says: "His views on the great doctrines of the Bible—the sovereignty of divine grace—the justifying

merits of the Redeemer's blood—the eternal sonship and deity of Christ were orthodox as held by the Reformed Church in all ages.”

This tendency to pantheism, Dr. Nevin denies in his Review of Rauch's book in the *Messenger*.

“There is no pantheism in it as he holds to a personal God, although some expressions have strayed into it from the pantheistic camp. But some of his subjects, as the influence of plastic power, instinct, sleep, dreaming, etc., are as yet unproved and, therefore, avoided by the British philosophers. He questions his proofs of prophetic dreams and animal magnetism.”

This criticism about the book is probably correct. Dr. Rauch was not a pantheist. But he inherited from Germany some pantheistic forms of expression which he uses in his work and which appear as pantheizing (see page 171). The truth is that Rauch never fully got over the Hegelianism in which he had been trained as a young man. Nevin grants this by saying that Rauch believed that in spite of bad use made of it, Hegelianism had wrought a real reform in the world of mind. Perhaps Rauch would better be classified as an idealist of the German type and reveals its advantages but also its dangers, one of which was its minimizing of the necessity of second causes in nature or of media in redemption. The half-century that has elapsed since he lived, has shown that the dangers of idealism referred to by Murdock are real. Rauch, not foreseeing these, did not guard his statements as he should have done.

Rauch's *Psychology* found considerable favor in the United States. Its sale was so great that the next year a new edition was necessary. “Before it,” says Buettner, the best of the early historians of our Church, “they used in the American schools only a *History of English and Scotch Philosophy* by Dugald Stewart, or an eclectic book after Cousin.” It was introduced into three of our colleges, into the University of Vermont and Dartmouth College, as well as into Marshall College. The work, however, when viewed from the standpoint of the present time, seems rather superficial because of the immense progress made since then in observation and

induction especially in physico-psychological phenomena. It had been described as an attempt at psychology rather than a finished work—a popular statement of it. Its popular style atones for some of its faults, for some of the positions and illustrations would not pass muster to-day.

In Rauch's own judgment, his most important work was to have been his *Ethics*. But, alas, he was taken sick with his last illness just as he was about to prepare it. His *Ethics* were based on Daub, says Appel, and was divided, as are most works on ethics, into general and special.

"Rauch," says Welker, "made the will of God the eternal source and spirit of all morality and firmly built his beautiful and well-proportioned superstructure of ethical science in strict conformity with the divine precepts as revealed in the inspired volume. He discarded the theories that made happiness, usefulness or any of the varied forms of selfishness to be the basis of moral obligation, as low and derogatory to the majesty of God. His system was eminently calculated to exalt God—to make him the centre of all that is holy and good and an object worthy the love, reverence and obedience of man. Love to God he insisted on as necessarily the constraining motive to duty in the strictly moral man. The man only who is purely moral is free and this liberty of man consists in the harmony of the human with the divine will. The acuteness of Kant,—the transparency of Schliermacher and the vast speculations of the capacious mind of Hegel were laid under contribution by him. He combined the richness and profundity of German thought with the perspicuity and intelligibility of the English."

In Aesthetics he, too, was a master.

"Art," says Appel, in describing his views, "involves the inward union of thought and form, of ideal and real, of visible and invisible, of finite and infinite—a unity in diversity. Welker says his ideal of beauty was that it was thought realized. In the sphere of beauty as presented in the fine arts, he viewed the human mind as realizing its thoughts in forms that presented the highest idea of the compass and power of the intellect of man. In nature all that was sublime was the handiwork of the divine thought realized. These fundamental ideas he applied to the various fine arts, but especially to poetry as the most expressive and universal of the arts. He described its various forms as national, didactic, descriptive, lyric, epic and dramatic and went into the analysis of the great poems of different languages as the *Cid* of Spain, the *Nibelungen Lied* of Germany and the works of Goethe, Schiller, Homer and Shakespeare."

Dr. Rauch's theological position may be stated as simply Evangelical. His former rationalism he had left behind in Germany, and now he looked on infidelity as shallow. He was ready to admit in his later years that his views in Germany had not been the most Evangelical, but they had become changed by his contact with the practical religious life of America, especially by his intercourse with our heavenly-minded pastor at Chambersburg, Rice. In Germany, he had been brought up on the formal idea of Church and religion, due largely to the union of church and state. This had passed away as religion became a living experience to him in America. His sermons on the Inner Life, published fifteen years after his death by his pupil, E. V. Gerhart, reveal an Evangelical position. The first one reveals the struggle he had had with doubt. A New England paper criticized them because there was less in them about the atonement than is usual in a course of sermons. Still that may have been due to his subjects rather than to the doctrine.

But while he may be rated as an Evangelical, he did not occupy the old Reformed position of Calvinism. He had been brought up in Germany after the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in 1817, and had been affected by the mediating spirit prevailing. Thus, although he was by birth Reformed, yet he studied at a Lutheran university (Giessen). Daub's influence, too, was away from all confessionalism and toward speculation. Rauch showed this tendency to union by suggesting that our Reformed Church in America should declare its adherence to the United Church (Lutheran and Reformed) of Prussia by turning over the western fields in this country to the Missionary Society of that denomination.* For this non-confessional attitude, Rauch brought down on himself the criticism of those who were ardently attached to our Reformed Church. His tendency toward unionism was

*He would have led our church into the mistake made by the Congregationalists about a century ago, when they turned over New York and Pennsylvania to the Presbyterians and lost immensely by it; for their adherents moving into those states became Presbyterian, while the few Presbyterians removing into New England and becoming Congregationalists was not sufficient to balance the loss.

corrected at the Synod of 1836, which took guarded action against the formation of such union congregations.

It has been said that he started the Mercersburg theology. M. Kieffer in his *Reminiscences*,* says "his (Rauch's) notes on the mystery of the trinity and incarnation contain generally all that has subsequently been developed by the thinking of the Mercersburg School in the department of dogmatics. He was the Schleiermacher of the Reformed Church in America." But this statement of Dr. Moses Kieffer's is not true to the facts. It is to be remembered that Mercersburg theology had not yet arisen in his day. He nowhere shows the high views of the sacraments and their objective efficacy which Nevin developed. His philosophical position may have prepared the way for Mercersburg by his emphasis on organism and by his realism, which Nevin afterward incorporated into his theology. But where Nevinism emphasized even in a crass form the objective, Rauch gave prominence to both subjective and objective; indeed, his emphasis in his religious works was rather on the subjective, which is quite different from Nevin and Nevinism. But theologically he was not in accord with Mercersburg views. His love for the plain Reformed worship of Germany was contrary to their ritualistic tendencies and his simple preaching was in contrast with the exaggerated emphasis placed on philosophy by their sermons. He belongs with Mayer to the earlier type of Reformed. Wolff in his paper at the Tercentenary Festival (1863) on the History of the Seminary, hints at Rauch being the bridge to the later views of theology of the Mercersburg and adds that he was opposed to the revivalism of his day and to the Mayer liturgy. This does not harmonize with what Welker says:

"Rauch took special delight in the social prayer-meeting which was held by the students as long as his health and pressing duties permitted. He never felt so happy as when standing in their midst, speaking of redeeming love. He acknowledged the gracious revival that God sent to his soul when he took to heaven that dear friend of his, the beloved Rice." And E. M. R. says (*Reformed Church Monthly*), "We never

**Christian World*, Aug. 4, 1870.

heard a taunt from Rauch's lips that revived popish and prelatical hatred against the Puritans. (The writer refers to the habit of Mercersburg in attacking Puritanism.) He had no affection for Rome—never regretted the want of form and style in our worship." Another writer says: "Rauch's plain, almost Quakerish simplicity was opposed to the ornateness of their ritual. Was his philosophy Mercersburg's philosophy? On the organic it was, but no farther." His was emphatically idealism; Nevin's, realism.

President Rauch thus reveals himself a thinker, a scholar, a brilliant teacher and an earnest preacher. His was a great mind especially for one so young. He lived only long enough to lay great foundations for others to build upon,—if they had only built upon them and not exaggerated their equipoise or veered from their truth.

SECTION 7. THE EARLY YEARS OF REV. JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN'S PROFESSORSHIP (1840-4).

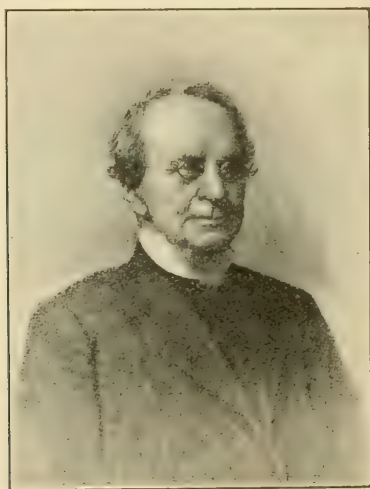
The third professor in the Theological Seminary was Rev. John Williamson Nevin, D.D. We separate these first years of his professorship from his later years because his views were different then from what they were later.* Before the controversy over Schaff's "Principle of Protestantism" in 1845, he was in the main in sympathy with the previous theological position of the seminary on two points:

1. He was a churchly Pietist. While he opposed the noisy anxious bench system, yet, as his work on the "Anxious Bench" shows, he approved of true, quiet, churchly revivals.
2. He was Calvinistic in doctrine, that is his whole system of doctrine was based on Calvin. He was Calvinistic not only on the sacraments but also on predestination. Later, however, he ridiculed Calvinism as a system, declaring he had found a new solution of the difficulties between Arminianism and Calvinism in his Christocentric system of the person of Christ. His inaugural Address reveals his inner agreement with other Reformed Churches, not excepting that branch

*Apple, in his Semi-centennial History of the Theological Seminary, ignores the difference between the earlier years of Dr. Nevin and the later ones, as do most of the Mercersburg historians except Prof. Dubbs.

which he afterward chided for bondage to metaphysical Calvinism—the Dutch Reformed. It is very important to notice these early positions of Dr. Nevin, as they have been forgotten in the course of the controversy. Yet they appear clearly in his writings at that time. And it will also be interesting to watch the later development of his Mercersburg theology from these earlier positions as it passes through its various stages in his mind.

Prof. J. W. Nevin was born February 20, 1803, at Herron's Branch, near Shippensburg, Pa. He was of Scotch-Irish



REV. PROF. J. W. NEVIN, D. D.

Presbyterian stock. After the old Presbyterian method he was brought up on the Shorter Catechism. His father, who was a farmer, but a graduate of Princeton College, put a Latin grammar in his son's hands at a very early age. He entered Union College at Schenectady, N. Y., in 1817, then under the presidency of Dr. Nott. He there passed through a revival of religion and was, under the influence of Mr. Nettleton, the great evangelist, converted to Christ. This he afterward, when he became imbued with his Mercersburg theology,

severely criticized as a mere fanaticism. He later called his fellow-students who brought him to Christ "miserable obstetricians." * He graduated there in 1821 with honors but with broken health, on account of which he remained at home for two years. In 1823 he entered Princeton Theological seminary. There he enjoyed his studies under Professors Miller, Alexander and Hodge. He especially distinguished himself in Hebrew—reading the whole Hebrew Bible through during his seminary course, and was considered the best Hebrew scholar among the students. As a result, when Prof. Hodge went to Europe for two years, he was made temporary professor of Hebrew. During this time he wrote his *Biblical Antiquities*, an excellent handbook of the Bible, which gave him quite a reputation and had a large circulation.† When Prof. Hodge returned in 1828, his reputation as a Hebrew scholar led him to be called as professor to the new Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Allegheny City, Pa., although he did not enter upon his duties there till 1830. In the meantime he had been licensed (October, 1828) by the Presbytery of Carlisle, and had become active in the temperance cause, due especially to the influence of his uncle, after whom he was named, Dr. Hugh Williamson. The latter had given him as his advice when he went to college, "Take care, my boy, that you do not learn to smoke, for smoking will lead to drinking and that is the end of all good." He had fulfilled that command in his college course and now joined quite heartily in the temperance agitation that was sweeping over Pennsylvania.

For ten years he filled the professorship of Biblical literature at Allegheny Seminary, during which time he was ordained to the gospel ministry. He was not, however, ordained till April 22, 1835, five years after beginning his professorship. Why he postponed it so long is a mystery, especially when one remembers his later high-church views of

**Messenger*, March 9, 1870.

†In his autobiography he quotes a passage from his preface to his *Biblical Antiquities* to show that that early he was beginning to be more liberal than the theology taught at Princeton.

the importance of ordination. In addition to his duties in the seminary, he frequently acted as a pulpit supply and delivered a number of addresses, some of which were published as "The Claims of the Bible," 1831; "The Scourge of God" (on the cholera), July 6, 1832; "The Claims of the Christian Sabbath," 1836; "The English Bible," 1836; "Personal Holiness," 1837; "The Seal of the Spirit," 1838; "Party Spirit," 1839; "A Pastoral Letter" (about minister's salaries), 1840. He also became quite prominent in the anti-slavery agitation and as editor of "The Friend," its organ, was once in danger of a mob. He was compelled to give up the paper, therefore, in 1835, on account of the pro-slavery spirit. He afterwards declared he had been too extreme on the subject.

In the Seminary, he taught dogmatics as well as Biblical Literature. He was a Calvinist in his system of doctrine. None but a strong believer in predestination would have been tolerated in such a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian community as Pittsburg then was. His type of Calvinism, as he afterwards said in his autobiography published in the *Messenger*, was the Federal Theology or the theology of the Covenants as held by Witsius and Cocceius and as is still taught at Princeton and Allegheny Theological seminaries. When the controversy began to divide the Presbyterians into Old-School and New-School, he was opposed to polemics. He said he did not see why their western Presbytery should be rent asunder by an eastern controversy about Rev. Dr. Barnes, of Philadelphia. When the Pittsburg Presbytery favored the action of the General Assembly against the New-Schoolmen, Nevin was in the minority, voting against their action. When in 1839 that Presbytery declared its adherence to the Old-School General Assembly, he with three others presented a paper, explaining that they went with the Presbytery, but not, however, with the idea that its General Assembly was the only true and legal assembly in this country, (thus they recognized the New-School Assembly). Owing to his liberal sympathies with the New-School, his position as professor at Allegheny

became uncomfortable.* His strong temperance and anti-slavery agitation had made him a number of enemies. In the midst of this strife between Old and New-School Presbyterians he began to feel, as did others like Rev. Talbot C. Chambers, D.D., later of the Collegiate Dutch Church of New York, who said he had so many friends in both the Old-School and the New-School branches that he did not know which one to enter, so he entered neither, but left the Presbyterian Church and entered the Dutch Reformed Church. Like him, Dr. Nevin was thus led out of the Presbyterian Church into the German Reformed Church.

While these events were taking place to cause his departure from the Presbyterian Church, others were occurring in the German Reformed Church to prepare for his entrance there. Prof. Lewis Mayer had resigned and the board of visitors of the seminary had been unable to fill the place. The board therefore called a special meeting of the synod in general convention January 27, 1840, as some effort must be made to get a professor for the seminary. Meanwhile rumor had it that Prof. Nevin had resigned his professorship at Allegheny. It seems to have been Rev. Dr. Schneck (whose wife knew Prof. Nevin, being a cousin of Rev. Dr. Riddle, of Pittsburg) who called the attention of the Reformed Church to Prof. Nevin, although Dr. S. R. Fisher afterward claimed the honor of it. At the request of the board of visitors, Dr. S. R. Fisher wrote to Prof. Nevin, inquiring whether he would consider a call to Mercersburg and to the German Reformed Church, and Dr. Schneck was asked to write to Dr. Riddle, of Pittsburg, about him. Dr. Riddle gave no encouragement. Dr.

*Dr. Schaff, in the *Palm-Blatter*, 1847, says Dr. Nevin, chiefly through his sympathy with German thought and feeling, was led to give up this professorship. Dr. Schaff there overstates the matter. This was not the main reason, perhaps not a reason at all. For the German did not gain such power over his mind until he came under the influence of Rauch at Mercersburg. The real reasons for his resigning at Allegheny were the lack of funds to pay the professorships at the seminary, and also the fact that he had, in the controversy in the Presbyterian Church between the Old and New-School, joined the New-School minority in the Presbytery, which destroyed confidence in him to a considerable degree. These facts are clearly brought out by the minutes of the Presbytery of Ohio, 1835-1840.

Nevin did not reply to Dr. Fisher because his resignation had been conditional and as the seminary had met his conditions, he felt it his duty to stay. Besides, he did not know how he would be received by another denomination. When the synod met, three persons were nominated, Nevin, Smaltz and A. Helffenstein, Jr. The two latter withdrew and Nevin was elected. (The synod was a small one, as it was held in mid-winter, when traveling was difficult.) But the Church soon rose to the support of the synod and the meetings of the classes in the spring of 1840 endorsed his election. Dr. Schneck, the president of the synod, and Dr. S. R. Fisher, were appointed a committee to lay the call before Dr. Nevin. They went across the Alleghenies in a sleigh in the dead of Winter, suffering greatly from the cold. Their visit was quite a surprise to Prof. Nevin, who asked time for consideration. He finally accepted the call and removed to Mercersburg in the spring of 1840, and on May 20, 1840, he was inaugurated into office, delivering an address on "The Christian Ministry and the Mission of the German Reformed Church in establishing this Seminary."

Dr. Nevin had before his coming known something of the German. Influenced by Prof. Moses Stuart, of Andover Theological Seminary, he had read some hermeneutical works as Ernesti's and Morus'. He had also read Neander's Church History because since 1835 he had been compelled to teach Church history in the seminary. But except that he had become acquainted with the German language and that Neander had given an impulse to his mind, he does not seem to have been much influenced by German theology. As to the Catholic Church, which he later defended as a true church, he then regarded her as gross superstition. He looked upon Puseyism with pity and contempt (although a volume of Oxford Tracts placed in his hands had made him feel that they were earnest but mistaken men).

Dr. Nevin came to Mercersburg, a Calvinist in the fullest sense of the word, with no sign of any future aberration from its theology. His change from the Presbyterian Church to the German Reformed Church was not looked upon as invol-

ing in itself a change of denominational faith. It was considered simply the passing from one section of the Calvinistic church to another. It took place with the approbation of Dr. Nevin's friends in the Presbyterian Church and under the advice of his former teacher at Princeton, Prof. Archibald Alexander. So Dr. Nevin writes of it.*

He not only came as a Calvinist, but he taught Calvinistic theology at first at Mercersburg. These facts are proved:

1. The text-book that he used in teaching at Mercersburg was the *Theology* of Rev. John Dix, D.D., of Scotland. This was a stiff Calvinistic treatise after the type of the Federal School of theology. At first he is said to have very closely followed this work in teaching; although later, as his new theological views developed, he spent most of his time in criticising it. In thus teaching Calvinistic theology, at first he followed Mayer, but his Calvinism was then of a higher and more rigid type than Mayer's.

2. His articles in the *Messenger* and other publications during this period reveal his predestinarian position. This is clearly shown for instance in his Inaugural Address as professor. Speaking of the Presbyterian Church which he left as compared with the German Reformed Church, he says:

“Though two communions in one aspect, they are in another altogether the same. The Reformed Church of Scotland and of Germany are twin sisters by birth, not merely of the Protestant Reformation but of that reformation in its purest form as it was perfected at Geneva, under the instrumentality of the gigantic spirit of Calvin. In no sense do they constitute different sects. The Heidelberg Catechism may be regarded as the ground-work doctrinally on which the Westminster Confession of faith was erected in the century following. Both churches stand on the German platform as to faith.” And again, “If orthodoxy in the Calvinistic sense is to prevail in eastern Pennsylvania, if Presbyterianism is destined to be to any extent a leading interest in that section of country it must be under the standard of the Heidelberg Catechism especially. Our English Presbyterians should do all in their power to encourage and sustain the German Reformed interest at every point.”

*See Dubbs' *American Church History*, Vol. III, page 362, and also his *History of Franklin and Marshall College*, page 192.

These sentiments he expressed later in an article on Reading,* where he intimated that there the Presbyterians should leave the field largely to the German Reformed because they were the same as the Presbyterians, and yet were far more numerous. All this was very different from his later view, where he attacks the Presbyterian Church as Puritanism and denounces all views like her's as rationalistic. It is very evident that he then held what he afterwards called metaphysical Calvinism.

His articles in the *Messenger* on the Heidelberg Catechism in 1841-2 also reveal this. They were quite different from his later book, "The Heidelberg Catechism," published in 1847, in which they were abbreviated and changed to suit his new Mercersburg theology. But their older form reveals his position then. Thus he says,† in regard to Calvin's influence:

"The system (of the Heidelberg Catechism) is substantially Calvinistic, as the Reformed Churches before the Synod of Dort were all substantially of this character, notwithstanding the material deviations that were tolerated among them from the rigid form in which the doctrine of predestination was held by Calvin himself." Again,‡ in speaking of the doctrines of the Heidelberg Catechism, he says "The doctrine of unconditional election is involved in the system, but was not directly expressed, for the reason, no doubt, because it was not universally received in the Reformed Church, and at all events was considered too deep and difficult to be made an article of necessary force in the constitution of the general platform of religious faith. It was once contended by some very learned men, Grotius among the rest, that the answer to the 37th question in which Christ is said to have sustained the wrath of God against the sins of all mankind must have the meaning that all the human race have been equally respected in the work of redemption, which would exclude, of course, the idea of an election of grace. But it has been abundantly shown that this is by no means the necessary sense of the article and that the system in which it is comprised demands imperiously a different view. Redemption is exhibited as something universal indeed so far as its intrinsic efficiency and fulness is concerned, but the election of grace is represented throughout to be its ground and fountain, by the measure of which the entire work from its commencement to its close must necessarily be ruled and defined."

**Messenger*, Aug. 24, 1842.

†*Messenger*, May 4, 1842.

‡*Messenger* of May 18, 1842.

All this is very different from his later views, when he claimed that the German Reformed were different from other Reformed churches in holding to Melanethonianism, an idea which he came to hold after Prof. Schaff's coming.

3. Again others looked upon him as a Calvinist. The *Christian Intelligencer*, the church paper of the Dutch Church, rejoiced at his election, that the German Reformed Seminary would have so strong an advocate of Calvinism. Winebrenner charges him with Calvinism. Prof. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton Seminary, his former teacher, approved of his going to Mercersburg because it would strengthen the cause of Calvinism.

But not only on the Calvinistic system is he different at this time from what he was later in the Mercersburg Theology, but also on other points. His position about the papacy is quite different. Instead of considering the papal church as a true church as he did later, his criticisms on it are very severe. Thus* he says:

"Nothing can be clearer than the fact that Zwingli was brought sooner than Luther to perceive the rottenness of popery as a system."

In a review of Berg's book on Lectures on Romanism, he approves of them as thoroughly as he later opposed him on this point.† He says: "Small as the volume is, it is large enough to drag some of the most hideous features of the Romish system into the broad light of day." After speaking of the danger of a fanatical zeal against Popery, he says, "But it is to be feared that the prevailing habit of thought is at the other extreme. The system must, by virtue of its own constitution, work for the subversion of our institutions, both civil and religious. Popery is at war with our government. It works also to undermine and sap the truth as it is in Christ. It is the mystery of iniquity always ready to evolve itself anew from the depths of Satan in the soul of man as fast as circumstances will permit."

He speaks of it as Antichrist, as the great apostasy, whereas later he spoke of the spirit of sect and schism in Protestantism as Antichrist. He also speaks of the Centenary movement in our church as a revival of the spirit of the reformation in its protest against popery. In his *Anxious Bench*, he says "Popery in popish countries is a fruitful source of infidelity." Dur-

**Messenger* of Dec. 23, 1840.

†*Messenger* of Nov. 25, 1840.

ing this period he appealed only to the reformation as his model, never to the early church, as he did later when under the Mercersburg theology.

On the sacraments it is interesting to note that in his *Anxious Bench* (pages 130-1), he declaims against baptismal regeneration, saying "regeneration may take place in the womb or in infancy or in early childhood or in adult age." This is very different from the later views of his Mercersburg theology, which limited regeneration to baptism. He holds to the old Calvinistic view that infants born in the church are to be treated as members of it from the beginning. This is very different from his later position that infants were born out of the church and made members of the church by baptism. On the Lord's Supper he holds to the old Reformed view. Appel* says Nevin brought from the Presbyterian Church the Melancthonian-Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper. In this he is wrong, as Nevin's statements then show. In his articles on the Heidelberg Catechism,† when he speaks of Calvin's emphasis on Christ's glorified humanity at the supper, he says:

Calvin taught that Christ's body remains in heaven while the sacramental emblems are exhibited on earth and that it is by the organ of faith exercised in conjunction with these, that our souls ascend to him and reach that communion with his nature which it is the object of the institution to effect.

This is quite different from his later statements of Calvin's views where Christ's humanity came down from heaven as his theanthropic life comes to us through the church and the sacraments. This view of "our minds ascending up to heaven" as here stated, is the exact opposite of his later views. All this would be too subjective according to his later views, which emphasize the objective.

It is evident from these facts that the Dr. Nevin of the first four years of his professorship was different from the later Dr. Nevin of the Mercersburg theology. The only basis for his later views was in the Hegelianism of Rauch's philoso-

*Life of Nevin, page 149.

†*Messenger*, April 27, 1842.

phy, the plastic power, the organic idea, the philosophical realism. It remained for Prof. Schaff to come, for Puseyism to gain influence, for a controversy to arise in order to develop him. Then he added these to this original philosophy and out of them all came Mercersburg theology.

SECTION 8. THE ATTEMPT TO FOUND A THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN OHIO (1838).

One of the most important efforts of the Ohio synod was its attempt to found a theological seminary. As in the early days of the Eastern synod, many young men were then educated privately by ministers; but this was found to be insufficient. The first action toward a theological seminary was taken by the synod in 1833. A little later (1835), West Pennsylvania classis, feeling the need of such a seminary, began correspondence with the Ohio synod about it. In 1836, West Pennsylvania classis sent to Ohio synod a proposition to appoint a committee to confer with its committee on union and on the establishing of a theological institute. Ohio synod agreed to this. So the joint-committees met September 5, 1836, and its plan was adopted at their next meeting by both synods. At the preliminary meeting between them in 1837 there was, however, some rivalry between the Ohio and West Pennsylvania members. The Ohio were the larger body and did not wish to lose prestige in the new organization, while the West Pennsylvania men were many of them better educated than the majority of the Ohio men, as some of them had been educated abroad. This rivalry led Weisz, of the Ohio synod without the knowledge of his brethren to precipitate a plan for a charter prepared by Dr. Winters at the meeting of 1837. The West Pennsylvania men looked upon this as an attempt of the Ohio men to gain control of the new project. But at the next synod the charter, with slight modifications, was adopted and a plan for a seminary prepared, which had been the plan of the West Pennsylvania men. An election for professor was held, at which there were six nominees. Rev. J. G. Buettner was elected by a majority of seven more than all the rest. His salary was to be \$250, while at the same

time he was to serve two congregations, one at Osnaburg and one at Massilon. The seminary was to be located at Canton, O. He was inaugurated professor in our church at Canton, Aug. 14, 1838, Daubert preaching the sermon, Herbruck reading the formula. Schlosser made the prayer and Buettner delivered an address.*

Dr. Buettner was an interesting character and a superior scholar. He was born at Münchenbernsdorf, in Prussia, August 23, 1809. He matriculated at the University of Leipsic, May 26, 1829, and at the University of Jena, 1831-1834, as student of theology. On March 15, 1834, he gave a historical critical dissertation on the life of Rufinus, and thus became a doctor of philosophy. He came to America, September, 1834, according to his published volume of "Travels in America," landing at Baltimore. From there he went to Wheeling, West Pennsylvania and Ohio. It was through Rev. Mr. Begeman, then pastor of the Reformed church at Washington, in Western Pennsylvania, that he was led to join the Reformed Church rather than the Lutheran, to which he had belonged in Germany, for he says he found the Lutherans here too narrow and exclusive, while he sympathized rather with

*Rev. E. P. Herbruck, D.D., of Canton, has found the following advertisement in the *Ohio Repository*, September 13, 1838: "

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE GERMAN REFORMED SYNOD OF OHIO, &C.

This institution, for the present located at Canton, Stark County, O., a city which for health and beauty is surpassed by none in the flourishing State of Ohio, will be open for the reception of students from and after the first of October next. The Rev. Dr. J. G. Buettner has been elected professor. He is a man whose theological and philological acquirements recommend him to all who desire a thorough theological education and whom the committee feel proud to recommend to the Christian public for his orthodox doctrine, integrity and moral worth. All lectures will be given in the German and English language if required, and no efforts spared to qualify students to preach in both languages. Those who are desirous of attending are requested to make immediate application. Tuition to all theological students free.

REV. N. P. HACKE, Greensburg;

REV. C. L. A. ALLARDT, and

REV. G. SCHLOSSER, of Ohio.

*Committee of
Arrangements.*

This advertisement appeared in eight issues of the paper. There is also an advertisement of Mrs. Buettner for pupils in embroidery. She gives her residence as on the West Side of Market Street (she calls it Main), between Seventh and Eighth Sts. Probably the theological institution was in this residence.

the union of the Lutherans with the Reformed. He went to the classis of West Pennsylvania in 1835 for licensure and ordination. He was appointed a missionary among the Germans, receiving \$150 for six months. He then went through Cincinnati and Louisville to St. Louis; where, while doing missionary work in the neighborhood, he was called to be pastor of the German Evangelical Church of St. Louis. While there he was charged by a Lutheran pastor, Haverstick, with being a rationalist, which charge he denied and tried to disprove. He, however, gave up the church and came east to the next meeting of the West Pennsylvania Classis in 1836. He continued his work as missionary among the Germans, traveling through Ohio, then northward to Buffalo and then going east to Boston, New York and Pennsylvania, stopping at Easton and Mercersburg. At the classis of West Pennsylvania (1837) he was appointed on the committee on union with the Ohio synod. After this he was called to the Reformed congregation at Osnaburg, O., and also as supply to the Evangelical German congregation at Massilon, O. At the synod of 1838 he was, as we have seen, elected professor of theology by the synod. He was a very learned man.* In the "Biblical Repository" for 1836 there is a Latin article by him on John 1:29, "Behold the Lamb of God," etc. It was written while he was preaching at St. Louis. It begins with a description of his travels in the United States as a missionary among the Germans in the West. After he has praised the study of the classics he goes into the exegesis of the text.

*His ability was so recognized by his brethren of the Ohio synod that an amusing illustration is given by Rev. Prof. J. H. Good, D.D. (Dubbs' Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 314, note), that when his students were to appear before the classis for examination, nobody wanted to examine them and thus perhaps expose his own ignorance and inefficiency as compared with their teacher. When the day appointed for the examination arrived, the committee, students and Prof. Buettner assembled at Canton, but the chairman of the committee had not yet arrived, Z. of Canfield. The rest of the committee wanted to place the responsibility of the examination on the chairman, while he in turn evidently stayed away, hoping they would go ahead in his absence. After waiting all day he finally arrived toward evening and was astonished to find that the examination had not been held. He pled all sorts of excuses as that he had been called away to a funeral, and that now he was too tired from the journey to begin the examination that night. Sc

But in spite of all his ability the seminary did not succeed. At first only two students applied, A. Stump and S. Hess, and Stump soon left, as he did not succeed in his studies as he desired, and went to study under a less learned minister of the Ohio synod, Schlosser, as also did Hess. By May, 1839, there were no students. So that after eighteen months in the professorship, Buettner resigned and the seminary closed. The seminary board attempted to have another meeting after Buettner's resignation, but only one member was present besides the president, and so nothing was done for some time. The only thing that remained of the seminary was an old-fashioned stove long shown in Canton as a relic of the seminary.

Several reasons seemed to have caused his failure. While he was universally recognized as a very able man, yet he was not a man exactly to the mind of the Ohio synod. He was a very strong union man, urging the union of the Reformed and Lutherans, which did not suit the strict Reformed, many of whom had had controversies with their less liberal Lutheran brethren. Again, he was a strong opponent to revivals and confesses that one of the reasons why he accepted the professorship was to raise up ministers opposed to such movements. But many of the ministers of the Ohio synod were strongly in favor of them and so they did not feel any sympathy with his work. Besides, as a German, he could not accommodate himself to many of the peculiarities of American life. And perhaps a little of the rivalry still existed between the Ohio and West Pennsylvania men, so that although his seminary was located in Ohio, yet he was looked upon as a West Pennsylvania man. In later years he is described in the *Evangelist*, the German paper of our Western church, as

it was delayed until the next morning. Buettner went back to Osnaburg that night and the committee cunningly decided to have the examination very early in the morning before Buettner could arrive. The examination was just about beginning the next morning with not a single question asked, when Dr. Buettner was seen coming to the gate of the house. When Buettner, on entering, asked whether the examination had begun, the chairman replied "it is ended," and that the young men have been licensed. Of course, the students kept mum about the examination since they got off so easily; but this incident passed down as one of the humorous traditions of the Ohio synod.

friendly to rationalism, especially in his History of the Reformation. If he had in any way gained this reputation, whether true or not, it must have interfered with his success and influence. At any rate, whatever may have been the cause, the seminary failed.

In the meantime Buettner determined to continue his travels and also to sell his small book "A Short History of the Reformation." He was elected president of the Ohio synod of 1839. It had a severe controversy on the subject of prayer-meetings, which was finally harmonized by a motion to acknowledge prayer-meetings such as were held in the New Testament.* Soon afterward he started eastward, together with his wife whom he had married at Osnaburg. He sailed from New York June 10, 1840, arriving at Bremen. After his return to Germany, he became pastor (1846) at Volkmansdorf and Essbach near Schleiz, in the County of Weimar. He published a brief history (in German) of the German Reformed Church in the United States, (1848,) which is excellent—the best early history of our church, and also his book of "Travels in America" (1844), at Hamburg, from which many of the facts of his life here given are gleaned.

Thus the seminary plan lapsed. The only thing that remained was a legacy of five hundred dollars which C. Reedy left to the seminary, and also about \$1,600 in notes. When the Centenary movement began in 1840, it was hoped that it would aid the endowment of the seminary. But though considerable money was raised in the synod, yet the want of unity among the ministers prevented any formal attempt and the whole matter was postponed.

We may be permitted to pass beyond the limits of this period (1793-1844) in order to complete the establishment of the institutions in Ohio. The effort for a theological seminary slept in the Ohio Synod till 1844. New trustees were elected and Rev. Jacob Peucer, a Presbyterian, the head of an academy in Germantown, was temporarily made professor of the-

*For the controversy in the Ohio Synod about New-Measures and Temperance, see Reiter "Reformed Church Review," January, 1879, note.

ology. But the controversies in the synod as between old- and new-measurism and the secession of the Independent Synod of Ohio caused that nothing was done. Not a student presented himself. In 1846, Rev. A. P. Freeze founded an academy at Columbus with the idea that it would lead up to a theological seminary. And Rev. J. H. Good did the same at Lancaster, O. In the Synod of 1846 there were stormy debates whether to go on or not. In 1847 the synod decided to go ahead and raise money for the institution. And in 1848 the synod elected Rev. A. P. Freeze as professor of theology and Rev. J. H. Good as professor of languages. This institution, which was called "The Ohio Literary and Theological Institution," was opened at Columbus, October 31, 1848, and had five students (all English like the professors). But on July 1, 1849, Rev. Mr. Freeze left and went east afterwards to enter the Dutch Reformed Church. The synod then requested Rev. J. H. Good to give instructions in theology to the students who desired it. Then, on April 18, 1850, a special meeting of the Ohio Synod decided to locate the theological and literary institution at Tarlton, near Columbus, where Rev. S. S. Rickly had charge of an academy, and call it Tarlton College. Tarlton offered them \$7,200 in subscriptions and \$800 in land. The synod requested Rev. S. S. Rickly, the principal of the Academy there, and Rev. S. Jacobs to give theological instruction until other arrangements were made, but it postponed the election of a permanent professor of theology until the regular meeting of the synod that year. Preparations were then made to build a college building at Tarlton and an order was given for the delivery of 200,000 bricks.

But after the synod was over, there was a good deal of dissatisfaction in the synod at the choice of the place, because there were so many schools at and around Columbus. Besides, Tarlton was rather a Methodist community than Reformed. Rev. H. Schaul, of Tiffin, seeing the dissatisfaction, started a subscription at Tiffin and went to the regular synod meeting of 1850 with an offer of \$11,000 in subscriptions from Tiffin, O. This synod reversed the action of the special synod and ordered the institutions to be located at Tiffin. The

synod, however, indemnified the citizens and Academy at Tarlton for loss sustained by paying them \$300. The college, which was called Heidelberg College, was opened at Tiffin, November 18, 1850, with seven students in rented rooms on the third floor of Commercial Row. In the first year, 1850-51, its catalogue reported 149 students. Rev. B. Schneck was elected professor of theology but declined, and Rev. E. V. Gerhart was elected president and professor of theology. Rev. J. H. Good was made professor of mathematics and Rev. Reuben Good rector of the Academy. In 1855, Rev. M. Kieffer succeeded Rev. E. V. Gerhart as president and professor of theology. Rev. H. Rust was added as professor of Church history in 1855.



HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY.

CHAPTER IV.

REVIVALS.

SECTION 1. EARLY REFERENCES TO REVIVALS.

Those who have declared that revivals are not in harmony with the genius of the Reformed Church will be surprised to learn that revivals were quite a distinguishing mark of this period and were considered soundly Reformed by the Church. It was our privilege to unmask the falsity of their assertion by revealing a new chapter in the history of our Church in Germany, the chapter on Pietism in our History of the Reformed Church of Germany.* It is now our privilege to lay bare a part of the history of our Church in this country which has been persistently hidden or minimized by the Mercersburg historians except Prof. Dubbs. Some of us remember how a quarter of a century ago and more, prayer-meetings were stigmatized in certain quarters of our Church as Methodistic. Free prayer was discouraged. Those who made these assertions would have done well to have read the history of our Church during this earlier period. In saying that our Church was favorable to revivals especially during the latter part of this period, we do not mean to say that there were not some ministers who opposed them, as Pomp and Becker, or were lukewarm toward them,—many of them earnest, godly, excellent men. This, however, has been true of every denomination except, perhaps the Methodist. But the attempt to read evangelism and revivals out of our Church as not Reformed, would take out of her a very considerable part of her best life and history. Revivals have been an integral element in our Church from the beginning and have had an important part in the making of her history.

*Pages 307-395.

In the eighteenth century the six Reformed ministers who held the big meetings in Maryland, Hendel, Henop, Otterbein, Wagner, Weymer and Schwob, brought this movement into prominence before the Revolutionary War.* Since giving those facts, several other facts have turned up. The elder Helffenstein seems also to have been a minister of that stamp, for when he died at Germantown it was in the midst of a blessed revival there. In those days when prayer-meetings were a new thing in America, Hendel had them before New England had them, in his pastorate at Tulpehocken, where he held them on Thursday afternoons. In the early part of Troldenier's pastorate, about 1802, the Baltimore congregation adopted a rule that those who were candidates for admission into the church should be conversed with in private by the pastor at least one hour before they were confirmed, and they also made a rule that the first Thursday of every month there should be a meeting for public prayer. Harbaugh says that Hiester observed the old Reformed custom of inviting all to call at the parsonage before the observance of the communion, so as to receive admonition and instruction. It was customary for our early ministers to hold prayer-meetings at the houses of their parishioners where they happened to spend the night. Harbaugh mentions several, as Lupp, who would hold a service on Saturday night at the home where they were staying. Wagner did the same at Tulpehocken. One of the most beautiful illustrations of this is given in the *Messenger*† by an old person who belonged to Wagner's congregation at Tulpehocken (1786-1793). "Mr. Wagner," he said, "gave out a hymn and then prayed so earnestly that there was not a dry eye to be seen in the house. Then he preached a sermon so earnestly that it brought deep conviction of sin to my own soul." He describes how Wagner's earnest preaching led to many conversions. The church book at Tulpehocken‡ says that when Wagner spent the night in

*See my History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 592-601.

†December 30, 1835.

‡Hausfreund, January 17, 1867.

a family, he often asked parents and children, "How is it with your souls' salvation?" These are a few illustrations that reveal the spirit and custom of the times. Prof. J. H. Dubbs, speaking of the early church, confesses that its leaders were pietistic.*

There has, however, been a tradition in the Church, fostered by the Mercersburg theology (which was not friendly to experimental religion of this kind) that several ministers were put out of the church for being Pietists and holding revivals. Let us see.

One of them was Gueting. He was one of the converts of the big meetings in Maryland and was ordained by the coetus in 1788, notwithstanding Pomp's opposition because of his Pietism. Gueting was present at the coetus meetings of 1791, 1794 and 1797. In 1798, Hinsch complains against Gueting as making encroachments on his congregations, and it was resolved that he be written to about the matter. He was reported as excused at the meetings of 1802 and 1803. In 1802, on account of his absence from synod, it resolved that a brotherly letter be written to him and that he be urged to attend the next synod. This does not look as if the synod were trying to drive him out because of his Pietism. Still, however, he did not appear at synod. So, in 1804, complaint was preferred against him because of disorderly conduct. Two motions were made to the synod, one by Rahausser and Runkel, that the matter be postponed for another year and he be earnestly admonished to abstain from his disorderly conduct. The other was by Becker, that he be immediately expelled from the synod. The vote stood for the latter 20-17, and so he was expelled, but a note was added to the action that he might at any time be restored on giving evidence of true reformation. All this does not look as if they wanted to get rid of him. From this it has been argued that he was put out because of his Pietism. This may be true, but two things need to be noticed. In the official action by the synod, Pietism is not mentioned as the cause, but first absence and

*American Church History, Vol. VIII, 311; also, The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, page 236.

then disorderly conduct. Nothing else is referred to. And again the majority was so small as hardly to commit the synod much against Pietism, especially when it is to be remembered that some of the leaders of the pietistic party, as Otterbein, Wagner and others were not present. Besides Otterbein would hardly have been present at the coetus the next year if the action of the coetus had been looked upon as a direct assault against revivalism and Pietism.

The other case quoted is that of Aurandt. He had been an attendant on "the big meetings" and had accompanied Pfrimmer, the leader of these United Brethren, who about 1800 served Driesbach's charge in the Buffalo Valley. In 1801 the congregations of New Berlin and Buffalo Valley asked for his (Aurandt's) ordination. But it was found that he had baptized without ever having been ordained. He confessed his fault, saying he was very sorry and asked that his examination be postponed because he felt unfit to undergo it. He asked that he might be placed under Wagner for instruction. The synod ordered him to present himself at its next regular meeting, but forbade him to administer the sacraments or to attend the big meetings and ordered him to prosecute his studies under some minister. From this connection it seems to appear as if his attendance on the big meetings had something to do with his irregular administration of baptism, for the United Brethren were not careful about those things. This action by the synod was held by some to be an attack on the revivals as revealed in the big meetings.

These two actions of the synod would seem to reveal two things: 1. That our Church was opposed to the "big meetings" as held at that time. It is a well known fact that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the "new Reformed" who afterwards became the United Brethren Church, were very noisy and fanatical in their services. Even the Reformed ministers who had begun those meetings, as Hendel, Wagner, etc., would hardly approve of them as later held, because their character had changed. The action of the synod can not be quoted against revivals, only against noisy re-

vivals such as were common at that time in the big meetings of the United Brethren, for there is a clear distinction between noisy and quiet revivals. The Reformed never condemned the latter as they did the former.

The third case that has been quoted against revivals is that of Otterbein. The United Brethren have declared that he was put out of our Church because he was a revivalist and this has been echoed by the adherents of Mercersburg theology in their opposition to revivals. We have discussed the case of Otterbein in our previous book,* to which the reader is referred. We shall only add a few additional facts. As stated there, there are two questions: 1. Did Otterbein ever leave the Reformed Church? 2. Was his church Reformed during his life? We there proved that he did not leave the Reformed Church and that his church was Reformed. The following additional light has appeared:

1. As to his leaving the Reformed Church. We have recently been reading the diary of Bishop Newcomer, of the United Brethren Church. He bears strong testimony to the impressive preaching of Otterbein and also describes their yearly conferences. But from his diary we have not been impressed that these conferences were meetings for ecclesiastical action. They were rather sacramental occasions as at Antietam 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1804 and 1805.† Only at the conference Sept. 25, 1801, were business matters discussed and at the conference, 1802, Oct. 6, preachers were examined. Otterbein, Oct. 2, 1813, irregularly ordained Newcomer to the office of elder and preacher of the gospel. All that can be made from these facts in Newcomer's diary is that Otterbein was intimately associated with what became the United Brethren movement. But there is absolutely nothing in them to prove that he left the Reformed Church in order to do this. That he acted irregularly in the ordina-

*See History of the Reformed Church in the United States, p. 650-658.

†The discipline of the United Brethren Church, published 1817, kindly shown us by Rev. A. Stapleton, D.D., speaks of only four conferences: 1, at Baltimore, 1789, where Otterbein and Gueting were present; 2, at York, 1791, where Pfrimmer was also present; 3, in Frederick Co., 1800, where also Aurandt was present, and at Mt. Pleasant, 1815.

tion of Newcomer is certainly true, for he had no ecclesiastical authority to ordain him. This may, perhaps, be explained by his great age and nearness to death though even that does not excuse him. Otterbein's nephew, Rev. Wm. Hendel, D.D., says Otterbein never intended to found a new sect but simply sought to elevate his own church and infuse new life into her. Rev. Thomas Winters, who had been converted by Otterbein, says he was often urged to join the new sect of United Brethren, but he refused for the same reason that Otterbein did, namely, that he did not believe that a new sect was called for. He says that Otterbein never thought of leaving his church. "I have often heard him say to an audience," says Winters, "I do not ask you to leave your church, I only ask you to forsake your sins. I do not know that he was ever charged with having left his church while living."* Rev. Dr. Schneck, the editor of the *Messenger*, says he had a letter from Otterbein one or two years before his death in which he says that he had lived and would die a German Reformed minister.† These facts prove he was Reformed to the end of his life.

2. As to his church being Reformed. The congregation had the Presbyterian form of government like the Reformed, by a consistory composed of elders and deacons together with the pastor. This is proved by the constitution drawn up June 1, 1785, but this is an entirely different organization from that of the United Brethren which knows only stewards, class leaders, exhorters, etc. Again this constitution insisted on catechization to which the United Brethren have always been opposed. Again, it insisted on parochial schools, another peculiarity of the Reformed over against the United Brethren. The stress laid by it on the baptism of children is contrary to the United Brethren who make it optional, even allowing immersion. Again, the constitution requires that the pastor be elected by the congregation, whereas in the United Brethren Church the pastors are appointed by bishop. The United Brethren have tried to argue that the constitution says that

*See Harbaugh's *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. IV, pages 140 and 144.

†See *Messenger*, March 1, 1837.

no minister who holds to predestination or who denies falling from grace shall become pastor and it orders class-meetings. As to predestination, we have Otterbein's own words in his letter to Holland: "I believe in election but cannot persuade myself that God has absolutely and without condition predestinated some men to perdition." As to the class-meetings, they were but a reproduction of the prayer-meetings (*ecclesiola in ecclesiâ*) commonly held by the Reformed of the Northern Rhine, where Otterbein came from. These facts, together with what are given in our previous work abundantly prove that the Church was Reformed. An effort was made by the Reformed to get the Otterbein Church at Baltimore back by legal process, but the court finally decided that the United Brethren could keep it provided they made some use of the Heidelberg Catechism.

SECTION 2. REVIVALS DURING THIS PERIOD.

We have searched the *Messenger* and other sources and from them can give a bird's-eye view of the revivals of this period. These references are important as revealing the history of many of the congregations. The first publication of the church, the *German Reformed Magazine*, from the beginning, was favorable to revivals, giving notices to them especially in the foreign fields. Pietism was quite evidently recognized here.* In 1827 Rev. Jacob Mayer published a German translation of a work on "Repentance," by Thornton, his object being to clearly state what repentance was and to emphasize the need of personal experience. In 1828 a revival is reported at York under Reily with 300 conversions. In 1829 there was a great revival in the Philadelphia congregation, where Rev. Dr. Finney, the great evangelist of that day, preached his terrible law-sermons, mowing men down as with a scythe.† Dr. Finney was endorsed by the

*In 1822 Zion's classis urged the introduction of prayer meetings, as did Susquehanna classis in 1823.

†One of our older members at the Heidelberg Church of Philadelphia, Miss Mary Hahn, told the writer that Dr. Finney stayed at her father's house and was always praying. She was converted at that time and was one of the most beautiful Christian characters we have ever known.

board of trustees of that church and recommended to other Reformed congregations. There was also a great revival at Frederick, Md., in 1829, under the pastorate of Rev. Jonathan Helffenstein, who had for his assistant Rev. Jacob Helffenstein. The former says "there were eighty conversions, great good done and that other congregations of the town were feeling the influence of this revival in the Reformed Church." Maryland Classis (1829) says his (Jacob Helffenstein's) labors were crowned with an awakening. In 1831 that classis reports a revival at Emmittsburg and states that revivals are the only hope of the church.

In 1832 revivals are reported at Hagerstown, Nittany Valley, Greencastle with fifty conversions, and Chambersburg with sixty confirmations. A revival in the Presbyterian Church at York that year greatly affected the students of the German Reformed seminary there. In 1833 revivals are reported at Jonestown and at Penn Valley under Schneck. Maryland Classis (1833) reports a number of revivals. Ebaugh published, with the approval of the synod, an English translation of Zollikofer's Prayerbook, as an aid to the introduction of family worship. In 1834 revivals are reported at Lebanon, where Kroh was assisted by Schneck, and reported 130 conversions. Revivals are also reported that year at Davidson County and Lexington, N. C. In 1834 a protracted meeting was held at Woodstock, Va., just before the meeting of Maryland Classis and continued by it through its sessions.

In 1835 revivals are noted at Penn Valley, near Landisburg, at St. Matthew's, Brownback's and St. Peter's in Chester County under Guldin assisted by Smaltz and Davis. St. Peter's received 15, Brownback's, 61. In 1836 Carlisle reports a revival under its pastor, Aurand, assisted by Rahausen, of Hagerstown, and Smaltz, when 80-90 were awakened and 32 united with the church. Landisburg reported a revival under Scholl. At Brick Church, N. C., Crawford reported a revival with 35 additions, as did Penn Valley, Pa. In 1837 the York congregation had a great revival under Cares, assisted by Guldin. Two prayer-meetings were started,

one for males, the other for females,* the latter taking a pledge somewhat like the Christian Endeavor of to-day.† This revival was especially important because it affected the students of our Theological Seminary at York. Boehm's Church had a revival, where the conversion of a prominent young man who opposed the meetings led to more than 100 conversions. Grindstone Hill, Bakersville, Md., under Rebaugh; St. Matthew's, Chester County, under Knipe, report revivals as do Shepherdstown, Va., and Germantown under Osborne. Wagner, at Lebanon, reports a great work of grace—100 conversions.

In 1838 the religious interest continued at Lebanon. The Philadelphia congregation, under Berg, Liverpool, Perry County, under Gerhart; St. Peter's, Va., under Hensell, with 30 conversions; Trenton, under Smaltz, with 35 additions, and Attica, Ind., report revivals. Guldin, assisted by Jacob Ziegler, added 35 at Trappe and reported a revival at Brownback's. In the Fall of 1838 Tancytown, under Feete, aided by Freeze, Fisher, Weiser, Wagner and Keller, added 21. Germantown, under Osborne, had 20 additions, making 86 in one year.

In 1839, Philadelphia, under Berg, Centre County, Pa., Hagerstown, under A. Helffenstein, Germantown and Glade, Md., under Freeze, reported revivals. At Waynesboro, Glessner reported 100 serious persons. Boalsburg, Centre County, under P. Fisher, assisted by E. Kieffer, had a revival, and as a result raised \$100 for foreign missions. Stone Church, N. C., under Crawford, Lexington, N. C., under Crooks, with 30 additions, had revivals. Heiner reported that he had shared in the general revival in Baltimore under Knapp, the great evangelist. He was assisted by Berg and Cares and had nearly 100 additions and the church was greatly benefited. Maryland Classis (1839) reports revivals at Hagerstown and Waynesboro.

*Rev. A. Helffenstein had the first female prayer meeting in our Church, begun by his wife in the Baltimore congregation as early as 1830.

†See Appendix I for Rev. Mr. Cares' letter about the revival.

In 1840 the interest at Baltimore continued. Carlisle, under Aurand, had 30 conversions. Hensell, from St. Peter's Church, Jennings Branch, Va., reported that 50 years before there had been a great revival in his church and so again now. He had meetings at St. John's Church, where he was assisted by Colliflower, with 30 conversions. Boehm's Church had a revival under Ewing. A revival under Ewing in a grove near Pleasantville led to the organization of a Reformed church there. Tarlton, O., St. Thomas, Pa., under Kremer, reported revivals. Zion's Classis reported revivals at Chambersburg, also Fayetteville, York, Shippensburg, Carlisle and in part of the Gettysburg charge.

In 1841, Boonsboro reported 40 conversions. Berg's congregation in Philadelphia had 200 additions, 150 by conversion. Bethlehem, O., under Slosser, Sugar Valley, Pa., under P. S. Fisher, Gettysburg, under Gutelius, Lebanon, under Wagner, Maytown, under Hoffheins, Waynesboro, under Bomberger, assisted by Kunkle, of Greencastle and Jacob Helffenstein, of Chambersburg, reported revivals. Middletown, under Bucher, assisted by Heiner and Bomberger, Shippensburg, under Kremer, Grindstone Hill, under Guldin, Mansfield, O., under Leiter, reported revivals.

In 1842, Emmitsburg, under Freeze, Waynesboro, under Bomberger, Glade, under Colliflower, who was assisted by Zacharias, Bucher and Hoffmeier, Frederick, under Zacharias, Dauphin County, under Kooken, Dayton, O., Maytown, and Lebanon, under Wagner, had revivals. Several members of the Hill Church, near Lebanon, attended the revival services in Lebanon, and were so impressed that they were converted and begged for meetings at their church. Millerstown had 50 conversions. Tiffin, under Kroh, Littlestown and Abbottstown, under Sechler, Dauphin County, under Gerhart, Centre, Lancaster County, under Hertz, Friends' Cove, under Leidy, Schellsburg, Landisburg, under Leinbach, had revivals, as had Mt. Bethel, Zulich's charge in East Pennsylvania, Tarlton, O., and nearly every charge in Maryland Classis also.

In 1843, Bucher reported a great work of grace at Reading, in which he was aided by Berg and Wagner. Berg at Philadel-

phia, Wagner at Lebanon, Tobias and J. L——r at Bloomsburg, report revivals, the latter with 200 saved. McConnells-town, Harrisburg, under Mesick, York, under Cares, reported revivals. Bonnell, at Chambersburg, assisted by Ramsey, of the Presbyterian Church, added 43 to the church. Near McConnellstown there were 100 inquirers in a district without a church. Tobias and J. L——r held meetings at Orangeville and Mifflinburg under E. Kieffer. There was a revival at Milton. The Paradise church near there, sent for Kieffer to hold a revival, which resulted in 300 converts. Tobias reported a revival in Mahoning Township, near Danville, with 100 conversions. Lancaster, under Glessner, had 65 conversions. Manchester, Md., under Geiger, aided by Sechler, Gutelius and Philips, Water St., under M. Kieffer, and McConnells-town, with 100 converts, reported revivals. Sechler, at Littlestown, had 300 converts. The movement spread into Eastern Pennsylvania, then the most conservative part of the Church, at Mt. Bethel, Hamilton and Cherry Valley, under Hoffeditz. Philadelphia received 25, New Buffalo, Perry County, 50 converts. Bethlehem, O., had a revival. A great increase is reported in our Church as the result of these movements during 1843: in Pennsylvania, 3,476; in Ohio, 1,536; total, 5,012.

In 1844, Boehm's reported a revival, as did Reading, under Bucher, where there were 300 conversions and 85 added to the church. Orangeville declared it would take no minister who would not have revivals. Womelsdorf and Myers-town reported 30 converts under T. Leinbach, assisted by Rev. Mr. Chapman, a teacher in the academy there, and by Rev. J. B. Shade, a colporter of the American Tract Society.

Such are the facts reported in the *Messenger* and elsewhere. It is to be remembered that in those days church papers gave very few items of local news. So these may be taken as an evidence of many more not mentioned. We thus see that revivals were then common in the Church. While there were ministers who opposed them, as Helffrich and others, who relied only on catechization, it is to be noticed that the

leaders of the Church held revivals and thus committed the Church to them.

We have not especially referred to revivals in the West during this period for two reasons: 1. There is very little information about them, there having been no Western church paper during this period. 2. There never has been any controversy in the West as in the East where, under Mercersburg theology, it has been denied altogether that the Reformed Church was a revival, yes, even a prayer-meeting church. But the West never had a Mercersburg controversy to chill its evangelistic spirit. The English portion was in the main revivalistic, although there were a number of ministers, especially German, who opposed them.

Later the Church in Ohio was more inclined to revivals than our eastern Church, and many are reported. There were, however, a number of ministers, (especially the Germans,) and congregations who opposed revivals in any form, using only catechization, while others endeavored to combine both as by holding a revival meeting before organizing a catechetical class or in connection with the class. Some of the revivalists, however, began to go to great extremes, ignoring catechetical instruction altogether and introducing the mourners' bench. Often what one pastor had done would be undone by his successor, who held to the other method. Often congregations were distracted, yes, divided, so that in a number of places there would be two Reformed churches almost opposite each other, the one old-measure, the other new-measure, as conservatives and revivalists were then called. The result of these diverse views was that hardly had the Ohio synod and the West Pennsylvania classis united when it was deemed wise to divide the synod into district synods until the church coalesced better. So, from 1840 to 1842, three district synods were held annually, and not till 1842 was a general synod held. As a result, the two extremes came to collision and finally matters came to a crisis. In 1840 the second or northern district took action stating that

It recognized only such prayer-meetings as were like those held by the early Christians of the primitive church, but not such as were held in

these days. A petition from some members of Manchester Church, Summit County, O., asked their next meeting in 1841 for information as to how the prayer-meetings were held in the early Christian church. The synod replied that it considered only those to be according to the New Testament which observed proper decorum.

The matter was finally settled when the three districts of the Ohio synod again met in united session in 1842. Then a request came before it from Wayne and Richland Counties, O., asking it to take extreme measures—to discountenance new-measures, protracted meetings, the mourners' bench, temperance societies and all fanaticism. The synod took the wise action that

It aimed to prevent all fanaticism and errors contrary to the customs of our Church as by the instruction of the youth in the Heidelberg catechism. "We ought," it says, "to have especial regard for Acts 2: 24, and not only aim to preserve ourselves in the true life after the manner of the early church but also to produce awakenings where the congregations are cold and lukewarm."

This sane action seems to have been considered too general, so at the same meeting an additional action was taken:

"Resolved, That the synod disapprove of disorderly protracted meetings, the introduction of the mourner's bench, the public praying of women in mixed assemblies or the praying of more than one person at the same time. But this action is not to refer to orderly protracted meetings and prayer-meetings."

Thus the synod took conservative action, clinging to catechization and disapproving of fanaticism, but approving of solemn religious and protracted meetings.

SECTION 3. THE SUPPORT OF REVIVALS BY THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

The leading institutions of the Church at that time were the seminary and college and also the church paper. *The Messenger*, and its predecessor the *German Reformed Magazine* give prominence to revivals, whether the editor was Prof. L. Mayer, Rev. Mr. Young, Dr. Schneck or Dr. S. R. Fisher. Not merely did they give accounts of revivals but by editorials endorsed them. Thus, in 1838, when a conservative German

Lutheran paper, *The Protestant*, attacked Dr. Winters' revivals at Dayton, O., it took up their case and attacked the assertions made by it. *The Messenger* says:

"The impression is attempted to be made that revivals are of recent date. So far as our denomination in this country is concerned, we would ask who were Schlatter and Hendel and Helffenstein and Wagner and Runkel and Geistweit and Graves and a host of the departed dead. They were the fathers of our church, and who were more zealous in promoting genuine revivals of religion,—who more anxious to see souls converted to God than they."

And yet while favorable to revivals, *The Messenger* never favored fanaticism. Speaking of the inquiry room, it says:

"We are free to confess that there have been extravagant measures connected with such meetings which deserve to be condemned. But the abuse does not set aside the proper use, or else we might lock up our churches because some abuse the privileges of divine worship." It then goes on to endorse the inquiry-room method for personal conversation and special instruction and counsel to the awakened. It states that during the centennial year (1841) revivals were instrumental in raising considerable money as well as in quickening interest in the congregations. In 1843 it devotes an article in praise of revivals and says, "A healthy state prevails among the churches."

The Seminary, like *The Messenger*, supported revivals. Prof. Mayer inherited this pietistic tendency from Wagner, whose convert and student he was. Rauch had not been accustomed to them in the part of Germany where he came from, but he says in *The Messenger*:

"As to revivals, I must admit that many Germans are opposed to them. But Germany has had its revivals and may have them again; what is to be done in regard to the Germans of this country is to remove the causes of their prejudice. Let the good proceeding from revivals be seen and the Germans will be sooner blest with them than we could expect."

The surroundings of the seminary, especially at York, were favorable to them. The revival there in the Presbyterian Church (1832) and afterward the revival in the Reformed Church under Cares (1837) greatly affected the students. In 1838, according to accounts in *The Messenger*, special prayer was offered in our churches for a revival among the students

at Marshall College in connection with the day of prayer for colleges in February, 1838, and Berg then reports considerable religious interest among the students. In 1839, *The Messenger* again urged the church to pray for the college in connection with the day of prayer. In 1840, at the September meeting of the board of visitors, Rev. Jacob Helffenstein preached to the students on the "Nature and Reality of Revivals," which was published in full in *The Messenger*. Appel* speaks of a large and solemn prayer-meeting at college, when a number left to enter the ministry. Another account speaks of a revival in Marshall College in 1840. Even Appel,† who is not in sympathy with revivals because of his Mercersburg theology, grants their existence in the college and says that Dr. Rauch during a revival (Appel stigmatizes it as "a religious excitement") which broke out among the students, tried to turn it to useful account by visiting them from room to room and speaking to them about their spiritual interests. Dr. Rauch, in a letter of March 21, 1838, to his father in Germany, says:

"Our land is blessed with a revival and our school was not left out from this great blessing. Without any special effort on our part, without any expectation of it, suddenly there was an awakening in our midst. All the students suddenly became earnest, thoughtful, asked for twice as many services, yes, three times. They held prayer-meetings among themselves and there was such a favorable change in the behavior of all, in their diligence, etc., and their desire for the revelation of the divine Word, that no one who would only preach the morality of the Bible, could set himself against such a blessing of God. And this new life of which the revival was a part, was for my blessing and I have had hours of greatest joy among the students who desire to give themselves to God in the bloom of life." Later in the letter he defends the revival.

A student of the college in those days, writing about twenty-five years later, says:

"We have a distinct recollection of the Bible class and prayer-meeting, both in the college chapel and the private houses at Mercersburg in those days. These meetings were held regularly once a week and generally conducted by Prof. Green or the tutors of the col-

*College Recollections, page 160.

†College Recollections, 157-8.

lege and sometimes by students of the seminary. Appel says,* "The practice was, of course, encouraged by Dr. Nevin and the faculty of the college and by leading members of the congregation. They were attended by members of the church and by many of the students. The students and laity were encouraged to take part in prayer." Another alumnus, writing of those days, says: "The seminary and the college was largely nurtured by the ministers and churches who in that day were styled new-measures. They were the fruits of a revival from dead formalism and lifeless, and often godless, churchliness. The men and ministers who raised the first endowment of \$10,000 were all or nearly all of those who favored revivals." If this is true, as we believe it is, then how far did that seminary in later years under Mercersburg theology depart from the expectations of its founders by its opposition to revivals.

SECTION 4. APPROVAL OF REVIVALS BY THE CLASSES AND SYNOD.

Nothing gives a clearer indication of the position of the Church than the official action of its governing bodies. These bodies were quite outspoken about revivals.

Maryland Classis was perhaps the leader in this, as it was at that time in most of the forward movements of the church. In 1831 it held a sunrise prayer-meeting. In 1832 it requested of the members of classis that two or three or more of them unite in holding protracted meetings. In 1835 it speaks approvingly of revivals, as also in 1836 and 1841.

Zion's Classis reports revivals in 1839. Its report of 1843, written by E. V. Gerhart, says: "With many portions of our church we must record a grand revival of true piety within our bounds. The Holy Spirit had been poured out in answer to believing prayer."

Virginia Classis, in 1840, speaking of formalists and opposers of revivals, says: "Blessed be God; his grace is sufficient for every emergency and will bring them to submission."

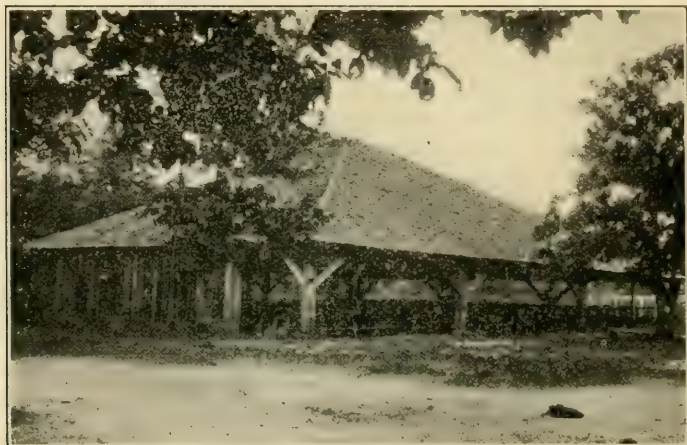
Lebanon Classis went farther than the others. It not only endorsed revivals but attacked their opposers. When Dr. Bucher, the pastor at Reading, was charged by some of his members with departing from Reformed custom by having a revival, the classis most decidedly upheld him and sharply rebuked his opponents. It went farther than this; it ordered prayer-meetings to be introduced into the congregations. And when Rev. William Pauli refused he was disciplined for contumacy. His name was finally dropped from the classis.

When Philadelphia Classis in 1838 had concluded its sessions, as the members were disappointed in being conveyed from the place of meeting to the railroad, they returned to the church, where Rev. Mr. Ebaugh

*College Recollections, 150-60.

preached and they followed it with another meeting of exhortation and prayer till nearly the going down of the sun.

North Carolina classis made protracted meetings binding in 1838 and in 1840. It held a camp-meeting at St. Matthew's Church, which took place for many years, and ordered the members of classis to attend it.



ST. MATTHEW'S ARBOR, LINCOLN CO., N. C., WHERE REFORMED CAMP-MEETINGS WERE HELD.

East Pennsylvania classis, the most conservative of all, the only one that had publicly taken action again against such aggressive movements in 1829, commended revivals in 1842.

These actions of the classes were endorsed and echoed by the Eastern synod. In 1838, it had a prayer-meeting every morning. In 1840 it expressed itself favorable to revivals of religion in its report on the state of religion. In 1843 it rejoices at reports of revivals. The report of state of religion of 1843 reads thus: "Most of the classes give the heart-cheering intelligence that many of their churches have enjoyed special outpourings of the Holy Spirit." It then notes especially the classes of Mercersburg, Maryland and Zion. In 1844 it again expresses gratification at them. Berg preached a sermon at the synod of 1844, in which he defends new-measures and prayer-meetings, saying, they had always been soundly Reformed. It met with so much favor that it was ordered to be printed and it appeared in the *Messenger*.

From all these testimonies it is very evident that the recent attempts to read out revivals as not Reformed is in itself un-Reformed. Not only have they been permitted, but they have

been endorsed by the various courts of our Church, even the highest. The various institutions of the Church approved of them. The seminary and college at Mercersburg were largely the outgrowth of the inspiration and aggressiveness developed by them. These revivals are just as legitimate a part of the life and history of our Reformed Church as any other. And the more we have quiet, serious, churchly revivals in connection with our catechetical classes the better.

SECTION 5. THE "ANXIOUS BENCH," BY DR. NEVIN.

The publication of the "Anxious Bench," in 1843, by Dr. Nevin, is supposed to have turned the tide against revivals in our Church in the East. It certainly caused a sensation. But just as certainly was it not aimed at revivals in general but at the particular kind of noisy revival known as the anxious bench. Later Dr. Nevin advanced to more extreme views against revivals than are given in his "Anxious Bench," but it was his Mercersburg theology and not the "Anxious Bench" which turned the tide against them by its high churchism and sacramentarianism, for when he wrote this book he was favorable to genuine revivals. This is clearly proved by his writings at that time. In his series of articles on the Heidelberg Catechism, when he came to speak of our Church in America,* he thus berates opposers to revivals in our denomination:

"Loose ideas of Christian profession and church discipline were prevalent. Confirmation was looked upon as a privilege to which all were entitled at a certain age on the condition of a mere outward preparation in the way of learning the catechism. Great value was attached to it as the seal and certificate of membership in the church, although in most cases it had little force subsequently as a bond upon the soul in favor of righteousness. To be confirmed and then to take the sacrament occasionally was counted by multitudes all that was necessary to make a good Christian, if only a tolerable decency of outward life were maintained besides, without any regard at all to the religion of the heart. True serious piety indeed was too often treated with open and marked scorn. In the bosom of the church itself, it was stigmatized as *Schwermerie*, *Kopfhaengerei* or miserable driveling Methodism. The idea of the

**Messenger*, August 10, 1842.

new birth was considered a pietistic whimry. Experimental religion in all its forms was eschewed as a new-fangled invention of cunning imposters brought in to turn the heads of the weak and to lead captive silly women. Prayer-meetings were held to be a spiritual abomination. Family worship was a species of saintly affectation barely tolerable in the case of ministers (though many of them also gloried in having no altar in their homes), but absolutely disgraceful for common Christians. To show an awakened concern on the subject of religion, a disposition to call upon God in secret prayer was to incur certain reproach. And all this in the midst of a professed regard of the Heidelberg Catechism and the institutions and doctrines generally of the German Reformed Church. As if the Heidelberg Catechism did not inculcate serious heart-religion,—the necessity of the new birth, the duties of repentance, faith and godly living—from beginning to end. As if it had not been the distinguishing glory of the Reformed Church from the days of Zwingli and Calvin to serve God with the spirit in the gospel of his Son and not simply in the latter. It is treason to the Catechism and to the spirit of the Church thus to put reproach on Evangelical godliness and brand as Methodism those forms of sentiment and conduct precisely which did practical homage in the fullest extent to both.”*

Such were his views just before he wrote the “Anxious Bench.”

Two events, however, were the direct causes for the publication of this book. The first was the revival at Mercersburg toward the close of 1842. Rev. Mr. Ramsey, a returned missionary from India and a brother-in-law of Rev. Mr. Bonnell, pastor of the Reformed church at Chambersburg, had been doing considerable evangelistic work in our church.† Dr. Nevin had known him as a student at Princeton and had recommended him to the consistory at Mercersburg, who had no pastor at that time. Mr. Ramsey was a preacher of some power, being later pastor of the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Dr. Nevin invited Ramsey to preach at Mercersburg at confirmation services. The latter came and

*Dr. Nevin, when he came into our church from the Presbyterian, seems to have had an idea that our church was suffering greatly from formalism. So, soon after he came to us, he began a series of articles in the *Messenger* on “Worldly-mindedness.” They were written, says Appel, “in the style of his Puritan education.” He later reveals the same idea in a number of missionary articles.

†History of Mercersburg congregation, pages 8-9; Appel, *College Recollections*, 317-23.

preached several days before. In the service at Mercersburg on Sunday evening, when the church was densely crowded, without consulting any one, on the spur of the moment, he introduced the anxious bench and called for persons to come forward to it, as the catechumens had been instructed to do by him. He then called on Dr. Nevin to make a few remarks. Dr. Nevin in a judicious way reminded his hearers that they should not suppose that coming to Christ and to the altar were one and the same thing, for one could come to the anxious bench and not to God. The congregation was so much pleased with Mr. Ramsey that they were about to elect him as pastor. Dr. Nevin, who had been anxious for his election by the congregation, however, wrote him a letter, saying that if he accepted he would have to adopt the catechetical system which was in use in the Reformed Church or else he could not work heartily with him. Ramsey took offence at this and at once declined the call, assigning as a reason for it Nevin's letter, and he wrote Dr. Nevin a letter severely flaying him for his opposition on revivals. The students generally sided with Ramsey, for the spirit of the Theological seminary under Prof. Mayer had been favorable to revivals. One student undertook to write a petition and to get signers to it, so as to lay it before Nevin, asking him to recall what he had said about the anxious bench. Dr. Nevin was forced by popular opinion to defend himself, which he did in "The Anxious Bench." Thus Ramsey's attack was one of the causes that led him to write that book.

The second event that led to its writing was the attack made on Dr. Nevin by Rev. Mr. Winebrenner, the founder of the denomination called the "Church of God," and formerly, as we have seen, a Reformed minister. Dr. Nevin, in his excellent articles in the *Messenger* on the Heidelberg Catechism, was led in the issue of August 10, 1842, to refer to the Winebrennarians as a secession from the Reformed. He said Winebrenner

"Had dexterity enough to put in motion a similar ball (to the United Brethren) which continued rolling to this hour, not without abundance of sound. This latter sect especially glory in being the patron of ignor-

ance, rail at hireling ministers, encourage all sorts of fanatical, unscriptural disorder and institute their own fancies and feelings for the calm deep power of faith."

He also added that their doctrines were Pelagian. For this severe arraignment Winebrenner wrote Dr. Nevin a severe letter on September 30, 1842, which Dr. Nevin did not publish until July 12, 1843. Winebrenner declared that Nevin erred in making the Winebrennarians patrons of ignorance and substituting their own feelings for the calm, deep power of faith. Winebrenner very shrewdly made use of Nevin's previous articles on the Heidelberg Catechism against him to show that Nevin himself had bewailed the coldness of the German Reformed Church in this country. Winebrenner continued this attack on Nevin in the *Religious Telescope*, the organ of his church, in a very severe manner. These attacks seemed to have annoyed Dr. Nevin, so that later, in publishing Winebrenner's letter in July of 1843, he announced (September 9, 1843) that he was about publishing a book of revivals. He had been lecturing to the students in the seminary on pastoral theology, and included in his lectures some on New-Measurism, in which he defended his position. These he enlarged into "The Anxious Bench," and "The Anxious Bench" appeared before October 4. In this book he has repeated references to Winebrenner, showing that the latter was a cause for its publication.

In it Dr. Nevin said that a crisis had come to the church, namely, whether the church was to be ruled by the anxious bench or by her old catechetical method. He is very careful to distinguish the anxious bench with its noisy excitements from true revivals, and his book is aimed against the former, especially against those who think that the anxious bench in itself saves and is an act without which there is no salvation.

The book is divided into six chapters. After showing (chapter 1) that the anxious bench was a clearly defined system distinguished from any other, he (chapter 2) shows that its success is not to be measured by its popularity; (chapter 3) that reliance on outward forms is a weakness;

(chapter 4) that it creates false issues for the conscience, unsettling true seriousness and usurping the place of the cross. In chapter 5 he meets the arguments for the anxious bench, as, that it causes decision on the part of the seeker and in chapter 6 he charges it with tending to disorder.

As compared with his later development into Mercersburg theology, it is interesting to notice certain things in the book. Thus the Romish Church is not to him a true Church, as it appeared later when under the influence of Mercersburg theology. He says:

“What might seem more rational and becoming than the sign of the cross as used by Christians on all occasions in the early church. And yet when the corruptions of Rome were thrown off by the Protestant world in the sixteenth century, this and other similar forms were required to pass away. And why is it that the sign of the cross as once used is now counted a dangerous superstition not to be permitted among Protestants. Simply because it falls naturally over to the vast system of abuses of which it forms a part in the Romish church.

Chapter 3, where he attacks the anxious bench because reliance on such outward forms is a weakness, reads strangely in the light of his later emphasis on outward liturgical forms. His later emphasis on baptismal grace is quite in contrast with what he says here, when speaking on the anxious bench as having been placed instead of Christ, he says, “So the Puseyite and Papist disclaim the idea of putting into Christ’s place the baptismal font, but in both cases it is perfectly plain that Christ is seriously wronged notwithstanding.” On the meaning of infant baptism, he here holds to the old Reformed view that the children of Christians, being born into the covenant, are regarded as members of the church from the beginning, and this privilege is something more than an empty show. Yet later he charges Prof. Rust with being a Pelagian for holding such views, for he later held that the child became a member of church not by virtue of its birth, as here, but by baptism.

But while in these respects he is against his later views on theological points, he shows signs on some philosophical points of veering toward his later positions. He is beginning to

love the figure of organism, which later played so prominent a part in his system. He reveals realism in philosophy in his emphasis on universals and says that humanity in general must go before the particular. His emphasis on the exact parallelism between the first and second Adam is beginning to appear. Christ's generic life as the root of the Church is incidentally referred to. But he does not yet make this generic life dependent on the objective force of the church and sacraments as he did later (which was the distinguishing feature of the Nevinistic view theologically), but on the Holy Spirit. "The book was not an attack on revivals of religion but rather intended to show that true revivals grow out of the true life of the church and must not be imposed upon it from without or accompanied by what the author calls Montanistic extravagance."^{*}

The book created a sensation. So rapid was its sale that by January, 1844, a new edition was needed.[†] Trying as he did to hold the middle position on revivals, he was misunderstood by both extremes. Those, who were opposed to all revival movements hailed it as a new ally for them, while those who either used or were lenient to the Anxious Bench regarded it's moderate positions on revivals as too narrow. It was bitterly attacked, especially by the latter. Replies to it were made by no less than six writers, representing five different denominations: United Brethren, Lutheran, Albright, Methodist and Presbyterian (New School).[‡] Davis, pastor of the Fifth Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg, wrote a pamphlet against it, entitled "A Plea for New Measures," in which he said there had been many revivals without the use of an anxious bench, such as the great revival of 1800. He called Nevin's work "the product of a theological Rip Van Winkle and an icicle pamphlet." Denny, of the United Brethren Church, wrote strictures on it. Nevin, in replying to him,

^{*}Says Prof. Dubbs, "The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania," page 305.

[†]Dr. Nevin considerably modified his views in later editions when his Mercersburg views had once developed. Thus he later refers to a revival as "a religious frenzy," Appel, *Life of Nevin*, page 160.

[‡]See Appel, *College Recollections*, pages 322-8.

called him the politico-theological plough manufacturer (it seems he was engaged in the manufacture of ploughs). The *Christian Botschafter*, the organ of the Albright or Evangelical Association, severely denounced the book. Wyeth, a Methodist, attacked it in the *Lebanon Courier*, as did Rigdon in the *New York Christian Advocate*, a Methodist paper, who facetiously declared that Nevin had given the book a wrong name, as it was not the bench that was anxious. Rev. Dr. Kurtz, the editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, replied to it in the *Lutheran Observer*, charging him with vagaries and want of Scriptural authority. This was published in a "Tract for the People." Rev. Reuben Weiser, a Lutheran minister of Bedford County, Pa., published a reply in 1844, saying that forty Reformed ministers were using the anxious bench as occasion required. Some years after, about 1855, he published in the *Lutheran Observer*, a retraction. The book was approved by the *Christian Intelligencer* and the *Presbyterian*. The *Princeton Review* joined with him against the view that makes the anxious bench a sort of a third sacrament.

In our own church it was generally approved, although Stern says that only one of the students at Mercersburg, Harbaugh, had the courage to come out in full sympathy with Nevin at first, for it seems that whole institution, as we have seen, had been pervaded with sympathy with all such revival movements before. The *Messenger* supported it, although, says Dubbs, there was some doubt at first whether Fisher, the editor, would do so, owing to his previous sympathy with revivals. It was attacked in the *Messenger* by Rev. Jacob Helfenstein,* who claimed that such movements were not new movements, and that the Methodists do not call it the anxious bench, but the mourners' bench. He declared that the anxious bench was not wrong in itself and said it had been first used in 1804 at Basking Ridge, N. J., by Rev. Robert Finley. The Synod of Ohio, led by David Winters, recommended its members to read it with candor. But one of its

*December 6, 1843.

members declared he would not touch the wicked thing with a ten-foot pole. Dr. Berg, who was looked upon as a leader in revival movements, said that with the exception of unimportant particulars, he could subscribe to all in the book. Rev. Dr. Haeke, one of our conservatives in West Pennsylvania, rejoiced that the true way had been so ably described and proved. Still the publication of the "Anxious Bench" was used by some of the German ministers who were opposed to revivals as being in their favor, and it led some conservative ministers to take a decided stand against all revivals.*

These attacks led Dr. Nevin to write a series of articles in the *Messenger* on the anxious bench. He first notices the various attacks made on his book and then goes on to define what is really meant by New Measures. For there seems to be a difference in the use of the term "anxious bench." Nevin used it as synonymous of the peculiar method used by Methodists, while others use new-measures in the larger sense as including revivals of all kinds, prayer-meetings and everything evangelistic. Nevin emphasizes the fact that the anxious bench is bastard revivalism, not true revivalism. He claimed that the system of the bench was contrary to that of the Catechism, and said that Jacob Helffenstein did not distinguish between the anxious bench and the true form of revivalism. Nevin was right, but Helffenstein was also right in writing against the underlying tendency of such a work as Nevin's to disparage all revivals, which tendency appeared later in the Mercersburg theology.

As Jacob Helffenstein had complained that Nevin was not clear in his statements as to what was meant by the "Anxious Bench," Nevin explains the difference between a true and false revival, that by new-measures he meant extra meetings outside of prayer-meetings, protracted meetings, revivals, etc. Thus he says:

"Even those who admire the anxious bench in the proper sense must admit that they do not stand inseparably connected with the idea of revivals, prayer-meetings, etc.; and that it is greatly to be regretted,

*It was translated into German by Rev. A. Bierdemann, a Lutheran minister in Ohio.

therefore, that they should be so confounded in any part of the church as to stand or fall together in the judgment of the people. Even if the anxious bench be a good thing it is most unfortunate that those who think otherwise should consider it necessary in any cause to condemn and reject prayer-meetings at the same time. All should wish then to see a distinction made among the people between things that are thus confounded without reason under the general name of new-measures. A large part of the opposition that is now manifest toward revivals, prayer-meetings, etc., as included under the common term with the anxious bench noise and Methodistical excesses, would at once become silent if confronted with the same interests in the proper form. I can not persuade myself that there is any part of the German Reformed Church for instance where the people would make strenuous opposition to a prayer-meeting, to the cause of missions, to the idea of a revival or any other Evangelical interests, if only proper pains were taken by the pastors to bring them forward in the right way."

He also adds: "Those who love revivals and those who hate them will come to see before long that they constitute an interest which has nothing to do with the system here exposed (the anxious bench).^{*} In the *Messenger*† he says that the charge of Davis and others that it is a blow struck against revivals and prayer-meetings is false. No one, he says, who knows what a revival is, can believe that the "Anxious Bench" was intended as a tract to represent such interests as these. In the *Messenger*‡ he also says that his opponents by confounding things which do not belong to it at all and by countenancing in its name all sorts of extravagance have brought all into discredit. He speaks approvingly in this article of Spener, Whitfield, the Tennants and Edwards, the great revivalists. He also, in the second edition of the "Anxious Bench" answers attacks, adding whole paragraphs, and he closed the edition by adding the last chapter on the system of the catechism. In this edition he reveals his newer views of the organic and generic life (page 125), but is careful to favor true revivals. He says page 140):

"The churches that hate revivals may be said emphatically to love death. Every faithful pastor will be concerned to see his ministrations crowned

^{*}For further extracts, see *Reformed Church Monthly*, 1876, page 250.

†February 21, 1844.

‡February 28, 1844.

with such special affusions of God's Spirit. Meetings for prayer will be multiplied. Protracted meetings will be required. It will be necessary to have special conferences with the awakened.''

He declares that the reformation was a widespread revival and enlarges on the revival at Kidderminster under Baxter.

The man who is opposed to all revivals would not speak thus. This volume is not, therefore, an argument against all revivals but an argument against a peculiar type of them, namely, the anxious bench. In its preface he declares that its object was to rescue the cause of revivals from abuse. It is also to be carefully noted that in it, he is not only severe against those who hold to the anxious bench but also against those formalists who opposed all revivals.

SECTION 6. THE EFFECT OF THESE REVIVALS ON THE CHURCH.

The effect of these revivals was great and beneficial. While there may have been some extravagances,* in general, however, they aided the church. The church hitherto a sleeping giant woke up from its lethargy. Quite a number of valuable results are mentioned by pastors as coming from them. They led to the establishment of prayer-meetings where before they were unknown. In many congregations a weekly prayer-meeting was established and sometimes two. At Cherry Valley the new converts established one for themselves. Quite a number of female prayer-meetings are reported, as at York under Cares. The number of those who would take part in public prayer was greatly increased. Together with these prayer-meetings, family altars innumerable arose, often in places where they were unknown before. One or two ministers report that family altars existed in almost every family in their congregations. Many Sunday schools were established. Osborne at Germantown reported three where, before the revival, there was one. Bucher reported, at Reading, a Sunday School teachers' prayer-meeting, at that time a nov-

*Occasionally an evil result appeared as when they led in one case to the desire of one congregation (Boehm's) to adopt a constitution as an independent church. Still such independency showed itself in our Church more frequently, where there were no revivals and can not therefore be made a charge against them.

erty. These revivals brought converted teachers into the Sunday school and greatly added to its efficiency. Large additions were made to the churches as the result of these revivals.

In the various public operations of the church these revivals produced important results. They aroused interest in missions especially foreign missions. Thus a protracted meeting at Boalsburg raised \$100 for missions, a large sum at that time. The number of students for the ministry was considerably increased and the young men who entered the ministry had learned by experience the nature of conversion, which would greatly aid their usefulness. These revivals led to the suppression of vice, especially of intemperance. Thus, in 1838, all the bars of public houses at Cherry Valley except one were closed as the result of a revival. But the special cause greatly aided by these revival movements was the Centenary of the Church in 1841. The interest they caused, led to the gathering of a much larger amount of money. The seminary at Mercersburg owes its growth largely to this movement. Mayer, Rice, Beecher, the Helffensteins, Berg and others who aided it in its infancy were of this stamp. Yet many of its graduates later, under the influence of Mercersburg theology, have minimized and some even sneered at revivals. But without them, their seminary would not be what it is to-day. They ought to be thankful to the worthy men and for this great movement that thus laid the foundations of their education.

Perhaps the best witnesses of the value of these revivals were the ministers themselves. We select two of the most prominent testimonies from among the many testimonies:

Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, thus wrote about the revival at Waynesboro in 1841: "We feel called upon to acknowledge our conviction that so great a blessing has been bestowed by God measurably in view of the removal of the great stumbling-block which hitherto hindered the operations of divine grace, namely, sectarian prejudice. May the Almighty God pass through the length and breadth of our beloved churches and revive them all."

Prof. J. W. Nevin, in his article on a Visit to Reading,* says: "This revival has served to vindicate in Reading and to the view of all Berks

**Messenger*, July 4, 1843.

County the true original spirit of the German Reformed Church as it regards the great interest of Evangelical piety. The men who oppose heart-religion and prayer-meetings in the German Reformed Church are the enemies of the Church. When they say that prayer-meetings are contrary to the spirit of the Church, they lie and do not tell the truth. The Heidelberg Catechism inculcates serious heart-religion from beginning to end. The old hymns of the Church are full of it. It is wretched impudence for any one to stand up in the face of our hymns and our Catechism and the example of the fathers and say that ministers who preach repentance and the new birth are bringing new doctrines and new-measures. The mere cry of new-measures will not serve to keep the people in the dark. They will understand that the use of new-measures is one thing and the serious use of the old-measures is another. They will be able to distinguish between things that differ as light and smoke, having nothing to do on the one hand with anxious benches, shouting, clapping and the whole Babelism of false excitement, while they hold fast on the other to all that is vital in the religion of the closet, the family and the social circle as embodied from the Bible in the Heidelberg Catechism."

CHAPTER V.

THE DOCTRINE AND CULTUS OF THE CHURCH, 1793-1844.

SECTION 1. THE DOCTRINE.

A. Orthodoxy.—It has been the habit of the historians of the Mercersburg school to claim that our Church passed through a period of rationalism before 1840, and that the Mercersburg theology was the savior of our Church by bringing it back to the Evangelical position. It is necessary, therefore, to examine and see whether the charge be true or not. Thus Schaff* declares that our Church had been founded at a time when German theology was rationalistic and the pious elements had fled to the chapels of Pietists or to the Moravians. He says that among the ministers there was much open and secret rationalism. In this charge he was followed by Nevin and the Mercersburg men, who delighted to write up their supernaturalism by writing down about all the Reformed who went before them, saying that the latter had all been tinctured with low views of the Church and the sacraments. Gerhart, too,† says: "From 1747 to 1819, a period of 72 years, neither the ministers of the coetus nor of the synod make any reference either to the Heidelberg Catechism or any other confession of faith. Such a negative attitude is in sympathy with the dominant rationalism in Europe of the eighteenth century." Gerhart's statement about the Heidelberg Catechism has since been disproved by the publication of the coetus' minutes, where the Heidelberg Catechism is often spoken of. But neither Schaff nor Gerhart are right in making our early church to be rationalistic. They did so to write up Mercersburg theology as having saved the Church from rationalism. No doubt to them with their ultra-high

*Palmblatter, 1846, page 92, also 1847.

†Sesqui-centennial Address, 1896, page 36.

views of the Church and the sacraments, the old view of our Church would seem low, and so they charged it with being Puritanic and rationalizing. But it was nevertheless the old Reformed view, as old as the reformation, in comparison with which Mercersburg Theology was "new-measureism." But let us look at the facts that disprove their theory.

The synod very early took its position against infidelity. The minutes of 1796, say :

"Domine Hendel brought up the sad consequences of Paine's blasphemous works. It was resolved that the ministry endeavor to operate against these results by watchfulness and prayer according to the example of the apostles." Hendel at the same meeting called attention to the propositions in the House of Representatives, threatening to overthrow the instruction of the youth in the true Christian religion and proposed to take into consideration how it may be defeated or amended. It was resolved that the standing committee be requested to be vigilant and as soon as they thought encroachments were being made, to have a petition opposing the measure or asking for amendments printed and sent to the ministers for subscription by the members of their congregations.

In 1797, the Reformed and Lutherans joined hands against the public school bill of Pennsylvania, because they thought it godless and would lead their children from the church. Pauli, in a letter to Helffrich, September 20, 1800, speaks of the fear by Christian people of Jefferson's infidelity. He says:

"We flatter ourselves here with the hope that Adams will again be elected president; the unbelief of Jefferson, his atheistic efforts are clearly to be seen, so that every one who names himself a Christian ought to be ashamed to vote for him."

The boldness of infidelity was so great that the character of Runkel, pastor at Germantown, was openly and scandalously attacked in the *Germantown Democrat*. It was replied to by Billmeyer's paper sharply. The synod of 1802 put itself on record against the introduction of infidelity into the synod:

"Inasmuch as the attention of the synod has been called to the prevalence of neology, especially in Europe, it was resolved to guard against the introduction of this as far as possible, that all ministers coming from Europe as well as those ordained in this country shall hereafter for a period of three years be merely honorary members,

and shall only after the expiration of that period and in case their life and doctrine harmonize with the gospel, be permitted to vote.”*

It is therefore evident from this that our synod officially was sound in its orthodoxy. While the Lutheran Church in this country had rationalistic elements or passed, it is said, through a rationalistic era, we find only two or three Reformed ministers in connection with the synod against whom rationalism is charged. One of them was Raschig, who spent some time at the seminary at York, was licensed 1833 and after being a pastor in Dauphin County, went to Cincinnati in 1834 to a congregation founded largely on a unionistic basis. In 1835 he endeavored to introduce into his congregation, because many of them were from the Rhine, the Rhine-Bavarian Catechism. This was attacked by Jacob Gulich, who wrote a long letter, March 15, 1836, to Raschig, who ignored his letter as Gulich was not a member of his congregation. Gulich then had his letter published. Raschig was urged by his congregation to continue the use of the catechism. Gulich then brought complaint before the Ohio Synod of 1836, asking them to pass judgment on the catechism. The synod approved the complaint and published the letter as an appendix to its minutes. But its decision had little effect on the congregation. It is strange that the synod took any action on Gulich's complaint, because he was not a member of our Church and, therefore, his complaint had no ecclesiastical standing. The *Messenger* criticized the catechism because it nowhere states Christ's divinity, total depravity, atonement or regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and said that Raschig, whom it believed to be Evangelical, ought not to have introduced it. Miami Classis reported to the Ohio Synod of 1847 that it had erased Raschig's name.

Foersch was another illustration of rationalism. He had become somewhat prominent by the publication of a life of Zwingli in 1837, but soon after became a rationalist. For this he was promptly deposed from our ministry in 1839. He subsequently repented and asked to be reinstated as a min-

*Rev. Mr. Dreyer, of our Church, had an article in the *Evangelische Zeitung* against universalism.

ister, which was done, but he was later again deposed. The Church by thus casting off those of rationalistic tendencies declared itself orthodox.

Of the period of rationalism in the Church, as charged by the Mercersburg historians, we can find scarce a trace, not even, as we shall see, in the private catechism's published. Nevin declared that period to be rationalistic because they did not hold as high views of the Church and sacraments as himself. But in so doing he set up a man of straw so as to attack it. Our forefathers of this period would not have known themselves among the rationalists. They thoroughly believed in the divinity of Christ, original sin, the atonement and regeneration more fully than some who now cast the charge against them. They would have indignantly repudiated the charge of being rationalists.

The following illustrations of the opposition to rationalism are told of some of the ministers: Wack was once annoyed by a Universalist preacher who said: "Our doctrine is old; it was preached in Paradise," and quoted as his proof "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," to which Wack made prompt reply, "Yes, it is old; it was preached in Paradise and the Devil was the first preacher of it and his text was "Thou shalt not surely die." To another such preacher who held that all will ultimately be saved, Wack abruptly retorted, "If that be so, I don't see what you have to do here, where I am doing all I can to save people from going to hell. Your proper mission is in hell itself preaching the gospel of prospective deliverance to those who are in torment." Reily with a number of ministers happened to stop at a hotel on the way to synod. A minister of another denomination, but a rationalist, happened to dine at the same place. Knowing Mr. Reily, he came up to him with a pompous and bantering air to show off his learning and lead him into an argument. Drawing himself up into an attitude of great dignity, he addressed Reily: "What is reason? Please give me a correct and full definition of reason." "O, well," replied Reily, his eye beaming with humor, "Reason! reason is something one takes by the nose and turns any way one listeth." The discussion was brought to a sudden close amid the half suppressed smiles of all present.

B. Catholicism.—The Church had no more sympathy for Catholicism than for rationalism. In 1840 the synod commended Berg's "Lectures on Romanism" which he had delivered before publication to great crowds. Nevin also favorably

criticized Berg's book. In 1841 Berg published "Auricular Confession." He also became editor of the *Protestant Banner*, a magazine devoted to polemics against Romanism. In 1841 he published a synopsis of Den's Moral Theology to reveal the awful moral standard of the Catholics. Berg thus became a leader against Romanism. He tried, in 1843, to have the synod take action against the Catholic Church as Antichrist, but seems to have failed.

In that year Berg engaged in an open discussion in the Reformed Church at Lebanon with a Catholic priest at Lebanon. It seems that Rev. Gardner Jones, who had left the Catholic priesthood and become a minister in our Church, had made an exposure of Catholicism at Lebanon. This led the Catholic priest, Steinbacher, to offer, through the Lebanon *Democrat*, a challenge to enter into a discussion with any teacher of religion who might think differently from himself. Jones offered to meet the priest, but would not agree to the conditions and refused to have anything to do with him. A copy of the paper was sent to Berg. He accepted the challenge and came to Lebanon, October 12, 1842. The controversy was arranged for October 17, 1842. Two questions were to be discussed, the first prepared by Steinbacher, the second by Berg: 1. Are the marks of the great apostasy as found in the Bible found in the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome? 2. Is the Church of Rome an idolatrous church? They were to have five meetings of two hours each, each to occupy thirty minutes at a time. The Reformed church was crowded at the opening of the discussion.

The priest opened by saying that he had been persecuted by some Protestants entering into his parish at Lebanon. Berg replied that there was no persecution. Berg read from Den's theology, "Are heretics rightly punished with death?" Steinbacher shrewdly took the position that Catholicism could not be called an apostate faith for it was the earliest faith. A second argument that it was not apostate was that as it was infallible it could not be so. Berg replied that they did not know what infallibility was, as they differed greatly in its definition, and he denied that the Catholic Church had been founded twenty years before the Book of Revelation was written, as the priest had said.

On Monday evening they again debated before a crowded audience. The priest showed that the Albigenses, Manicheans and Waldenses had on them marks of Antichrist. Berg then went on to show that Catholics were idolatrous in praying to and worshiping the Virgin Mary, quoting Colossians against them. The priest in reply tried to show that their prayers to Mary did not mean that they worshiped her. He went on to show that the Catholic Church did not possess the marks of apostasy as given in the seventeenth chapter of Revelation. Berg, in reply, applied the seven-hilled city of that chapter to the seven-hilled city of Rome and ridiculed their doctrine of apostolic succession.

They met again on Tuesday, but the two topics agreed upon were not closely adhered to. The priest defended the popes and declared that Berg's statements were fallacious. He defended the Orders and the relics of the church, basing his argument on tradition. Berg at once denied that there was any proof for them from the Bible. He then attacked the Orders and the doctrine of justification by works. He pointed to the lying wonders of Catholicism as the House of Loretto. He declared that, as the priest dared not reveal a secret of the confessional, he might keep secret a plot against our country. The priest in reply defended prayers to the saints and the celibacy of the priesthood. Berg then attacked celibacy.

On Tuesday evening the priest defended the priest's oath to secrecy. He tried to prove that Rome was the true church, while Protestantism was not the true bride of Christ. Berg then spoke of the fifth mark of the beast forbidding to marry and showed that Rome had every one of the marks of the apostasy. Steinbacher then arose and referred the Antichrist of the Bible to the Manicheans and tried to show that Protestantism had apostatized from Rome. Berg applied Paul's mark of the worship of Antichrist to the pope and spoke a solemn warning against an apostatizing church.

On Wednesday afternoon the discussion turned upon whether Rome was an idolatrous church. The priest attacked the Protestants as not properly commissioned to preach the gospel. He also attacked the Protestant doctrine that the Bible was the infallible rule of faith because he said the Reformers differed so much in its interpretation. Berg, without paying attention to the somewhat rambling charges of his opponent, then went directly to the question whether Rome was an idolatrous church. He held up a piece of the true cross which they worshiped. He also referred to their worship of the host, quoting the second commandment against them. He said they worshiped the saints and the pope, whereas all worship was forbidden by the Bible except of Christ. The priest replied somewhat angrily but did not answer Berg's arguments, and went on directly to defend transubstantiation. Berg defended the differences of interpretation among the Reformers and declared they did right in leaving the Catholic Church.

He then attacked transubstantiation and closed with a hope that all priests might see the light as it is in Protestantism and called Rome an apostate church.

All through the argument it seemed evident that the priest was on the defensive. As he had had the lead in the discussion it was somewhat rambling in its character. Berg undoubtedly had the better of the argument, both in logic and as to the facts. The influence of the discussion was favorable to Protestantism.

C. Calvinism.—The Church was in the main Calvinistic, although the doctrine of election was never greatly emphasized. It was treated as it is in the catechism in an irenic way and as a spiritual comfort rather than as a metaphysical speculation—as God's grace rather than God's sovereignty. Nor did adherence to it keep the church from having some Arminians in it. And there were also some who boasted that they were Zwinglian rather than Calvinistic. Thus, Prof. Mayer, in 1835, says: "The issues between Calvinism and Arminianism are left to every man's conscience. We have ministers and members on both sides of the question." He speaks of there being Arminians especially among the laity. But although Dr. Mayer states the matter thus, in his dogmatical lectures as we have seen, he is Calvinistic, although it is in a mild form.

But other facts reveal the strength of Calvinism in the Church. Thus, Thomas Pomp, in his article in the *Messenger*,* reveals very strong Calvinism. The *Messenger*, in an editorial June 19, 1844, criticizes Rev. Dr. Morris, the Lutheran, of Baltimore, who said that the only difference between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches was that the one said in German "our Father" and the other "Father our" in the Lord's prayer. The editorial gives eleven differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed. Among them it says that the Lutherans are Arminians, the Reformed moderately Calvinistic in doctrine like their standards, which are moderately Calvinistic.

*April 19, 1837.

The theological position of the teachers of the three private theological seminaries is significant. As to the type of doctrine taught in these schools it was confessionally Reformed and orthodox based on the Heidelberg Catechism. Becker's published sermons reveal him as orthodox but broad and liberal in his views and sympathies. Becker's theological lectures* reveal fine scholarship, wide learning, clearness of thought and systematic arrangement. He gives a good deal of prominence to natural theology, placing it first and emphasizing "healthy reason." But Biblical theology, which follows, composes the larger part and is essentially Evangelical. He has no sympathy with high-Calvinism, calling it subjective predestination (that is subjective in the mind of God). He inclines toward Arminianism—that election is objective,—based on God's foreknowledge. He also holds to universal atonement. He was probably influenced by Mursinna, his teacher, toward freedom of dogmatic thought though he did not follow him in his rationalism, but perhaps under his teaching some of our ministers became weak in their Calvinism or were Arminian. Dr. Samuel Helffenstein was a strict Calvinist of the Federal School, as is revealed by his theology, "The Doctrine of Divine Revelation." In it he says that its statement of doctrine was what had always been common in the German Reformed Church. This book was commended by a committee appointed by synod composed of Pomp, Becker and Wolff. Rev. John Helffrich says Helffenstein used Lampe's (Calvinistic dogmatics in teaching his students. Dr. Herman.

*We found a copy of Becker's lectures on theology in manuscript in the library of Franklin and Marshall College, presented to it by Schaffner. Schaffner was the son of Becker's organist at Lancaster and began his studies under Becker there. The dates in this book are interesting. Schaffner began studying with Becker February 10, 1806, and went with Becker to Baltimore, where he continued his studies under him, closing with moral theology, January, 1808. There is also another copy in the library of the Central Seminary at Dayton, presented by Rev. A. Helffenstein. The same theology in a somewhat abbreviated form was taught by his son, Rev. J. C. Becker, a copy of which is also in the Central Theological Seminary library, presented by Rev. Dr. Kemmerer. Perhaps it was to get this unusually fine system of theology that so many of his father's students went over to Rev. J. C. Becker.

- who was head of the third private theological school, although a pupil of the rationalistic Prof. Mursinna at Halle, yet was thoroughly Evangelical and strong on the doctrine of predestination, as is revealed by his theological lectures, some of which were published later by Guldin in the *Christian Intelligencer* and the *Messenger*.*

SECTION 2. THE PRIVATE CATECHISMS OF OUR EARLY CHURCH.

Although the Heidelberg Catechism was the creed adopted by our Church from its beginning in this country, yet, especially in the early part of the last century, a number of ministers prepared catechisms of their own, which they used in the instruction of the youth for church-membership. In doing so they were but following the example of our Church in Germany, where Lampe and others had published a number of such aids to the Heidelberg Catechism.

None of these catechisms were ever officially adopted by our Church, although several attempts were made to legitimize some of them at the synods. In the constitution of 1793 (published in 1805) the Heidelberg Catechism was not mentioned. But in 1820 the synod directed that the Heidelberg Catechism be exclusively used in the churches. That synod appointed a committee to publish in English an Extract of the Heidelberg Catechism. But two of the committee were already using catechisms of their own, so nothing came of it. In 1822, Samuel Helffenstein reported a catechism (which may have been his own) as suitable for adoption by the synod, but it was not adopted. In 1823, synod appointed another committee but they did nothing. The new constitution of 1828 ordered that the Heidelberg Catechism, or an abbreviation of it, be used, but this did not stop the use of these private catechisms. In 1833, Rev. J. C. Becker sub-

*There is a fourth system of theology that has come down to us in manuscript from those early days. It is a theology brought to this country by Wynekhaus and is credited by him to Janssen, the professor of theology at Duisburg in Germany, where he had studied. It was later used by the Waacks (Casper and George) in training those who studied under them. Rev. S. R. Fisher and Shenkle also had copies. It is also Calvinistic.

mitted his catechism to the synod, but the committee, to whom were referred several such catechisms, never seems to have reported. The Synod of Ohio in 1820 ordered the Heidelberg Catechism to be used; but in 1838, though refusing to adopt Weisz's catechism, its use was allowed.

Several of these private catechisms were used beyond the parish of their authors, especially Helffenstein's and Rahauser's. But most of them were used only in the congregations of their author. It is important to note, however, that while these private catechisms were much used, yet the Heidelberg Catechism does not seem to have been set aside or to have lost its circulation, as quite a number of editions were published during this period by different printing houses in different places. The earliest of these private catechisms published was by Rev. C. L. Becker, of Baltimore. It was published in 1805 at Lancaster, where he was then pastor. But his catechism does not seem to have been the first in use, for the Helffrich catechism, which was published in 1826, claims in its preface to have been used forty years before, which would puts its use back to 1786. In 1810, two private catechisms were published, one by Rev. Mr. Hiester, of Lebanon, the other by Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, of Philadelphia. In 1813, Rev. L. F. Herman, of Falkner Swamp, published a catechism at Reading. In 1817, Rev. Jonathan Rahauser, of Hagerstown, published a catechism there. In 1820, a catechism appeared at Allentown, known as the "Dubbs catechism." In 1826, the Helffrich catechism was published at Allentown. In 1833, Rev. J. C. Becker, the son of Rev. C. L. Becker, published a catechism at Allentown, and Rev. Samuel Hess at Easton in 1843. These were the private catechisms of this period. Others, as Fisher's, Gerhart's, Schaff's were published later.* These catechisms are interesting because they throw a side-light on the doctrinal history of our Church at a time when there was little church literature. Incidentally they reveal some facts about the tendencies of

*An interesting article and bibliography of these private catechisms is found in Prof. W. J. Hinke's "Early Catechisms of the Reformed Church in the United States" in the *Reformed Church Review* of 1908.

their authors. These catechisms can be divided into three classes:

1. Those that follow the Heidelberg Catechism in its arrangement and were intended merely as a commentary on it.
2. Those whose arrangement of material is different from the Heidelberg, but which frequently refer to the questions and answers of the Heidelberg.
3. Those that make no reference to the Heidelberg Catechism, but which have their own arrangement and view Christian doctrines from their own standpoint.

1. Four of the catechisms belong to the first class; Helffenstein's, Rahauser's, the so-called Dobb's Catechism and Hess'.

Helffenstein's was published by Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, of Philadelphia, and most closely follows the order of the answers of the Heidelberg Catechism. It is entitled "A Short Instruction in the Christian Religion according to the Heidelberg Catechism." It contains about 500 questions and refers directly to 63 answers of the Heidelberg Catechism in their order. It has 55 quotations from Scripture. After a brief introduction on religion, the Scriptures and God, it takes up the questions of the Heidelberg one after the other. It is clear and logical in its statements, revealing Dr. Helffenstein's known theological ability. Much of it seems to be taken from Helffrich's Catechism. For it is to be remembered that the older Helffenstein and the older Helffrich were stepbrothers. It is also possible that both of these catechisms may have had a common source in some earlier German catechism in Germany, familiar to these older ministers, but that yet remains to be found. This catechism seems to have been used by some of the ministers who studied theology under Dr. Helffenstein. Thus Rev. John Brown, in Virginia, published a catechism in 1830, entitled "A Short Instruction According to the Heidelberg Catechism," at Harrisonburg, Va., in German and English. It is the Helffenstein Catechism considerably abbreviated, having about 340 questions.* Rev. George Weisz, in 1837, at Lancaster, O., published "A Short Instruction According to the Heidelberg Catechism." It is also the Helffenstein Catechism somewhat abbreviated, having 339 questions. Neither Brown or Weisz give any credit in their publication to Helffenstein as the author of the catechism,† although catechisms may have been looked upon in those days as public property belonging to the church.

The next catechism to closely follow the Heidelberg is Rahauser's. Rev. Jonathan Rahauser was the pastor of the Reformed church at

*A copy of it is in the possession of General J. E. Roller, of Harrisonburg, Va.

†Let us hope they did so as they lectured on it.

Hagerstown, Maryland. Its title is "Short Extract from the Heidelberg Catechism in Questions and Answers." Its motto on its title-page is "To promote the knowledge of truth, which is after godliness." It has 421 questions. Without any introduction, as in the Helffenstein Catechism, it at once goes into the questions of the Heidelberg Catechism. It directly refers to 57 of the questions of the Heidelberg and has 77 references to Scripture. A peculiarity of this catechism is that it takes up the ten commandments in the first part of the catechism instead of the third part, as in the Heidelberg. Many of its answers are based on the Helffrich Catechism.

The so-called Dubbs Catechism was published at Allentown in 1820, but it is evident that Dubbs did not write it, for he did not enter the ministry until 1822. Who its author was is a problem. Its preface is dated Weissenberg. In 1819, when this preface was written, the pastor at Weissenburg and around Allentown was Rev. John Gobrecht; but his pastorate was short and he was not a man of much education, so that it seems to us likely that he used the catechism of his predecessor, Rev. Abraham Blumer, which would make Blumer the author. A pointer in that direction may be the fact that the catechism was published by a firm whose leading member was a son of Rev. Mr. Blumer. Blumer was a university graduate of Europe and fully able to prepare such a catechism. Its title is "Christian Instruction in Religion in Questions and Answers." After a brief introduction of seventeen questions, it takes up the questions of the Heidelberg Catechism in their order, though omitting some of them. Although it directly refers to only nineteen questions of the Heidelberg Catechism, yet under these questions it gathers many of the surrounding answers of the Heidelberg. It has about 439 questions and refers to Scriptures 47 times.

Hess' Catechism was prepared by Rev. Samuel Hess and published at Easton in 1843. It is entitled "Short Instruction in the Christian Religion in Questions and Answers for the Use of Children." After a brief introduction of ten questions, it enters on the second question of the Heidelberg and so continues throughout the whole Heidelberg, embodying many of its answers in it. It refers directly to 26 questions of the Heidelberg and has about 441 questions. It refers to Scripture 66 times. It closes with a confirmation hymn. , .

2. The second class of private catechisms are those which have a different arrangement of materials from the Heidelberg, but frequently refer to it and base themselves on it. Of this class there are three: Helffrich's, C. L. Becker's and Hiester's.*

Hiester's Catechism was entitled "A Summary of Christian Doctrine after the Order of the Heidelberg Catechism," Lebanon, 1810. It does

*We do not consider the "Short Summary of Christian Doctrine" published at Lebanon, 1804, as a catechism. It is a summary of doctrine rather than a catechism. It seems, however, to have had a considerable circulation, as six editions were published.

not give the name of the author, but Rev. Mr. Hiester was the pastor at Lebanon at that time. We also found two references, one by a writer in the *Messenger* to it as Hiester's Catechism. We may, therefore look upon Hiester as the author. It has about 325 questions, refers to 24 answers of the Heidelberg Catechism and has 44 Scripture references. The order of its subjects is as follows,—after an introduction, it takes up God, creation and the fall of man, redemption, the sacraments, ten commandments and prayer. It virtually puts the first answer of the Heidelberg Catechism at the end. It has some likeness to Helffrich's Catechism.

Helffrich's Catechism was published by Rev. John Helffrich in 1826. But in the preface he says it had been used for forty years before. It was, therefore, the work of his father. It was entitled "Christian Instruction in Religion in Questions and Answers," and was first published at Allentown. It contains about 485 questions and refers to 21 answers of the Heidelberg. It refers to Scripture 26 times. The order of its subjects is salvation, religion, the Bible, the creed (under which are God, creation, sin and salvation, the Christian life and the church), justification, the sacraments, the ten commandments and prayer. Its general outline is very much like Hiester's. Its answers are generally quite brief.

The catechism of Rev. C. L. Becker is a brief catechism of ninety answers. It is entitled "Short Summary of Christian Doctrine," and was published first at Lancaster, 1805, where Becker was pastor. It refers to the Heidelberg Catechism 28 times. The arrangement of its subjects is as follows: religion, God, creation, man, redemption, justification, repentance, the ten commandments, faith and the sacraments. With some of these subjects their duty is enforced. It lacks the theological arrangement and clear definition one would expect from such a scholarly theologian as Dr. Becker, with whose private theological seminary at Baltimore we have become familiar. But it is quite rich in quotations from Scripture, having 53, quite a number for its small size. In the preface, he says his aim is solely to instruct the youth in the knowledge of the Bible. Though Evangelical, yet it reveals the rather colder type of the Bremen theology, which in our early church set itself against pietistic influences.

3. The third and last class of catechisms are those which do not refer at all to the Heidelberg Catechism and which look at religion from a different perspective. They are Herman's and J. C. Becker's.

Herman's Catechism was published by Rev. F. L. Herman, pastor at Falkner Swamp and head of one of the private theological seminaries. It is entitled "Catechism of the Doctrines and the Duties of Life of the Christian Religion." It was published at Reading, 1813. In his preface, he says he composed and published it at the request of a number of members of his congregations, so that they might have a

catechism more easily learned and understood than the Heidelberg Catechism." "If any one will take the trouble," he says, "to compare it with the Heidelberg, Lampe's or the Basle Catechism, he will be able to see whether the desired end has been attained." It contains about 369 questions and has 114 references to the Bible. It is divided, as its name suggests, into two parts, first doctrine and then duties. Under doctrine he takes up religion, the Bible, faith, the creed, under which God, Christ and the Holy Spirit are considered. Under duties, he takes up repentance, the ten commandments, prayer, the sacraments and the duties connected with them. It closes with a renewal of the baptismal covenant. It seems a little confusing to the reader to find baptism and the Lord's Supper, which are generally taken up as doctrines, placed under duties. The catechism has an apologetical tinge, demanding and giving proofs of the existence of God from nature and conscience. But it accepts as proofs, prophecy and miracles. The catechism also strongly brings out the ethical side of religion as duties. Faith is placed among the duties of life rather than as a doctrine. The catechism is orthodox, but it inclines to dead orthodoxy like the Bremen type of ministers in its opposition to pietism and it therefore lacks the genial warmth of the Heidelberg Catechism.

The catechism of J. C. Becker was entitled "Short Sketch of Christian Faith in Questions and Answers." It was published first at Allentown in 1833. It contains about 217 questions and has 213 Scripture references, having more than any other catechism. The last part of the catechism on the sacraments and confirmation are taken from the catechism of his father, Rev. C. L. Becker. Like Herman's Catechism it emphasized the apologetical and ethical; but Herman's emphasized natural theology; Becker's, dogmatic and Biblical theology. The arrangement of its subjects is as follows: God, Christ as redeemer, the Holy Spirit, the benefits of redemption, repentance and faith, the sacraments, followed by an ethical part concerning duties to God, one's self and our neighbor. It was intellectual rather than experimental, sometimes using the third person in the question instead of the second as in the Heidelberg, thus making it rather like a theological treatise than a catechism. Like Herman's, it lacked the warmth of the Heidelberg Catechism.

Such is a brief statement of the private catechisms of our Church. They throw considerable light on a period of our Church's history about which the sources of information are few. They reveal that the ministry of that day were diligent in educational religion and were careful in the catechization of the youth. It is somewhat interesting to note that this period of the private catechism began just a little before and ran into the period of the revivals in our Church. Catechiza-

tion and revivals go together. Pietism prevents catechization from being purely intellectual and cold, while catechization prevents piety from being merely emotional and unstable. Both have gone together in the Reformed Church. Indeed it was to Pietism that our Church in Germany owed the origin of its weekly catechization.* We can not agree with the claim of the historians of the Mercersburg theology that this period of our Church was rationalistic, from which the coming of Mercersburg Theology saved it. And this view, we regret to say, is hinted at in some statements made by Prof. W. J. Hinke, in his article on "The Early Private Catechisms in the Reformed Church Review." We take issue with any such statements, for these catechisms do not bear out such statements. Not one of these catechisms is rationalistic. That there was dead orthodoxy we do not deny, but dead orthodoxy is not rationalism. Rationalism denies or ignores the fundamentals of Christianity, which orthodoxy, though dead, grants. It is a presumptuous assumption by these writers, that if a church is not evangelically orthodox it is therefore rationalistic. There is a phase between, namely, dead orthodoxy. That there was dead orthodoxy in our Church at that time and that some of these catechisms reveal it, we do not deny, especially in those which depart farthest from the Heidelberg Catechism. But take even C. J. Becker's, or Herman's, or J. C. Becker's, the fundamental doctrines of Evangelical faith are there. None of them denies the trinity, the divinity of Christ, the fall of man or the atonement, as we see some of our theological writers do to-day. Thus, J. C. Becker says of Jesus Christ, that he is from eternity the Son of God and that through his sufferings and death he reconciled us to God. Herman's catechism is also clear on the Evangelical fundamentals. He calls Christ the eternal natural son of God and says he died to expiate for our sins and to make satisfaction to God. What if some of them did emphasize the ethical, that does not necessarily make them rationalists. In doing so, they were but following Osterwald, who wrote one of the leading catechisms of Switzer-

*See my History of the Reformed Church of Germany, page 398.

land. So that it is not right to call any of them rationalists when their catechisms fail to reveal it. But still, while we thus defend the orthodoxy of these catechisms, we feel that none of them rises up to the plane of the Heidelberg Catechism, which is such a rare combination of doctrine and life, of belief and experience, so that it satisfies our hearts as well as our heads, yes, our ethical nature too. They have, therefore, all passed away and the Heidelberg remains as the catechism of our Church.

SECTION 3. THE CULTUS OR WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH.*

A. *The Liturgy*.—The worship of the Church was semi-liturgical. It was not liturgical like the Episcopalian, because no liturgy was used at the regular Lord's day services or at the prayer-meetings. The claim of the Mercersburg theologians that our early church in this country was liturgical is false. It was semi-liturgical, that is partly liturgical, because only at extraordinary services, as the sacraments, marriage, confirmation, and ordination was there a liturgical form used. But even in these there were no responses. All antiphonal worship, whether in prayer or praise, was unknown in our early Reformed Church in America. The ordinary services were free worship. As in the previous period of our history,—under the coetus, they used the free service.† Buettner says "that a liturgy was not used at all by many ministers."‡ It is to be noticed that no edition of the Palatinate liturgy was ever published in the English language before the days of the liturgical controversy. So our English congregations never knew what it was to use a liturgy.

Three liturgies have come down to us from this period:

1. A brief liturgy published at Germantown in 1798. It contains no prayers for the Sabbath services and only services for the following special occasions: baptism, preparatory serv-

*For Church Government, see page —.

†See my "History of the Reformed Church in the United States," pages 678-682.

‡History of German Reformed Church, page 95.

ice, communion, marriage, excommunication, restoration, the ordination of ministers and elders and deacons. The first four of its forms are taken from the Palatinate liturgy. The rest, says Prof. Hinke, are taken from the Northern Rhine Reformed liturgy, somewhat abbreviated.

2. A liturgy was published at Lancaster, O., by Rev. George Weisz in 1828. This, like the former, had no liturgical forms for the regular Lord's day service, but only for special occasions. These were baptism, the preparatory service, communion, marriage, the ordination of ministers, and the installation of a consistory. Strangely enough it contains a form for the installation of trustees as well as elders and deacons, an office never recognized in our Church. These forms largely followed the Palatinate Liturgy.

3. The so-called Mayer Liturgy of 1841. It, like the others, contained no forms for the Lord's day service, but only for the special occasions as marriage, the ordination of ministers and their installation, baptism, adult baptism, confirmation, communion, the installation of elders and deacons, together with the laying of a corner-stone, the dedication of a church and the burial of the dead.

Of these three liturgies, the last two alone had ecclesiastical sanction, having been compiled and adopted, the last by the Eastern Synod, the second by the Ohio Synod. The first was a private liturgy, prepared for the minister's personal use and sold to ministerial friends. The united testimony of these three liturgies is that the Reformed Church was semi-liturgical, that is, it used no forms for the Lord's day service but only for the sacramental and special occasions. This testimony is unanimous. And, again, the number of these liturgies was so few that anything like a responsive service by the congregation could not be thought of; for there were not enough liturgies printed to be put into their hands that they might know when to respond. These liturgies were merely pulpit-liturgies; that is, for the minister's use only. An altar-liturgy, with its ornate and responsive service, was unknown until 1857 or about 125 years after the first organization of our Church. So little did the ministers think of the

importance of a liturgy, that in the first synod they ordered the publication of a hymn-book and arranged for the publication of a catechism. But not a word is said about the publication of a liturgy. It does not look as if the Church had always hankered for liturgical forms, as the Mercersburg men declared in the liturgical controversy.

The only liturgical movement in this period of which any record is given is the one that ultimately produced the Mayer liturgy. As the aim of this liturgical movement has been misconstrued by the historians of the Mercersburg School, who wrongly say that the Church was continually desiring more liturgy, we will give the history of it in full.

The movement began about 1820. Then Maryland Classis, at that time the most English Classis in the Church, asked that the liturgy, the Palatinate, which had been the old liturgy of the Church brought over from Germany, be improved and translated into English and published in both languages. Susquehanna Classis the same year asked for an improved liturgy, either shortened or enlarged, with appendices, and requested that each classis through the synod appoint a member on the liturgical committee. The synod appointed a committee to consider this and report next year. Evidently it was not in a great hurry about it. The committee was Hendel, Hinsch, Helffenstein, Rahauser and Becker, five of the leading ministers. They fairly represent the different sections and interests of the Church, English and German. They reported to the next synod that nothing had been done. Evidently there was not, as has been asserted, a great cry on the part of the Church for liturgical services. At the Synod of 1822, Helffenstein reported that their opinion was that the old liturgy (Palatinate), with some improvements, be retained. Synod, at the suggestion of Susquehanna Classis, appointed a new committee, who were to send to each classis a copy the next spring. Evidently the synod did not expect that many changes would be made by the committee, or it would not have expected it to have its work done by Spring, especially as it was difficult for committees to meet in those days, when there were no railroads.

The committee consisted of Wack, Sr., Helffenstein and Vandersloot. The change of the committee was probably due to the difficulty of getting the former committee together. These did not live so far apart. To the Synod of 1823 the committee reported through Helffenstein that they favored the Palatinate liturgy with some improvements. To the synod of 1824, Helffenstein reported that they had not been able to fulfil their duty. The synod did not seem to be pleased with their delay, and declared it awaited its appearance the next year. A committee was appointed to examine the liturgy prepared by Helffenstein. This committee consisted of Becker, Hinsch and Dechant. This was the last heard of a liturgy at synod for nearly ten years. Evidently there was no great desire on the part of the Church for the "enrichment of liturgical services," as has been claimed by the Mercersburg historians. The Church greatly needed an English pulpit-liturgy, as its congregations were continually becoming more and more English, and it had no forms in English even for the sacraments; but in spite of this, the matter rested.

In 1834 the matter came up again. Susquehanna Classis asked that the liturgy (the Palatinate) be published in German and English. Synod appointed a committee consisting of Mayer, Rauch, Hoffeditz, Fries and Geiger.* In 1835, Maryland Classis asked synod to hasten the publication of a liturgy adapted to the Church. To the synod of 1835 the committee reported that they were not in a position to fulfil this duty. In 1836, Dr. Mayer, as the chairman, reported progress, but that owing to his ill-health he had not been able to complete his work. In 1837, he submitted to synod in manuscript the liturgy he had prepared. A considerable part of it was read to the synod. It was then placed in the hands of several committees. These committees made verbal reports to synod and a committee composed of Cares, Gutelius and Zacharias was appointed to make known to Mayer the views of the synod on this subject and send the copies down to the classes for action. At the meetings of the classes in 1838, various actions were taken.

*And Hacke also, says Wolff.

East Pennsylvania Classis gave it into the hands of a committee, who reported to a special meeting. The committee reported that the forms were too diffuse and that in some of them the author had given expression to his own private views, not sanctioned by the Church.* It also criticized it, because it had been prepared, not by the committee appointed, but by Dr. Mayer alone. It asked that either the earlier committee or a new committee be appointed. Lebanon Classis accepted the liturgy but said that if the other classes made alterations, it would not consider itself bound to accept them. Susquehanna Classis wanted the word "negative" taken out of the phrase "Jesus possessed not only the negative virtues of innocence," in the form for the Lord's Supper. It also asked for twelve more forms, but it is significant that none of the forms asked for was for the regular Sunday service. It also asked Mayer to put into it a form for the installation of trustees. When synod met, it was found that five classes had adopted it.

The next synod (1838) took action that for the sake of unity in the Church, it ought to be revised again and appointed a committee consisting of Mayer, Rauch, Hoffeditz, Schneck and Berg to do so. It reported to the Synod of 1839 that for various reasons it had not fulfilled its duty. The synod then appointed a new committee, consisting of Smaltz, J. Helffenstein, Schneck, Cares and Elder J. C. Bucher, to revise it again and to send the revised draft to the different classes, so that at their next meetings it might be accepted or rejected. The committee met in March, 1840, at Harrisburg, and completed their work. The classes approved of it and the Synod of 1840 ordered the approved liturgy to be published in English and German, which was done in 1841. Ohio synod adopted it in 1842.

So, after twenty years of agitation, the Church had a liturgy sanctioned by synod. But it did not give full satisfaction. Philadelphia classis is mentioned as not greatly admiring it. Bomberger says† that the reason why the Mayer liturgy had not proved acceptable to the Church was because it was prepared in an independent way (that is, mainly by Dr. Mayer alone, without the aid of his committee.—A.), or because there was

*This seems to reflect Rev. Bernard Wolff's (of Easton) continued opposition to Prof. Mayer.

†Liturgical Question, page 88.

a feeling of indifference or opposition to a liturgical service in many sections of the Church. Rev. F. W. Kremer says that the dissatisfaction with the Mayer liturgy was because it was deficient in comprehensiveness and also didactic and tedious. The reason given in later years for this by the friends of Mercersburg theology was that the liturgy was not full enough, that the Church wanted fuller liturgical forms for the Lord's day services. But we nowhere find that reason given during this period. We find that just the contrary is repeatedly stated. Over against the desire for more liturgical forms, the action of the classes show that they wanted less liturgy rather than more. In 1838, East Pennsylvania, in reporting unfavorably to the liturgy, gives as one of its reasons that the forms were too long. Susquehanna also criticized it as being too long, as also did Zion's. Indeed, the desire seems to have been to shorten the liturgy first drawn up by Dr. Mayer. The committee appointed to revise it reduced it to about one-half. Dr. Fisher says, in 1866, that when the Mayer liturgy was sent down to the classes it was cut up and mutilated by almost every one of them. It was not the book as it came at first from the hands of Dr. Mayer but carved away, mutilated until reduced to half of its original dimensions. Another writer in the *Messenger** says:

"We have been trying to cut down the forms for work in question for these two or three years. Some of us thought the forms entirely too long and with all the pruning they received by two different committees, I think they are still not too short. Some of them are still too long. But they may be abbreviated when circumstances require, for I view the work as a directory, a guide which makes it by no means obligatory upon us to make use of it verbatim on every occasion.

Dr. Fisher in 1866 declared it was not considered as of binding authority. He, however, makes a remark that there was the poison of a rationalistic kind in it. This charge is not true. The Mayer liturgy was Evangelical. Dr. Fisher's remark must be interpreted by the habit the Mercersburg men had of saying that all were rationalists who took any lower views

*June 2, 1841.

on the Church and sacraments than themselves. In doing so, they would read out as rationalists all the fathers of our early Church and make us a rationalistic church in our early history. The term was used by them with a false meaning and falsely applied in this case. The dissatisfaction with the Mayer liturgy evidently did not come from the fact that its forms were too few. The Reformed Church of that day had no inclination to ritualism. Summing up, the causes of dissatisfaction, as revealed by its history were:

- ✓ 1. It was prepared originally by Dr. Mayer himself and not by the committee appointed to do the work. Dr. Hoffeditz protested against its being reported as the work of a committee. It may have been necessary for Dr. Mayer to prepare it thus on account of his ill-health and of the difficulty of getting the committee together. But he should have laid his work before his committee. Unfortunately, this act of Dr. Mayer produced prejudice against it in certain quarters.
- ✓ 2. A second objection was a constitutional one. On two points there were irregularities in the method of its adoption: *a.* The classes in 1838 had adopted it and that adoption was recognized by the synod of that year. Yet it appointed a committee to again revise it after it had been constitutionally adopted. It was then sent down to the classes for examination. Their decision could only be on the amendments to it, as synod had already acted on it. *b.* When the final action was taken, only four classes, East Pennsylvania, Zion's Susquehanna and Philadelphia, a minority of the classes, really adopted it. Maryland complicated things by not passing a yea and nay vote, but by asking synod to consider its amendments to it. Nevertheless synod considered it adopted and it was printed.
- ✓ 3. There were personalities that entered into the matter. A remark is somewhere made that the liturgy was never popular with the Helffensteins; why we know not unless perhaps because of the treatment Dr. Helffenstein's previous revision of the Palatinate had received. He may have thought the Palatinate was better; and the Helffensteins, as there were so many of them, had great influence in our church in those days.

But whatever the cause, it was not because it was too short and needed forms for Sunday services. The cause generally assigned is that it was too doctrinal in its form and was argumentative rather than devotional. The liturgy was so simple in its forms that it did not have the Apostles' Creed in it, which was considered its crowning sin by the Nevinites. It did not have any forms for the regular Lord's day services, only forms for special occasions, as the sacraments, etc. The official adoption of such a liturgy clearly shows that our church was accustomed to have the free service on the Lord's day.

The fact that all its published liturgies harmonize on this one point is proof conclusive that our Church used the simple free service. Our history of this subject shows that our Church was not desirous of more forms for worship; but that our Church as it became English felt the want of an English liturgy to supply its needs, as it had no forms at all in English. The problem that the Church was facing was not so much one of liturgy as one of language.

The Synod of Ohio (1827) appointed a committee of three, Revs. Weisz, Konig and Long, to prepare a copy of the liturgy and lay it before the next synod. To the Synod of 1828, this committee reported that the liturgy be published. It was published at Lancaster, O., in 1828. Most of its forms were from the Palatinate liturgy, but it is peculiar in having a brief form for the intallation of trustees, an office not recognized in pure Reformed Church government. It had no forms for the regular Sabbath services but only for sacraments, ordination and other special services.

B. The Hymnbooks.—The hymnbook in common use in our Church before the synod was organized was the Marburg Hymnbook, published privately at Germantown by Saur. But it was never officially adopted by the coetus. After our synod was organized one of its first acts was the publication of a hymnbook in 1797. It claims to have in it the best hymns of the Marburg and Palatinate hymnbooks. It was commonly known as the "Hendel" hymnbook, because the chief labor rested on Dr. Hendel, and he bore the financial

burden of it. The most marked peculiarity of this hymnbook as contrasted with the Marburg book, published by Saur, was that it omitted the high-church peculiarities of that book, such as the Gospels and Epistles for each Sunday.

About 1817, when the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches occurred in Europe, there was a Union Hymnbook published at Baltimore by Schaeffer, a Lutheran publisher, which was considerably used in union congregations, where both Lutherans and Reformed worshiped in the same building. But this hymnbook was never officially adopted by our synod and our Church can not be held responsible for its weak points.* In 1841, our synod appointed a committee to prepare an improved edition of our hymnbook and in 1842 it was published, entitled "The Collection of Evangelical Hymns," which was popularly known as the "Chambersburg Hymnal." The hymnbooks above mentioned were in German. As the Church, however, became English a demand arose for an English hymnbook. At first the English congregations pretty generally used the hymnbook of the Dutch Reformed Church, but in 1828 Maryland Classis, one of the most English of the classes, appointed a committee of five (Brunner, J. Helffenstein, Beecher, S. Helffenstein and A. Helffenstein) to prepare a hymnbook and lay it before the synod for adoption. This hymnbook was adopted by the Synod of 1830. The first edition having been sold within three years, synod ordered another edition to be published and authorized an appendix to it of hymns on various subjects. In addition to these hymnbooks officially adopted by the synod, several other smaller ones appeared in our Church. Rev. Daniel Hertz published "A Poetical Way to Heaven," 1828 and 1830; Rev. Henry Kroh published "Selected Hymns from the Reformed Hymnbook," 1829; Rev. J. F. Berg published "The Saint's Harp,"

*In the introduction of the Union Hymn-book, among the recommendations from prominent ministers is one by Rev. C. L. Becker, pastor of the Reformed Church at Baltimore, although the publisher claimed that a number of the Reformed ministers had privately expressed themselves favorable to this hymn book. The Ohio Synod, 1831, recommended this Union Hymn-book.

1843. The first German Sunday school hymnbook was gotten out by the Sunday school of Salem's Reformed Church, Philadelphia, 1840, under the direction of a committee of synod.*

*Several tunebooks were published, one in 1818, by Rev. I. Gerhart, of Freeburg, Pa., and Henry Eyer. The latter, in 1833, published at Harrisburg, another tune book prefaced by a recommendation by Rev. D. Weiser, of our church at Selinsgrove.

CHAPTER VI.

UNION AND DISUNION.

SECTION 1. UNION AND DISUNION WITHIN OUR CHURCH.

In 1824 the Ohio classis separated from the old synod, forming a synod of its own, to which later the classis of Western Pennsylvania, of the old synod, joined itself. The division occurred in this way: In 1823, the classis of Northampton, in eastern Pennsylvania, asked synod for permission to ordain ministers, as a candidate (Zeiser) had applied to it. Synod declined to grant the request, claiming that such an act could only be performed by synod. This action struck home more seriously many miles away. It seems that three young men, David Winters, Jacob Descombes and John Pence, had applied for admission to the ministry to the Ohio classis. This classis declared (1824) its inability to require its candidates to go to the expense of traveling to Pennsylvania for ordination. It, therefore (June 14, 1824), declared its independence of the mother synod. It contained eleven ministers, of whom eight were present, and had about 2,500 members. Three of the Reformed ministers of this classis did not go out of the mother synod with it. Reiter, at New Philadelphia; Larose, of Preble County, Ohio, and Riegel, of Miamisburg, Ohio. They connected themselves with the West Pennsylvania classis, the nearest classis of the old synod. (Still it is to be remembered that in eastern Ohio, Mahnenschmidt and Sonnendecker were still members of the West Pennsylvania classis.) The Ohio synod then ordained Pence, Winters and Descombes. It adopted the Heidelberg Catechism and the constitution of the German Reformed Church, which it adhered to till the adoption of its own constitution in 1832. In 1842 it adopted the constitution of the Eastern synod and

later its revision in 1846. As late as 1840 it was called by its members a coetus.

The Eastern synod asked the Ohio synod to come back, but they declined. In 1833 and 1834 some efforts were made to have them again united, especially as the Eastern synod had in the meantime granted to its classes the very thing it had refused to Ohio classes in 1823, namely, the right of the classes to ordain ministers. In 1834, Lebanon, Susquehanna and Maryland classes expressed a desire for a union with the Ohio synod, but nothing came of it. In 1840 the second and third districts of the Ohio synod discussed the question of reuniting with the mother synod, because the causes of the separation no longer existed, but postponed action till their General Synod of Ohio should again meet in 1842. So the synod of Ohio, 1842, decided to open correspondence by delegates with the mother synod. Two delegates were to be sent from each body who were to have a seat and a vote in the other body. They also agreed to interchange their reports of the state of religion and statistics. This was adopted by the Eastern synod with joy. It prepared the way for them to enter the more heartily into the movement culminating in the Triennial convention between the Dutch Reformed, the Eastern synod and the Ohio synod.

SECTION 2. UNION WITH OTHER CHURCHES.

The German Reformed Church, like its founder, Zwingli at Marburg (who there reached out his hand to Luther but was refused), has always been irenic and favorable to church union. She very early revealed this tendency to union in America. In doctrine and government, she naturally inclined toward union with the Dutch Reformed, while in language she was nearer the Lutheran.

A. Union with the Dutch Reformed.—Between the Dutch and the German Reformed Church there was always a most cordial feeling during this period (1793-1844). Nurtured originally by the same mother, the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, their associations have always been very close. Dr. Corwin says that "at the first meeting of the Dutch

General Synod in 1794 union with the German Church was looked forward to as a desirable consummation and a committee was appointed to take effectual measures to bring so desirable a thing into effect." In 1803, Rev. Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch Church, sent a letter to the synod asking that young ministers of our church be sent to the destitute parts of New York state, where Germans were settling and suggested that fraternal correspondence be opened with our synod, which was begun the next year (1804). This was the first form of union with the Dutch—by correspondence, which continued down to 1813. Then came delegate-union: two delegates from the Dutch Synod appeared before our synod and suggested that in addition to correspondence by letter it should be by delegates. The synod agreed to this and appointed Gloninger and S. Helffenstein delegates to the Dutch Synod, 1813, and Helffenstein and Hendel, 1814. This was continued, although sometimes the delegates were not able to go. In 1817, this union tendency grew still closer. Our synod, feeling the need of a theological seminary, appointed a committee consisting of Pomp and Helffenstein to confer with the Dutch Synod on the subject. They sent a letter to the Dutch Synod of 1818, expressing a wish to unite with them in a theological seminary. In 1818, Rev. Peter Labagh also presented an overture from the Dutch Synod to our's, that the two Reformed Churches unite in supporting the Dutch Reformed Theological seminary at New Brunswick. Our committee reported to our synod that as negotiations were in progress among the Germans toward establishing a school in connection with Franklin College, in which both Lutherans and Reformed had an interest, the committee therefore declared nothing could be done toward union with the Dutch. As our Church started its own seminary project in 1820, there was therefore no further attempt at union between these two denominations on the basis of a one seminary.* Correspondence by means of delegates, however, continued until in 1842 the time seemed ripe for a still closer

*In 1834 Susquehanna Classis overtured Synod to unite with the Dutch.

union. Then Rev. Drs. Heiner and Berg, the delegates from our synod to the Dutch Synod, suggested it. It was very cordially taken up by the Dutch Synod and an overture prepared to our synod. A committee of the Dutch Synod was appointed to confer with us, consisting of Revs. Drs. Hardenberg, Ludlow, Knox and Strong, together with Elders Frelinghuysen, Van Nest and Hardenberg. Our synod replied favorably and appointed a committee to confer with the Dutch about closer union. The committee consisted of Revs. B. C. Wolff, Schneck, Heiner, Berg and Elder J. C. Bucher. The committees on conference met at Philadelphia in March, 1843, and drew up an elaborate plan of co-operative union in five articles—that the three churches, Dutch and German (the latter in its two synods, Eastern and Ohio) should hold a Triennial convention of thirty-six delegates, to which the Dutch Church appointed one-third and the German two-thirds. The first convention met at Harrisburg in August, 1844. Dr. Nevin preached the opening sermon. After a free interchange of opinion, a committee of seven was appointed to introduce any proposals for action. The following were proposed by it and adopted by the convention:

1. The licentiates of either of the theological schools of the three denominations should be considered as candidates in either church. Each seminary must send to the faculty of the other seminaries a list of recent graduates.

2. A correspondence must be kept up among the various institutions of the respective churches by the students to cultivate affection and awaken a mutual interest in the rising ministry of the respective bodies.

3. That the system of instruction in the several seminaries should be as nearly alike as possible. The same text-books in didactic theology should be used.

4. The liturgies should be conformed to each other as nearly as possible.

5. Domestic missionary operations should be blended together as much as possible.

In closing, the convention adjourned to meet in 1847, a Dutch minister to preach the opening sermon. Its actions were adopted by the different synods except that relating to text-books on didactic theology in the seminaries. High hopes

were entertained of the success of this plan that it would draw the two denominations closer together until their co-operative union would result in an organic union. The Dutch Church at once appropriated \$10,000, to be expended in the domestic field of the German Church. The rest of the history of this Triennial convention will be told later in this book.

B. The Lutheran Church.—The Lutheran Church was also near the Reformed because they used the same language, they very often worshiped in the same church building and, besides, they had a common interest in one of the educational institutions of Pennsylvania, the High School at Lancaster. The union tendency was early shown by the synod, as it approved a resolution (1812) to support “The Evangelical Magazine,” founded by Rev. Dr. Helmuth, of the Lutheran Church. But as a synod, it inclined more toward the Dutch than toward the Lutherans, as Buettner, the earliest of our historians,* says. He himself was strongly in favor of union with the Lutherans but declared he made little progress. As a significant fact he calls attention to the fact that while the synod accepted correspondence with the Presbyterians in 1824, although a member offered a resolution for a union hymnbook with the Lutherans, it was voted down.

The relation between the two churches comes out prominently in 1817 on the anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation, when the Lutheran ministerium sent an invitation to our synod, inviting them to unite with the Lutherans in observing this Tercentenary on October 31, 1817. Our synod appointed a committee on this overture. It reported favorably on it. But evidently there was a strong difference of opinion in our synod for there was considerable discussion and the final action of synod was less favorable, namely, not to officially observe it but to leave to each minister the option to do as he wished. Höffmeier, as the secretary, was ordered to prepare a report of the origin of the festival. But Buettner says he did not believe a single Reformed minister held such a service.

*Page 37, History of German Reformed Church.

It was hoped by some, that the union movement that went over Germany and united the Lutherans and the Reformed in a United Evangelical Church, would favorably affect those churches in this country and incline them to unite. As a result of such a request of the Lutherans to our synod, there came negotiations with them in reference to a joint theological seminary. The Synod of 1817 appointed a committee consisting of Hendel, Hoffmeier and Wack, Sr., to confer with the Lutheran Synod, as was to be done by a similar committee with the Dutch Reformed. The Lutheran General Synod appointed a committee of five to meet with this committee and asked that a similar committee be appointed by our synod. Synod appointed Hoffmeier, Herman, Hendel, Pomp and S. Helffenstein. This committee reported to the synod of 1819 a plan and requested that the plan of union be printed and laid before each of the synods interested, our synod to bear half the expense. But in 1820 our synod went ahead without the Lutherans and founded its own seminary, so that union in a seminary failed.

The matter of church-union came up again in 1822. The Lutheran Synod made overtures. This time it was not merely union in a theological seminary but a union of the synods. Dr. Henry H. Muhlenberg, the secretary of the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, wrote a letter seeking for the union of the Reformed and Lutherans and the appointment of a committee for that purpose. A letter was also received from D. F. Schaeffer, secretary of the Lutheran Synod of Maryland and Virginia, asking for a fraternal understanding with the Reformed. The Reformed synod, however, postponed action on account of the gravity of the case.

In 1824, the Lutheran Synod appointed a committee of three, among them Muhlenberg, to confer with a like committee of our Eastern synod concerning the publication of a common hymnbook. One of the Reformed made a motion, says Buettner, to appoint such a committee, but the motion was not passed and so the matter fell.

The subject of union then rested until 1828. Then again, on motion of Hinsch, of Zion's classis, an overture was sent

up to synod asking for union. Susquehanna classis also over-
tured the synod. But synod did not find it timely to act
upon it. In 1832, the synod went into a union German period-
ical published by Revs. Dreyer, of the Reformed, and
Schmucker, of the Lutheran Church. In 1833, the union
movement again appeared. Mayer called the attention of
East Pennsylvania classis to it. The classis declared that it
heartily desired it but believed that at present the movement
would have many difficulties. Lebanon classis (1833) re-
plied to Mayer that it was not prepared to state its mind in
regard to union. He had asked for a conference the third
Sunday in June at York and Lebanon classis appointed
Zacharias, Kroh and Hertz to attend. Maryland classis, 1833,
approved of the union on the basis published in the *Messenger*
of March, 1832, but said it would be dissatisfied with the union
of the institutions of the Churches before the Churches were
united. So this was the animus—the union of institutions.
Doubtless Rauch's early union sympathies influenced Mayer
at the time and started ambitions for a larger university.
Frequent articles on the subject appear at this time in the
Messenger. Finally the *Messenger* states that the *Lutheran*
Observer attacked the Reformed and Dr. Mayer then says that
there would be no union, if union meant absorption. Rev. Mr.
Brobst, of the Lutheran Church, an enthusiast for union,
wanted the American churches to follow the union in Ger-
many. He wrote a book on Union and as a delegate from the
Lutheran Church to our synod urged it. In 1836, the Lu-
theran Synod of Pennsylvania again took action for union
and asked their delegates to the Reformed synod to bring the
matter before it. If a union were not possible, then they
would attempt to form a United Church as in Germany. It
appointed a committee of four ministers. The Reformed
synod this time went so far as to appoint a committee of four
ministers. In 1837, the committee on union reported favorably
to our synod but synod dropped the matter because it found
that the minutes of the Lutheran Synod contained no refer-
ence to union. Thus the Lutherans failed to respond to the

subject of union after having begun the movement. When the Lutherans were favorable, the Reformed were slow and when the Reformed were favorable the Lutherans were silent. The *Lutheran Observer* says it thought Dr. Mayer, when editor of the *Messenger*, to be favorable to union, but that Schneck, the new editor, was not. Schneck replied that thus far the union had been of a vague, indefinite kind, not needing a newspaper discussion,—that when the Lutheran Church responded in her ecclesiastical capacity it would be worth while to discuss it. The synod of 1837 refused union and so the subject was dropped, never to be resumed.

East Pennsylvania classis (1840) asked synod that more copies of the Zurich Bible be gotten from Germany for the use of the theological seminary, and also for the ministers who desired to use it. This looks, says Buettner, as if that classis wanted to break the bond between Lutherans and Reformed by the use of the Zurich Bible instead of the Luther Bible, which was commonly used by the Germans.

In 1823, Ohio classis asked synod to appoint a committee on union but synod refused to act because among the many Lutheran synods no one is named with which the classis sought a union.

The Ohio synod at its first meeting (1824) opened correspondence with the Lutheran synod of Ohio by interchange of minutes, and by 1832 appointed a delegate to the Lutheran Synod. In 1834, the Ohio Synod was invited by the Lutheran Synod to send their students for the ministry to the Lutheran theological seminary at Columbus for their education, as the Reformed had no theological seminary. Rev. George Long, one of our ministers received his training there. In 1837, the Evangelical congregation at Pittsburg, Pa., asked West Pennsylvania classis to do all in its power in favor of union. It replied by saying there was no difficulty from the side of the Reformed. In 1839, the Ohio synod appointed a committee on union with the Lutherans, probably led into it by Buettner, who was strong in his union views. Buettner was made chairman of the committee. But nothing came of it.

Finally a quietus was put on all such efforts for close union by Schneck's visit to Europe in 1843. He wrote an article on the Union in Germany.*

"The attempt to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany has been anything but productive of good results. To attempt to bring about an outward union without the inward spirit of union must always fail. It led the Lutherans in some parts to react into extreme ultra-orthodoxy, a sort of Puseyism in Germany. One thing he says, there is no union in reality. The Lutherans hold their view and so do the Reformed. It is an outward union with an inward disunion."

Still although these various efforts toward union failed, yet correspondence between the Lutherans and the Reformed was kept up regularly during this period.

C. The Presbyterians.—In 1822, negotiations toward closer relations began with the Presbyterians. A committee consisting of S. Helffenstein, Hinsch, Brunner and Rev. John M. Duncan, of the Presbyterian Church, met the committee of the Presbyterian Church, October 1, 1828. They decided that organic union was not possible and agreed to a yearly interchange of delegates, also that ministers and members under discipline in either denomination should not be received by the other. The interchange of delegates began in 1824. When the Presbyterian Church split into Old and New School, our synod was at a loss what to do. It did not feel competent to decide which of the General Assemblies was the proper one, with which to correspond. This perplexity is revealed at the Reformed synod of 1838, when Rev. John Grant appeared as the delegate of the New School General Assembly. The synod finally took action that it could not decide which was the proper General Assembly, but that interchange of delegates should take place with both of them.†

*See *Messenger*, Nov. 1, 1843.

†Occasionally a little local friction occurred, however, between them as in Maryland classis at Loudon, Va., where Rev. E. C. Hutchinson was trying to draw away our congregation to the Presbyterians. But the corresponding delegate to our synod in 1831 assured our synod that as soon as it appointed a supply, Mr. Hutchinson would withdraw. Synod appointed J. C. Bucher as supply. As Hutchinson persisted in supplying them, Maryland classis took action and in 1832, as he still continued, it ordered a remonstrance to be placed before the Presbytery of Winchester. In 1833 Maryland classis took action because several

D. Foreign Correspondence.—There seems to have been no correspondence with the churches abroad until Mr. Reily's visit to Europe to collect money for the seminary. The officers of the synod of 1824, Hendel president and Hinseh secretary, issued a circular appeal to the foreign churches, April 6, 1825, endorsing Reily's appeal to them. And the Holland church gave \$400, in the hope that correspondence with our Church would be resumed. But nothing came of it. In 1826 Reily was ordered by synod to express the warmest thanks of the synod for the zeal and kindness of the foreign friends. In 1828, a committee consisting of Hinseh, S. Helffenstein and Prof. Lewis Mayer was appointed to correspond with various friends in Europe and prepare a letter to them. In 1833, a new impulse to this movement came to the synod through the coming of Rauch. The synod ordered that a circular be prepared giving an account of the condition of the theological seminary which was to be sent to the Christian friends in Europe and that Mayer and Rauch, together with the president and secretary of the synod, prepare it. But they reported in 1835 that because of the press of other business, it had not been attended to. In 1838, Susquehanna classis asked synod to open correspondence with Europe and synod appointed a committee of three, with Willers as chairman, to open correspondence with the Ministerium of the Reformed Church of Bremen. Willers prepared an account of the origin of our Church and its present condition and sent it, with two copies of our religious papers and the minutes the synods of 1838 and 1839, through a Baltimore house. The ship sank in the Weser, Germany, Jan. 26, 1840. The letters, etc., it is said, were saved, but no answer came. The synod ordered Willers to continue, and in the Centennial of the Church in 1840 to send a circular letter to the fathers and

Presbyterian ministers had created disturbances in several of its congregations by persuading them that the Presbyterians and the Reformed were the same. It took action that they were not the same, that there was no such thing as a German Presbyterian Church and urged that where titles of property were made in the name of the German Presbyterians that they be changed. In 1835 it ordered its ministers to preach on the differences between the German Reformed and the Presbyterians.

brethren of Germany, inviting them to join with us, but Germany gave no response. The synod of 1842 appointed the editors of the religious papers a committee to open correspondence with the Reformed Church of Germany. Finally, in 1843, the delegation, Drs. Schneck and Hoffeditz, sent abroad to lay the call of the professorship before Dr. Krummacher, were ordered, wherever opportunity offered, to present the friendly greetings of the Church and they were kindly received everywhere.

E. Conclusion.—From this survey of our Church in regard to union, it is evident how our Church stood in relation to other denominations. While liberal and fraternal in spirit, she yet placed herself squarely on the position that she was a Reformed Church. She also revealed whither her theological sympathies went. Although there was much to make her tend toward union with the Lutherans—they had a common language, were of a common race, often worshiped in the same church-buildings and were linked by intermarriage, yet although overtures were made toward their union, our Church nevertheless got nearer in fact to the Dutch Reformed Church than any other. For with her she was not only in correspondence as with the Lutheran, but she entered into a closer relation by forming the Triennial convention in 1844. This close alliance with the Dutch in spite of the difference of language and the separation of their territory from ours, shows that, as Buettner says, our Church was closer to the Dutch in doctrine, etc. Our Church was not Melanethonian in spirit or her closer affiliation would have been with the Lutheran. But she was in the main Calvinistic and took her place with the Calvinist Churches (the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterians).

CHAPTER VII.

MISSIONS.

SECTION 1. HISTORY OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS.

It took considerable time to develop the organization of Home or Domestic Missions. Many had been the calls from congregations on the borders even in the days of the coetus. But no official action was taken by the Church toward home mission work until the synod of 1812. Then a collection was taken up for the congregations west of the Allegheny Mountains. The first suggestion for Home Missions came in the parochial school-room at Philadelphia, when it was proposed to send a missionary to Ohio. The suggestion was received with silent amazement. "What! leave family and home and venture on so long and perilous a journey as a missionary?" laconically remarked one of the brethren. But before synod had adjourned, it had commissioned Hendel to go. Dechant went a year later. Whitner says that in the North Carolina Churches there is a tradition that Captain William Albright appeared before that synod in 1812, begging for pastors for North Carolina. In 1813 calls came to synod from various parts of North Carolina. As a result, Reily was appointed missionary to Carolina at a salary of thirty dollars a month for traveling expenses and what the congregations raised. Dr. Becker, with whom Reily had studied, rose and in a touching way, pled for these North Carolina congregations and proposed that synod kneel in prayer for Reily, which was done. Reily went on a missionary tour to North Carolina in 1813.* To this synod also came Winters, having traveled six hundred miles, bringing three petitions from Miami Valley, Starke County and Lancaster, O. The synod was not able to give a favorable answer to these requests

*See Harbaugh's *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, p. 250.

from Ohio. But these appeals deeply impressed the synod and it ordered that all licentiates before accepting a congregation should make missionary tours for two or three months under the direction of the synod, and that all pastors should take up collections to pay the traveling expenses of these missionaries. Isaac Gerhart, during his theological studies at Philadelphia which closed 1813, spent three months in missionary work in western Pennsylvania.

The synod of 1814 received a communication from several congregations in South Carolina, who asked for Hauck. It licensed him for three years and paid him thirty dollars out of the home missionary fund. The synod of 1815 appointed Weinel to go to North Carolina and Habliston to Greensburg, Pa. The synod of 1816 appointed Weisz to Ohio. To the synod of 1817 there came a letter from North and South Carolina which gave favorable testimonials to Hauck, and asked for the renewal of his license. Synod raised sixty to seventy dollars, of which half was to go for missions. It decided to send Reily and Zulich to North Carolina as soon as money came in. A special collection was taken up, amounting to \$67. At the synod of 1818, Boger from the Carolinas, appeared as a regular member. Diefenbach was permitted to resign his charge so as to go as a missionary to North Carolina. The synod ordered licentiates Daniel, J. H. Kieffer and Jacob Scholl to go to North Carolina, but they failed to go. Reily and Zulich reported that they had not been able to go to North Carolina, and were excused. In 1819, the synod took another step forward toward organizing the work of missions—it appointed a Home Missionary committee consisting of Lewis Mayer, Jonathan Helffenstein, Reily and F. Rahausen. In response to an appeal from North Carolina, it appointed Leidy to go there. In February the missionary committee issued an earnest address calling attention to the fact that in 1819 eighteen pastoral charges were vacant, of which fifteen contained eighty congregations. The total vacant congregations in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio were 200, representing 30,000 souls destitute of religious ministrations. It was a powerful appeal. To the synod of 1820, Reily gave

an account of Leidy's tour in the South. The synod of 1821 not only ordered ministers to take up collections in their churches for missions but also to explain to the people the objects of the work and their duty towards it. To the synod of 1822, Reily gave an account of his missionary tour to the West, in which he traveled 1,400 miles. The synod of 1823 voted \$200 toward the traveling expenses of men who answered the calls that came to synod, and to the synod of 1824 Rudy gave an account of his tour to South Carolina.

Up to 1826 the synod had only a committee on missions, but then it took another step forward and organized a Missionary society, September 28, 1826, at Frederick. Every one who paid a dollar was a member, \$25 making a life member, \$100 a director and \$200 a vice-president. It adopted a constitution for itself and for auxiliary societies. Its first treasurer was Jonathan Helffenstein. The next year, S. Helffenstein was made president and John P. Helffenstein secretary. At first, owing to the strong popular prejudice against all enterprises of general benevolence, synod was careful to explain that these movements were wholly voluntary and it was known as a Missionary society, not as a board of the synod. Soon auxiliary societies began to be formed. The first was organized at Frederick, Md., 1827, a ladies auxiliary, the second at Germantown, July 2, 1827, also of ladies, and the third of both sexes at Philadelphia. Other auxiliaries, as at York and Hagerstown, were formed and many classes formed themselves into auxiliary societies. The synod of 1827 was full of missions and contains the report of Maryland classis on the Churches of North and South Carolina and the constitution of the missionary society and its yearly report. Susquehanna classis was the first to become an auxiliary classical missionary society in 1832, every minister and charge being members. The first annual sermon before the society was preached by Rev. J. W. Dechant. In 1828, the missionary society branched out into publication and published "The Magazine of the German Reformed Church," the forerunner of the *Messenger*. Up to 1832, the society was auxiliary to the synod because of lack of interest by some members of the synod and

also open opposition on the part of some to the cause of missions. But in 1832 the synod determined to take it directly under its care. It formally elected a board of missions of eighteen members, two from each classis and four from the church-at-large. In 1834 it came into friendly relation to the American Home Missionary Society and co-operated with it. But a difficulty had already begun to grow up. The classes kept their missionary work in their own hands and the board had little to do. Besides, as the members of the board were from so many classes widely dispersed, it was difficult to get the board together. So the board was greatly hampered though still doing excellent work, which was continued year after year. In 1837, the board reported thirteen missionaries, but some were under the care of classes, some were aided by the American Home Missionary Society. Its income was \$675, its outlay \$503.* The great difficulty was the unwillingness of classes to let the board do their work. In 1841, it had only three missionaries and its income only \$306. The Centenary of the Church brought no relief, as that money went into the institutions of the Church. So unsuccessful was the work of the board, that Mercersburg classis in 1844 overtured synod to dissolve the board and let its work be done by the classes. The Church had not yet learned how to get the classes and the board to work together. The foreign missionary work of our Church, whose board was elected by Synod of 1838, and who chose Rev. Benjamin Schneider as our missionary to Turkey, we will take up later.

SECTION 2. VARIOUS MISSION FIELDS.

A. *Western Pennsylvania.*—†

To this wild western district, Weber went as the pioneer missionary in 1782, usually going armed because of the danger of wild animals and Indians. According to Schopf, Fort Pitt had no churches at that time (1782), but there was a German minister who preached to the people of different confessions. This minister is generally supposed to have been Weber, who was pastor at Harrold Settlement, Westmoreland

*See Whitmer, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Home Missions*.

†See *History of the Reformed Church in the Bounds of Westmoreland Classis, 1877*.

County. He is said to have preached in Pittsburg (1782-1812). After he had preached one year he organized the German Evangelical Church.* They bought property in 1788 and their church was dedicated 1834. Weber's labors extended over Somerset, Westmoreland, Fayette, Armstrong, Venango, Butler and Crawford Counties, while that part of the country was a wilderness and when the people went to church with rifles and placed a sentinel at the door against the Indians. Rev. Henry Giesy went west in 1794 from Virginia and founded our churches in Somerset County, organizing Stony Creek, Levanville, Centreville, Wellersburg and Salisbury. Rev. Mr. Aurandt went to Huntingdon County, 1803-4.† It is said he preached also in Washington and Allegheny Counties. Rev. Mr. Mahnenschmidt preached in Washington County, 1806-1812. He also from Ohio visited northwestern Pennsylvania, as Mercer County, occasionally. In 1811 he went to the synod for licensure, where he expressed regret that he had acted disorderly in baptizing without ordination, and was licensed as a catechist. In 1812 he was licensed and ordained 1817. Rev. Mr. Weinell accepted a call to Westmoreland County in 1815.‡ Hableston went to Greensburg, 1815. In 1819, Hacke and Koch went to Western Pennsylvania, the former to Greensburg. He also preached at St. Paul's, near Mt. Pleasant, Pleasant Unity, Brush Creek, Harrolds and Manor. Koch was the first minister in Clarion County. His first sermons were preached in cabins in winter and in the woods in summer. Said an old man, who told this: "We did not deem it too far to go twelve miles to church with guns in our hands." Koch on one occasion leaped from ice-cake to ice-cake across the Allegheny River to reach his family in winter, two miles from any neighbor. He organized St. Paul's, Beaver Township, St. John's at Churchville, Trinity at Red Bank, St. Peter's at Petersburg and Sugar Creek in Armstrong County between 1820-8. P. Zeiser came to Mercer and Crawford Counties in 1825. He organized Zion's, near Mercer, also Good Hope and another at Conneaut Lake, all in 1825, and Meadville 1826, Reichel's 1830, Jerusalem, Christ 1837, and St. John's Salem 1843, organizing ten congregations in eight years.§ In 1824, Zwisler went to Washington County; in 1825, D. Rahausser, to Butler and Mercer Counties; in 1826, Mayerhoffer, to Meadville and Crawford County. Kemmerer was at Pittsburg 1827-41. Voight, in 1833, went to Westmoreland County. In 1830, Berentz was at Johnstown, Cambria County; in 1831, Ibbeken was in Somerset, Erie and Crawford Counties; in 1838, Douglass went to Pittsburg for a year; in 1839, J. F. Dieffenbach at Harmony, Butler County. In 1837 West Pennsylvania classis joined the Ohio synod.

**Messenger*, Feb. 10, 1875.

†See list of his congregations, Harbaugh Fathers of the Reformed Church, Vol. III, page 196-7.

‡See list of congregations, Harbaugh, IV, 150.

§*Messenger*, April 11, 1858.

B. Ohio.—

In 1803 the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase threw open the great West and emigration began to pour westward. North Carolina nobly gave three of its ministers to western missions, Weyberg, Christman and Larose. S. Weyberg went, 1803, to Missouri, then called the Louisiana Territory, and preached, it is said, the first Protestant sermon west of the Mississippi River, where before only Catholic priests had been in control. He preached (1803) in a house one mile below where Jackson now stands, in Cape Girardeau County, Mo. He had catechization, 1804-5, although he reported that there were Indian towns within ten miles of his settlement, and no civilized inhabitants nearer than forty miles. In 1823 he began visiting Anna, Southern Illinois, preaching there once a month each year, riding on horseback over five hundred miles. After him came Kroh, in 1840, and then Stoneberger. Weyberg died 1833 and his work was dissipated because no ministers went there to take it up.

Rev. Jacob Christman began preaching January 29, 1804, at Springboro, Warren County, O., where the first congregation in Ohio was organized. The first administration of the Lord's Supper occurred May 29, 1804. In 1805, the apostolic Jacob Larose came from North Carolina and began preaching in Montgomery, Preble and Warren Counties, O. (then called the Northwest County), at St. John's, Stettler's, Twin Creek. As catechisms were few, he copied the catechism he used for his catechumens. He had been licensed by the Presbyterians in the South and preached as a licentiate until he was ordained by the Ohio Classis in 1821. He became pastor at Highland County, O., later, 1821, in Columbiana and Preble Counties, O.* In 1809, T. Winters went west and preached at Beaver, Green County, O. He returned east in 1815 to be licensed by synod and later, in 1819, to be ordained. He preached around Germantown, Beaver Creek, West Alexandria, etc., preaching in Green, Montgomery, Preble, Warren, Butler and Hamilton Counties, and as far down as Cincinnati.† In 1812 Mahnenschmidt went to Ohio and preached at Springfield, Salem, Good Hope, St. James, Rollers and Ackertown, Liberty, Canton and Canfield.‡ J. W. Dechant labored, 1815, in Butler and Montgomery Counties; George Weisz labored, 1817, at Lancaster; Benjamin Foust, 1818, at Canton; Foust's congregations were, Uniontown, St. James', Canton, Osnaburg, Paris, Martin's, Sherman's, Zion's and Bethlehem. Sonnedecker was at Wooster (1819) and Mansfield. These founders of our Church organized the first classis in April 30, 1820, by order of

*For list of congregations, see Harbaugh Fathers of the Reformed Church, Vol. III, 30-1.

†See list of congregations, Harbaugh Fathers, Vol. IV, page 141.

‡Harbaugh, Vol. III, 213.

the Eastern Synod. Five ministers were present at the organization: Mahnenschmidt, Winters, Sonnendecker, Weiss and Faust, together with four elders: Jacob Mayer, John King, George Wertz and Peter Waltz. Mahnenschmidt was elected president and Winters, secretary. The classis had fifty congregations and 1,800 communicants. In 1821, Peter Dechant went west but died soon after. As ministers were greatly needed to meet the rapid increase of congregations, the ministers began training them for the ministry privately. Weisz trained a number, as King 1825, Long 1825, and Keller 1826. Winters trained Pence 1823 and others; Sonnendecker trained Reiter, 1822. The classis had four meetings at Canton 1821, Germantown 1822, Lancaster 1823, New Philadelphia 1824. During the four years the number of ministers doubled and the number of congregations and of the membership rapidly increased. In 1824 the classis organized itself into a synod.

Several subjects caused a good deal of friction in this synod: the conflict of languages, about the introduction of the English into the German congregations, the controversy between those who wanted to unite with the Lutherans and those who wanted to stay Reformed, the controversy about revivals and also temperance between the extremes of Oberlin teetotalism and foreign German tolerance of drinking. We will pass over the strife about revivals, as we have already referred to it. There was lack of unanimity in regard to union with the Lutherans. There had been, as we noticed in connection with the life of Rauch, an effort to form union congregations in the West after the pattern of the United Church of Prussia in Germany, and thus do away with the Lutheran and Reformed churches as separate denominations. There was a considerable element favorable to this in the Reformed Church of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. At West Pennsylvania classis (1837), the Pittsburg congregation urged the classis to labor for the union of the Reformed and Lutherans. And at the synod of 1838 petitions came in from various congregations urging a union of Reformed and Lutherans. Some of the ministers did not believe in or use the Heidelberg Catechism, although the great majority did. But there was sufficient laxity to make the confessionalists anxious. The synod of 1842 was one of the most important held in Ohio. It not only harmonized differences but matured a plan of correspondence with the Pennsylvania Synod and adopted a constitution. It divided itself not into synods, but into six classes: Miami, Lancaster, Columbiana, Sandusky, Westmoreland and Erie. In 1844 it took very decided action against intemperance and for teetotalism and discouraged the use of liquor by the ministers.

C. The North.—

In 1802 a number of Pennsylvania-Germans settled in German Valley between Geneva and Waterloo. In 1803, Rev. Anthony Hautz, after a dangerous journey, arrived there from Pennsylvania as pastor. He lo-

ated three miles from Union Springs and began to preach at two places, Merkel's school-house and Burg, the latter being named after an Indian fort. He then left, 1805, for Tenoa, in Tompkins County, where many Germans had settled near Cayuga Lake. He preached in two school-houses in Lansing and Salmon Creek, forming there two congregations. He preached in Seneca County till 1813, and being then seventy-one years old, he limited his work to Lansing and Salmon Creek, where he lived. He died in 1830. In 1821, Rev. Dietrich Willers, a soldier of the battle of Waterloo, accepted a call to Zion's and Christ Churches, later serving Lansing and Salmon Creek. He first located at Bearytown (Fayette), where Rev. John Pulfish had been pastor, 1814-19. This congregation dated from 1809. He served six preaching points in that county and seven or eight in Tompkins, Cayuga, Wayne, Livingston and Niagara Counties. He frequently wrote excellent home missionary articles in the *Messenger*, pleading for more laborers, as in 1829, when he asks for a pastor at Dansville, Hanneyley, Groveland and Flint Creek. In it he speaks of the Lockport church as being served by a Mr. Meyerhorfer, but the members desired a minister of the Reformed Synod. At other places Pennsylvania-Germans and Swiss were moving in.

SECTION 3. THE SOUTH.

A. Virginia.—

There had been congregations in Virginia very early, the oldest German Reformed congregation having been founded there by Rev. Mr. Haeger in 1714 at Germanna Ford, in the Rapidan. During the period of the coetus the congregations in Virginia had no regular pastor, except some independents, like Willy, who seemed to have redeemed his former character in Pennsylvania by a long and excellent work in Virginia. Yet the ministers of the coetus made large tours through that state, preaching and performing ministerial acts. Especially the Maryland ministers, as Otterbein, did this. However, about the time of the beginning of the synod, regular pastors began to be sent to them from the synod. The father of the Virginia Reformed Churches was Rev. John Brown. Before him, Willy had been operating, 1786-1810, and a Mr. Hoffman had labored in Rockingham County. Giesy also preached in Virginia 1782-1794, being pastor of German Settlement, Short Hill and Great River congregations. He also occasionally visited other places, as Winchester, Staunton, Lexington, Peaked Mountain and Friedens, but left for Pennsylvania. Brown was licensed and then called by the congregations in Rockingham County, 1800, as their pastor. After being a licentiate for three years he was ordained May 10, 1803. He traveled and preached over six counties: Frederick, Shenandoah, Page, Rockingham, Pendleton and Augusta. He preached regularly once a month at Friedens, St. Michael's, Peaked Mountain, now McGachey's-

ville, Roeder's Church in Rockingham County, Zion's, St. John's, Salem and The Branch, in Augusta County. He visited other counties as often as he could, once or twice a year. For thirty-five years he was the only Reformed minister in this field. He published, 1818, at Harrisonburg, a small book,* entitled "A Circular Letter to the Germans of Rockingham, Augusta and Neighboring Counties." It deals with a number of subjects as Bible societies, but is interesting because in it is the first published discussion of slavery by any one in our Church. Diefenbach labored in Augusta County in 1800, where the congregations asked synod to give him as their pastor. But he seems to have soon passed on to North Carolina. Others followed. Lewis Mayer preached, 1808, in Jefferson and Berkley Counties, Va., and Washington County, Md. J. Scholl made a missionary tour here in 1819. Hauck labored in Wythe County, 1819-30; Leidy was missionary there in 1820, as was D. Rahauser, sent there by West Pennsylvania classis. In 1822, S. Helffenstein was at Shepherdstown, Martinsburg and Sharpsburg, Md. In 1824, Vandersloot was at Roeder's Church and seven other congregations. In 1826 Boger, Graves and Groh, and 1829, Charles Helffenstein had charges in Virginia.

B. North Carolina.—

The North Carolina churches, like the Virginia churches, were founded early. In 1759 Martin, a Swiss, in 1764 Du Pert, preached there. Suther in 1770 founded St. Paul's Church, but remained only a year, when he went to Guilford County,† where he was succeeded by Schwurin and he by Pithan in 1780. He organized Second Creek, Rowan County. After being in North Carolina for eight or nine years he removed to South Carolina. He was succeeded (1787) by Jacob Snyder in Davidson County, for whom the German Reformed sent to Pennsylvania and bought him a farm. The Brick Church sent Suther and his

*A copy was presented to the author by General Roller.

†Suther preached in a small log house for the Reformed and Lutherans, where the Lutheran church now stands, about a mile south of the Brick Church, until the revolution, when a quarrel ensued, the Reformed almost to a man being patriots and the Lutherans being loyalists. A detachment of British on the way to Guilford Court House encamped on Suther's farm in old Salisbury Road, two miles east of the church. They devastated it, destroying his grain and cattle, while he was forced to flee for his life and hide. They ravaged the farms, abusing the people because their fathers were patriots. Peter Cortner, from behind a tree, fired twenty-one shots at Tryon's men in battle. Captain Weitzell was a member of the Brick Church and had his company at the battle of Guilford Court House. During the time of General Greene's presence four of them were sent to Hillsboro to carry powder to the army. Through their excellent knowledge of the road they escaped the many Tories and got back with it to camp.

elder, George Cortner, north for aid. The Bern Church, near Reading, presented them with a communion cup.

Then came Loretz at Lineolnton, in 1786, the first to establish the Reformed in Western Carolina. He labored in five regular charges and did missionary work in Burke, Cabarras and Guilford Counties. He partly educated Boger. Larose, licensed by the Presbyterians, also preached as a licentiate, 1795-1804, to some congregations in Guilford County.

The first minister to go south after our synod was organized was Samuel Weyberg in 1795. He preached to the congregations in Burke, Lincoln, Rowan and Cabarras Counties. He partly educated George Boger (born December 15, 1782, died June 19, 1865), who became his successor. Boger was ordained 1803, and served four congregations in Rowan and Cabarras Counties, 1803-1830, Grace, Cold Water, Lantz and Bear Creek. He was the one who held our churches in North Carolina together—the only Reformed pastor for a number of years, as Guilford and Lincolnton were served by a Presbyterian. J. Christman was proposed to the Synod of 1794 for ordination, but was not ordained till 1798, and at the petition of six congregations went to North Carolina, where he remained till 1803, when he went west, as did Larose, leaving Boger alone. In 1802, H. Diefenbach labored in Guilford, Orange and Randolph Counties. In 1818 Reily* remained a little over three months and confirmed 169 and baptized 113. It is said that his missionary tour suggested to the synod the idea of a board of Missions. Hauck was in North Carolina 1814-19.

In 1818, Ebaugh was in North Carolina. In 1819, J. Scholl made a missionary tour. Rudy went South in 1821, laboring several years, serving the Guilford charge for four years. Knaus went with Rudy but soon after returned. After that Hauck, Boger and Rudy held the fort till 1828, when Fritchey appeared. With the organization of the

*His diary is interesting, as his trip proved adventurous. One day he lost his way and as night overtook him he obtained permission to stay at a cabin over night. Only an old woman was there, so, after eating supper, he ascended the ladder to his room under the roof. But before retiring he inserted the blade of his knife above the latch of the door. About midnight he was awakened by two men entering the cabin, who entered into subdued conversation with his hostess. Soon after they crept up the ladder and tried the latch. Finding it locked, they demanded entrance. He refused and told them he was ready. He opened the door, but as it opened they saw by the dim light of the moon that he was standing in the middle of the room with a pistol in each hand. They turned and hastened down the ladder and left. He followed them down and charged the woman with conspiracy. He did not retire again, but waited armed till morning, when he left. He afterwards learned that the cabin was a "noted black corner," where persons were put away. God watched over his messenger.

missionary society in the synod new interest began to be taken. In 1826, Bassler went to Guilford and preached a year. Beecher made a brief missionary tour to North Carolina some time between 1826 and 1831, trying to regain his health, during which time he preached to vacant congregations. The representative to the synod of 1827 says "Lincolnton and vicinity has called Mr. Bell, of the Presbyterian Church. Guilford and vicinity has called Mr. Preston, of the Presbyterian Church. Cabarras and vicinity have Boger, who is the only minister of our denomination in North and South Carolina. There are in North and South Carolina about 1,500-1,600 members." In 1828, Crawford and Fritchey went South, Crawford to Guilford, Catawba and Orange Counties, Fritchey to Lincolnton, where he labored twelve years. Boger was still at Rowan, and Hauck in Davidson. Lerch went South in 1830, Lantz in 1837, at Rowan, 1837-51, when he went to Newton. Bennet was at Davidson 1834-7. Hauck got into a controversy with him and was deposed, although Welker* says he pitied him because he was badgered like a wild beast. Bennet preached at St. Matthew's, Zion, Upper Hollow and Little Hollow Creeks, in Newberry district, and in Zion and Bethlehem, in Lexington district. Crooks was in Davidson, 1839-45, Leopold 1832-3, Crawford in Lincoln 1840-57. North Carolina classis was organized in 1831, consisting of sixteen congregations and five ministers.

This classis expressed itself early about slavery in 1838:

WHEREAS, There are yet some churches in our bounds without room for colored people in the sanctuary and without provision for their reception into the communion of the Church;

Resolved, That all such churches be recommended to follow the example of their sister Reformed Churches and the churches of other denominations generally in the South in providing room and pews for the colored people in the house of God and in opening the door for their reception into the communion of the church whenever their knowledge of the truth and personal piety shall render them fit subjects for Christian communion; and, if slaves, by and with the additional requisition of the consent of their masters.

The classis in 1845 urged ministers and elders to give special attention to the spiritual instruction and training of the servants in the families of the Church and ordered that any cruelty to servants be punished according to our constitution. In 1848, when the bitterness of slavery was rising, it reminded its members that the relation of Christian master and slave makes them part of one household and it is the duty of the head of the family, as toward his own children, to look after the spiritual interests of their servants.

*See his History of North Carolina Classis.

C. South Carolina.—

The history of the German Reformed in South Carolina has been in confusion until cleared up by Rev. Prof. W. J. Hinke, D.D.* Their settlements were Puryzburg 1732, Orangeburg 1735, New Windsor and Saxe-Gotha 1737, and Amelia 1739. The second having no minister prevailed on a goldsmith named Giessendanner to act as minister. The third brought with them Rev. B. Zuberbuehler, who died soon, but his work was taken up by his son of the same name, who was later ordained in London by the Anglican Society. Saxe-Gotha had Rev. Christian Theus, and Amelia Rev. John Joachim Zubli,† the most brilliant of the Reformed ministers of the eighteenth century as a pulpit orator, who later became pastor of the Reformed at Savannah. Rev. John Gasser also served Amelia and Orangeburg later. Of these Theus did the most for the Reformed Church in that state. He came from Switzerland as a candidate of theology and was ordained by the Presbyterians. In 1787 he, together with another Reformed minister, Froelich, entered into a union movement with the Lutherans, called the *Corpus Evangelicum*, which lasted only a short time (1794). His last appearance was at a meeting of this union in 1789. After Theus' death the congregations remained vacant for many years. They were served four times a year by Loretz from North Carolina, who preached, baptized their children, confirmed their young people and administered the Lord's Supper. Then they were again pastorless for many years, during which time many joined the Lutheran and Methodist Churches. Many died, leaving only a handful to be served occasionally by traveling ministers. In 1812, eighteen Reformed and thirteen Lutheran members asked the Lutheran synod to ordain Hauck as a Reformed minister. They refused. Other ministers were ordained by the Presbyterians and some, it is said, by the Episcopalians. Hauck, licensed 1814, ordained 1818, became their pastor. But he was comparatively uneducated and revealed unfitness for the ministry. He was suspended 1836.

Rudy, when he went South, found eight congregations in Newberry, Lexington and Richland districts and preached to them. But the synod was unable to send them a permanent pastor. In 1827, the committee who presented the synod with a report of the southern churches, referred to the fragment of the Reformed congregation in Dutch Fork, formed by the Saluda and Broad rivers, which had been originally settled by Germans almost exclusively Reformed,—that in the Newberry district there were 100-200 mostly indifferent, but some were anxious, who begged the visiting minister with tears in their eyes for the synod to send them a pastor. In 1832, Bennet was sent to them by the synod's missionary

*See *Journal of Presbyterian Historical Society*, December, 1906.

†See my *History of the Reformed Church in the U. S.*, page 256.

society and labored for a year or two among six congregations. Bennet made an appeal to the synod for these congregations in South Carolina that they had had no pastor for twenty years, and that in Burk County there were thirty persons waiting to be confirmed. Because there was no pastor after he left, the congregations gradually disappeared until not a vestige of the German Reformed Church is to be found in that state. If they and their descendants had been gathered into our Church, we would have thousands of members there now.

PART II.

The Liturgical Controversy (1844-1878.)

BOOK I. THE THEOLOGICAL PREPARATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT "THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM."

The theological controversy was the first sign of the later liturgical controversy, which did not begin to show itself until about 1858. For the doctrinal was underlying the liturgical and came first. .

SECTION 1. PREPARATORY TENDENCIES.

1. The first tendency that may be said to have prepared the way for the liturgical movement was the anti-revival feeling that arose in the Church after the publication of the "Anxious Bench" by Dr. Nevin. This book aimed, as we have seen, to strike a medium between the noisy revivals of the anxious bench and the opposition to all revivals. But in his intense attack on the anxious bench, he may be said to have failed to sufficiently guard himself on the other side, so that it started a reaction against all revivals and led to a tendency toward formalism and liturgism. This book may therefore be called a negative preparation for a liturgy, because it set in motion a tendency that lowered the value of experimental and subjective religion.

2. The second preparatory influence was the call of Prof. Schaff from Germany. His inaugural address on the "Principle of Protestantism" started another controversy in 1845, to be followed by an attack on his views of the intermediate state. This may be called the historical preparation.

3. The theological preparation was the formulation of the principles of Mercersburg theology in 1846. This was done on the theological side by the publication of the "Mystical Presence" by Dr. Nevin, and on the historical side by the publication of "What is Church History" by Prof. Schaff. The controversy was later increased by the publication of "Antichrist, or the Spirit of Sect and Schism," by Nevin, and by the foundation of the *Mercersburg Review* in 1849, in which the theological controversy may be said to have culminated in Nevin's articles on Early Christianity and Cyprian.

Dr. Schaff says,* "The Mercersburg controversy did not originate the liturgical movement in the German Reformed body, but it gave it new impulse and direction and carried it to a practical result." We take issue with his statement as not quite right. The German Reformed Church never before had been a liturgical church but a semi-liturgical church. The facts we have gathered up† reveal that she had no such continued hankering after a ritualistic service as the liturgical men have claimed. There must have been some other cause for it. This was the Mercersburg theology which was the originator of the effort to make our Church a liturgical church. Historically and logically the liturgy came out of the Mercersburg theology.

4. The liturgical tendency. This, beginning in 1847, was at first so slight that we postpone its consideration until later.

SECTION 2. THE CALL OF PROF. PHILIP SCHAFF TO AMERICA.

A special meeting of the Eastern Synod was held Jan. 24, 1843, at Lebanon, to elect a successor to Prof. Rauch, as professor of theology. The idea of calling so prominent a foreigner as Rev. Dr. F. W. Krummacher, pastor of the Great Reformed Church at Elberfeld, Germany, is said to have originated with Dr. Zacharias, of Frederick, Md. Rev. F. W. Krummacher, D.D., was pastor of the largest Reformed con-

**Mercersburg Review*, 1858, page 208.

†See pages 168-175.

gregation in Germany, and was one of the most eloquent pulpit orators of the 19th century. He had been privately corresponded with before the synod and was supposed to lend a favorable ear to the proposal.* At this synod, Dr. Nevin very earnestly urged his election in a letter, as did Revs. B. C. Wolff, Schneck and others. The synod unanimously elected him and appointed Rev. Drs. Schneck and Hoffeditz as its commissioners to go to Europe and lay the call personally before Dr. Krummacher. This action of the synod created great interest in the Church and subscriptions toward the chair began to come in, some in considerable amounts. Drs. Schneck and Hoffeditz sailed in May, 1843, for Havre, France. They left Havre (July 5), going to Strasburg, Germany. There they separated, Schneck going to Basle, in Switzerland, and Hoffeditz to Cassel, from which he had come to America thirty-eight years before. But they met again at Elberfeld, July 8, to formally present the call to Dr. Krummacher. (They seem to have made a fine impression on him, as indeed they did everywhere else, for the Elector of Cassel and King of Prussia were greatly impressed by their tallness and wanted to know if all Americans were as tall as they were. The King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, became so interested through them in our Church that he gave them 1,500 thalers for the seminary at Mercersburg.) Dr. Krummacher replied to them that he would carefully consider the call, and they left Elberfeld for a tour through Germany. But on August 12, Dr. Schneck wrote home that he had received word from Dr. Krummacher, that after considering the call for four weeks, he had finally decided to decline it. His main reason was that he felt his sphere was in the pulpit rather than in the professor's chair. And he was somewhat fearful, that at his time of life, he might not succeed in a new sphere of work. It is said, however, that other influences were at work. Various rumors, gross exag-

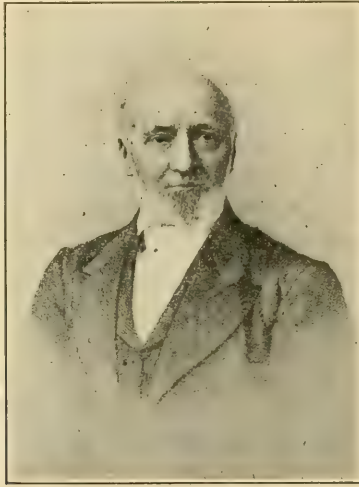
*Dr. Krummacher in his church paper, *The Palm-Leaves*, declared that when he first heard from Rev. Mr. Guldin, of New York, the rumor of his call to America, he disapproved of it and when the call finally came to him he was greatly surprised.

generations, had gotten abroad about his call to America. The Church-paper of Dr. Hengstenberg reported that his salary at Mercersburg would be \$20,000 a year. The Germans became greatly excited, as they were anxious to retain so valuable a preacher. It is said that the King of Prussia influenced him against going by giving him a hint that he would later receive some prominent position in Prussia: which was fulfilled by his election as court-preacher to the King at Potsdam.* His father, Rev. Prof. F. A. Krummacher, also opposed his acceptance, as it would be a change of occupation and he was no longer young. Prof. Dubbs says his declination was a blessing in disguise. He was 47 years of age, imperfectly acquainted with the English language and accustomed to social conditions which in those days could hardly have been reproduced in America. In this country at least his magnificent German sermons would not have been appreciated. Prof. Rupp agrees with him that it was best he did not come, for he says "he would have brought with him his high-Calvinism," from which Mercersburg theology was emancipated by Schaff. (Dr. Krummacher was a strict Calvinist and later, in 1846, attacked Prof. J. B. Lange (also Reformed) for not being sufficiently Reformed because the latter inclined too much to the Mediating theology of Germany.) If Dr. Krummacher had come, Mercersburg theology would never have played the role it did in the history of our Church. It was probably best for Dr. Krummacher that he did not come, but we believe it was worse for our Church. For had he come, her later controversies would probably never have occurred.

Drs. Schneek and Hoffeditz returned to America October 8, 1843. The former attended the Eastern synod of 1843 and reported officially that Dr. Krummacher had declined. He also reported that Dr. Hoffeditz and himself had spent some time in the leading universities of Germany, seeking some one suitable for the chair which Dr. Krummacher had declined. They believed they had found a man suited to take the place of Rauch in Philip Schaff, a professor-extraordinary at the

*Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, page 305, says that the king of Prussia forbade his coming.

University of Berlin.* He was highly recommended by Prof. Neander, the great church-historian, by Hengstenberg, the editor of the German Church paper the *Kirchenzeitung*, by Professors Tholuck and Julius Muller of Halle, by Strauss the court-preacher of Berlin and by Dr. Krummacher himself. The synod then elected Prof. Schaff, only one vote being cast against him, which was done out of fear lest some German neology might through him find an entrance into our Church.



REV. PROF. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D

Philip Schaff was born January 1, 1819, near Chur, the capital of the canton of the Grisons, in eastern Switzerland.† After attending the public schools at Chur, he went to Kornthal in Wurtemberg, Germany, a pietistic school of high rank. There he was confirmed in the Lutheran Church, going later to the gymnasium at Stuttgart, and then to the Lutheran university of Tuebingen. Tuebingen was then divided into

*Prof. Ebrard's name had been suggested but Schaff was preferred because he was a Swiss and would therefore the more easily accommodate himself to our republican ways.

†For Dr. Schaff's life, see the excellent biography "Life of Philip Schaff," by his son, Rev. Prof. D. S. Schaff, 1897.

two camps, the critical school of Baur and the Evangelical of Schmidt, Schaff ranging himself with the latter. From Tuebingen he went to the universities of Halle and Berlin. Schaff spent six months in Tholuck's house at Halle, and was greatly influenced by him. The two teachers who left the greatest impression on him were Schmidt, the Lutheran professor of theology at Tuebingen, and Neander, the famous professor of church-history at Berlin, a member of the Evangelical or United Church. In history he claimed to follow Neander but confessed that he gained his first idea of "historical development" which he afterwards so much emphasized, from Prof. Bauer, the famous Hegelian at Tuebingen. In 1841 he had completed his course of studies at the university at Berlin. For his degree of bachelor of divinity he published his first book, "The Sin against the Holy Ghost."

It was dedicated to his honored teacher Theremin, the famous and eloquent Reformed court-preacher of Berlin. Ohlshausen had advocated three degrees of sin against God, corresponding to the three persons of the Godhead. Schaff denied this threefold distinction and claimed that the sin of blasphemy was not committed against the second person of the trinity but against the Son of Man in his earthly manifestation. So the sin against the Holy Ghost was not against him in the trinity but as he operates on the human soul. "Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is the rejection of the divine itself as it manifests itself in the soul." At the end of the pamphlet, as an illustration of this sin, he recounts the life and remorse of Francis Spiera, the reprobate of the Reformation. Though written by so young a man, Prof. Julius Muller, in his great work on "Sin," says it is a complete discussion of the topic and entitled to respect and confidence. One of Schaff's fellow-students at Berlin attacked this pamphlet for its scholasticism.

In the fall of 1842 he returned, after traveling in southern Europe, to Berlin to become private-docent in the university. He began lecturing there on "The Apostolic Type of Doctrine" and "The Nature and Aims of Theology," and then advanced to lecturing on the "Catholic Epistles" and the "Theology of Schleiermacher." In 1843 he published another pamphlet, "The Relation of James the brother of our Lord to James the son of Alphaeus." He held that James was the natural brother of our Lord but not one of the twelve and

that he later took the place of James the son of Alpheus among the disciples.

Prof. Schaff accepted the call to America, although other positions were beginning to appear for him in Europe, as at Zurich, to which professorship Elbrard was later called. Eichhorn, the Prussian minister of education, told him that a position would always be open to him if he returned from America to Germany.* Preparatory to his coming he at once began the study of English, in which he acquired remarkable fluency later. He was ordained April 12, 1844, in the Great Reformed Church at Elberfeld, by the Pastors' Aid Society, which had been organized at Langenberg, in the Wupperthal, June 7, 1839, to aid the Germans in America, and which had branch societies at Bremen, Basle and Hanau. The superintendent of the Society, Rev. Dr. Huelsman, delivered an address on "The harvest is great and laborers are few." The act of ordination was performed by the ministers present, including Prof. Kling, of Bonn. After the ordination Dr. Krummacher preached on Jer. 1: 17: "Thou therefore gird up thy loins and arise and speak unto them all that I command thee." The sermon produced a profound impression on the audience by its eloquence. Then the 134th Psalm was sung and Prof. Schaff preached a sermon on "Paul's Vision of the Man of Macedonia." Like Dr. Krummacher he took a low view of the religious condition of the Germans in America because so many adults among them were unbaptized, which was counted a great scandal in Germany. Three foes, he said, threatened the Germans in America, paganism,† Romanism and sectarianism. The service was very long, twilight setting in before Schaff concluded and the church becoming so dark that the speaker could be seen only in outline.

*As King Frederick William III had given money to Rev. Mr. Reily for the Seminary at Mercersburg, so King Frederick William IV gave 1,500 thalers (\$975) when Schaff came. It was applied to the expense of the two delegates to Europe, Schneek and Hoffeditz, and the small balance that remained was given to the library.—Dubbs' History of F. & M. College, 199, note.

†The Germans in America, he said, were in danger of a return to heathenism.

On his way to America he spent six weeks in England, where he attended the May anniversaries of the various religious societies. He also examined the Puseyite movement, meeting personally Pusey and Newman of the high-churchmen and Stanley and Jowett of the broad-churchmen. He arrived at New York, July 28, where he was met by Rev. B. C. Wolff, of Easton. On his way to Mercersburg he attended the first Triennial convention of the Dutch and German Reformed Churches at Harrisburg, and arrived at Mercersburg August 12, where he was warmly welcomed by the professors and students.

He had hardly arrived in America before he was severely attacked (the forerunner of many controversies to come). His sermon at Elberfeld had been published in Dr. Krummacher's church paper, entitled "The Palm-Leaves." The German secular press of America had gotten hold of it and from New York to Wisconsin and the Mississippi Valley they attacked him with great bitterness because of his low views about the Germans in America, denouncing him as a slanderer of his countrymen and a traitor to his country. Some of them warned parents against sending their children to the school where he taught. In some places indignation meetings were held in vindication of German honor. Dr. Nevin wrote a defence of him and gradually the excitement subsided.

From this sketch of his life it should however be noticed that Prof. Schaff, though traditionally Reformed, was not confessionally so; that is, he was born in a Reformed country (Switzerland), but confirmed as a member of the Lutheran Church. His theological views were from the Lutheran university at Tuebingen, his historical, from Neander of the Evangelical Church of Germany, composed of Lutherans and Reformed. It was not until he came to this country that he promised adherence to the Heidelberg Catechism and our Reformed doctrines. He therefore did not come to us bringing the old theology of the Reformed Church of Germany as represented by her leaders in the past, Ursinus and Olevianus, Pareus of Heidelberg, Wendelin of Anhalt, Lampe of Bremen, or of the Reformed in their conferences with the Lutherans at Leipsic 1631 and Cassel 1661, where they were strictly

Calvinistic on predestination and the sacraments. But he came representing a new and different theology—the Mediating theology of Schleiermacher, but of the right wing, that is inclining toward orthodoxy. Schleiermacher had tried first to mediate between pantheism and orthodoxy and then between the Reformed and the Lutherans. His mediating theology had given up most that was distinctively Reformed therefore and was very different from the old doctrine of the Reformed of Germany. Some of the Reformed, like Ullman, had tried to mediate between Schleiermacher's view and the old Reformed position. And Schaff may be said in the main to follow him. Prof. Jacobs, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia, says Dr. Schaff's ideal on coming to Mercersburg was the foundation of a German-American Church, uniting the Reformed and the Lutheran, that is, he was unionistic rather than Reformed.

Dr. Schaff's biographer in comparing him with Dr. Nevin, says (page 103):

"To the German spirit which Dr. Nevin never could fully assimilate, he added that historic temper which is tolerant and irenic. He did not possess the gift of the theological disputant; his was the power of the churchly historian. The wonder is that with their sharp differences of originality, temper and education, these two men should have studied together for a score of years in friendly co-operation. It will appear, however, that this very relation put Dr. Schaff more than once in positions where his real views were subject to serious misconstruction."

SECTION 3. DR. NEVIN'S SERMON ON "CATHOLIC UNITY" (1844).

Although this sermon was not published until 1845 it merits notice here because it reveals Dr. Nevin's views at the time of Schaff's arrival and before he was influenced by Schaff. It was preached at the Triennial convention of the Dutch and German Reformed Churches at Harrisburg, August 7, 1844, and was published the next year with Schaff's "Principle of Protestantism" at Schaff's request. This sermon reveals that Nevin was already coming out from his old Calvinism and inclining toward German philosophical and theological positions. This was probably due to Rauch's influence.

The sermon is in two parts, (1) the nature and constitution of the Holy Catholic Church, (2) the duty of Christians as regards the unity by which it is declared to be Catholic and true. Kremer, one of Nevin's biographers, says Nevin held there could not be a true Christian spirit of unity without a true Church-spirit and correct views in regard to the Church itself,—there must be organic unity. Kremer fails to notice that his statement is Dr. Nevin's later view of the Church, as revealed in his articles about 1851 and later, but not here. The new position of Nevin here is his emphasis on the organic in dealing with the Church and Church unity.

“The whole humanity of Christ, soul and body, is carried by the process of the Christian salvation into the person of the believer. His resurrection is only his regeneration fully revealed at last—complete. Union with Christ is organic, is not a mere aggregation or abstraction, not an all but a whole. Individual Christianity is not older than generic Christianity, but the general in this case goes before the particular.” He thus taught Adam's generic humanity, that he was not a man but *the* man. In the light of this organic unity what is the church and its union?

But Dr. Nevin was proceeding beyond Rauch. The spiritualistic idealism of the German mind as in Rauch was delicate and beautiful. Nevin, with his Scotch mind, aimed to grasp it, but did not quite do so. Like the Scotch, he unconsciously emphasized the real over against the ideal, while Rauch emphasized the ideal like the Germans. And although Nevin believed himself to have gotten into the German frame of mind, his Scotch-Irish heredity led him to produce a crass reflection of Rauch's idealistic positions. Rauch taught the distinction between the subjective and objective, which was then much emphasized by German philosophy; but he emphasized the subjective. Nevin followed him on making the same distinction, but he, on the other hand, unduly emphasized the objective. In his later doctrine of the Church and the sacraments he minimizes, if not ignores, the subjective and experiential when he says the grace of baptism does not depend on subjectivity. It is possible that had Dr. Rauch lived longer, he might have corrected this tendency in Dr. Nevin, but Nevin

was with him at Mercersburg but ten months before Rauch died, and much of that time Rauch was sickly and part of it away. Nevin undertook to develop Rauch's philosophy but developed it beyond him. Rauch's philosophy and theology would never have caused the controversy that Nevin's did, for Rauch leaned not to high churchism or to Romanizing but toward simplicity, even Quakerism in his emphasis on the subjective. Nevin, in this sermon on Catholic Unity, therefore reveals that he had adopted the realism of the German philosophy over against nominalism. And he reveals in this sermon germs of his future theology in his application of his realism to the Church and the sacraments.* In the Church, generic Christianity is before the individual. Christ took upon himself generic, not individual humanity. He took the race on himself as Adam had at the beginning. The second Adam comprised in himself humanity redeemed as a whole. "A divine seed is implanted in the Christian, the germ of a new existence."†

Here we notice another difference between Rauch and Nevin. They not merely differed in their emphasis on the objective and subjective but they also differed in their idea of organism. An organ may be the avenue or *channel* through which the life comes. Or the organ may be more than a channel; it may be the *force* of that life itself. Both Nevin and Rauch emphasized the organic process but they differed in their emphasis. Rauch emphasized the organ as a channel or avenue, while Nevin gives it intrinsic, objective power in itself. Rauch called attention to the organic connection,

*Realism in philosophy over against nominalism is quite a different thing from realism in philosophy over against idealism to which we referred above. Nominalists emphasize the name, realists the thing. Nominalists say the reality lies in the name, which is the conception of the thing in our own mind. Realists say the reality lies in the thing itself, of which our name is merely the reflection. Nominalism places the individual before the universals and makes the individual to be the basis or norm; realism says that the universal existed before individuals and is the basis of them.

†The generic possessed a reality to which the individual can never attain. The Church is not a voluntary but a divine institution and order as real as anything eye can see or hand feel, says Callender in Dubbs' *American Church History*, pages 369-70.

Nevin to the organic force. Thus Nevin begins to place intrinsic power in the sacrament and Church.

Nevin in this sermon held that Christ's generic humanity comes down to us in the Church and sacraments and unites us to him in a mystical union. If his views were considered too high he reminded his hearers that they were Calvin's views. He probably hoped thus to ward off criticism at the convention. And there were a few mutterings of criticism even as early as that Triennial convention.

Having thus laid his philosophic basis, he proceeds to discuss the unity of all believers and declaims against the evil of so many sects in the Protestant Church. His subject was timely, suited to a convention to promote union between the Dutch and German Reformed; but his peculiar method of handling it was not the happiest, for it roused the suspicions of some of the Dutch ministers against what they called his German Hegelianism. Still it was a profound, stimulating discussion of the subject.

Certain peculiarities, however, need to be noticed in the sermon, showing he had not yet come to the theological positions he later took. Mercersburg theology was a growth and he was evolving it gradually. Thus,

1. He calls the Pope Antichrist. This is very different from his position in his pamphlet published only four years later, when Antichrist is not the pope, but the Spirit of Sect and Schism in the Protestant Church.

2. He calls the German and Dutch Reformed the same in spirit and doctrine. "The faith of Switzerland, the faith of the Palatinate and the faith of Holland in the sixteenth century were emphatically one faith." Later he held that the Reformed Church of Germany was different from all the other Reformed Churches by being Melancthonian and not Calvinistic. This latter view he got from Prof. Schaff. Dr. Nevin in this sermon still believed (and rightly) that our Church, having been nurtured in the eighteenth century by the Reformed Church of Holland, was Calvinistic. He extols Dutch Calvinism. "The Reformed had glorious representatives at the ever memorable Synod of Dort." (He spoke quite

the opposite about that synod later.) He rejoiced that this convention revealed to the world that the two divisions of the Reformed Church proclaimed themselves inwardly as well as outwardly united.

This sermon revealed that Dr. Nevin had been moving out from the old Princeton Calvinism of the Federal School toward German theology. He was at this time in a receptive state of mind, wide open to receive impressions from Germany. Just at that moment Prof. Schaff came to strengthen his philosophical and theological leanings. And together they built up Mercersburg theology.

SECTION 4. "THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM," BY PROF. SCHAFF.

Prof. Schaff was received into the Eastern Synod at Allentown, October 17-23, 1844. Immediately after the close of the synod he was inaugurated professor of theology at Reading, where he delivered his inaugural address on "The Principle of Protestantism." When it was heard there was a slight murmur of dissatisfaction at some of its positions. But the criticisms did not appear until it was published (in German in March, 1845, and in English in June, 1845). It had been carefully enlarged and revised because of these criticisms.

To understand the significance of Schaff's Address, it is to be remembered that there have been several ways of vindicating Protestantism against Catholicism. There were in the main two Protestant theories:

1. The common Protestant view that Protestantism was a return to the primitive Church of the New Testament. After the first century the Church became more and more corrupt until the Reformation of the sixteenth century revived apostolic times. This view looked on the Catholic Church, especially of the Middle Ages, as evil and corrupt. Nevin later calls this the Puritanic theory.

2. The Anglican or Episcopalian view. This held that Protestantism was a return not to the first century but to the early Church of the first four or five centuries. This view

allowed room for the development of Church government by bishops and also of some rites not Biblical but ecclesiastically sanctioned, which were rejected by the other view. This view, like the first, looked upon the Catholic Church as a corrupt Church but not as Antichrist, for it had preserved in the midst of it a remnant of truth.

3. The third view which Schaff proposed, was that neither were right, that there was still another view, namely, historical development.* The Protestant Church was not a return to either the first century or to the first five centuries, but it was different from both, yet connected with them by historical development. Church history is organic. It was not a collection of facts promiscuously thrown together but an organism unfolding its powers. The Church is an ever-living organism, "with a continuous flow of life in which every succeeding age is a true development of its own organic will from the life preceding." This was contrary to the first view for it denied that the Catholic Church was only evil and corrupt. It held, on the contrary, that the Protestant Church was a development right out of the good forces within the Catholic Church before the Reformation. Prof. Schaff however added, "This development would continue—the Protestant Church would not stop with the Church of the Reformation, but would continue developing until Protestantism and Catholicism would approach and finally unite. His Principle of Protestantism was "Historical Development."

The pamphlet was divided into two parts:

1. The Principle of Protestantism in its original relation to the Roman Catholic Church.
2. The Principle of Protestantism in its relation to the later development and present state of the Protestant Church.

Under the first part, he discusses the two elements that made up the Principle of Protestantism, Justification by Faith on the one hand and

*Ullman, in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1859), in reviewing Schaff's *History of the Apostolic Church*, says that this idea of development was first enunciated by Herder, but is in the Schelling philosophy and especially in Hegel's conception of history, from which doubtless Schaff, through Baur, received it.

the Authority of the Scriptures as the rule of faith on the other. The Lutherans emphasized the former, the Reformed the latter. But both were inseparable—different aspects of the same principle. He later on, says his biographer, added a third principle, the priesthood of all believers.* (If he had emphasized this last principle then, he would have saved our Church from controversy and from Mercersburg theology, which emphasized the priesthood of the ministry, to which the priesthood of all believers would have been an antidote.—*A.*) He describes the relation of this principle to the Romish Church before the Reformation. The Reformation was not a violent *revolution* against the previous order nor was it a *restoration* to the original apostolic Christianity. It was a *development* out of the Middle Ages, the ripe fruit of better tendencies in the Catholic Church. The Reformation is the legitimate offspring, the greatest act of the Catholic Church, but that Church, instead of following the historical development, stuck to its law of commandments like the Jews in Christ's time, and refused to develop with the ages.

In the second part of his book he discusses the principle of Protestantism in its relation to the present state of the Protestant Church. He describes:

A. The diseases or caricatures of Protestantism. These are: 1. Rationalism or one-sided theoretic subjectivism. This develops into a papacy more tyrannical than the hierarchial papacy of Rome. 2. Sectism or one-sided practical subjectivism. He inveighs against the many denominations of America, calling this sectism "a second plague."

B. The Remedies. 1. The first was Puseyism, which, however, is not a remedy but a reaction caused by the disease. Puseyism had deep moral spiritual earnestness, but failed to appreciate the significance of the Reformation. It looks backward, not forward. 2. The second is historical development, or, as he calls it, Protestantism, which would heal all its diseases. And it would ultimately bring it into union with Catholicism to form a grander Christianity. The final form of Protestantism is yet to come. It will not come through outward unity, as the Puseyites hold, but from within Protestantism.

The pamphlet closes with 112 theses, which summarize his positions. It reveals his wide scholarship and encyclopaedic mind. For a young man only 25 years old, it is a very remarkable production. But it also reveals the inexperience and false hopes of youth. He would fain be a new Luther summoning the Protestant world to a new reformation, as did Luther in 1517. His hope that historical development would unite Protestantism and Catholicism into a larger Christian-

*Christ and Christianity, pages 128-134.

ity was the impractical dream of a young enthusiast. The publication of this work at once attracted attention to his ability and brilliancy as a church-historian. Dr. Nevin, in the preface to the pamphlet, evidently feeling that it would be attacked, tries to ward off the coming attacks. He defends Schaff: 1. Against the attacks of the German secular press on his address at Elberfeld. 2. Against any charge of Romanizing, by granting that there was truth in the midst of the errors of Rome.

Romanism in every one of its errors included vast truth. Protestants erred in their view of liberty of private judgment and Catholics in their view of Church authority. Each complemented the other. The papacy was the womb out of which was formed the life of the Reformation; and the Middle Ages was not the great apostacy but the Catholic preparation for the Reformation. The view of some that the Protestant Church was derived from the early Church through heretical sects, the Waldenses, etc., he derided. He held that Schaff's argument was the strongest that could be produced. He closes by developing Schaff's historical development more fully into his own view of organic religion through the Church, emphasizing the organic as Schaff emphasized development.

Some of the positions of the book at once attracted criticism. The most prominent was its Romanizing tendency. Instead of calling Rome the great apostasy, Babylon, the Sink of Iniquity, he made the Catholic Church a true Church, which connected the Protestant Church with the early apostolic Church. Again, he was criticized for his emphasis on tradition as a rule of faith with Scripture. He divided tradition into ecclesiastical, historical and dogmatical.* Tradition should not be separated from Scripture as Protestants hold. It was the contents of the Bible as settled by the Church against heresies. In stating tradition he fails to guard himself sufficiently against the Catholic view. (See page 103). Another sign of Romanizing charged against him was his com-

*Under his discussion of the Bible as the rule of faith, he states its relation to tradition and defines the different kinds of tradition, ritual, historical, dogmatic-moral and formal-dogmatic tradition. Ritual refers to the ancient customs of the Church, historical to the testimony of antiquity—to the genuineness of sacred books, dogmatic-moral comprehends doctrines ascribed to Christ and the apostles which the Bible rejects and formal-dogmatic includes the ancient creeds and the onward movement of church doctrine and life from age to age.

mendation of Puseyism, its moral earnestness, reverent solemnity, holding fast to the sacraments "that hang not on the precarious side of the subjective but include the actual presence of Christ as really as when he stood before his disciples." But although he makes such statements he is not satisfied with the position of the Romish Church because its formulas are fixed and allow no room for the historical development which is the corner-stone of his system. For the same reason he criticizes Puritanism. He errs in not guarding himself against Romanism. While he is so easy with Rome, he is very severe on Protestantism for its disease of sects and its Puritanism.

Another criticism was on his philosophy. He was charged with Hegelianism. It was evident that he was opposed to the destructive school of Strauss but still he used Hegelian methods. Thus, in thesis 17, he shows it by holding to its dialectic contra-positions, and on page 186, where he makes corporeity the scope of God's ways. On page 169 Schaff says, "the unity must proceed from within, from the deepest ground of the religious life and then it will provide itself a suitable form." This is the Hegelian method of development.

Another criticism of the book was that it was more Lutheran than Reformed. In a letter to Dr. Mann he says, "my German Reformed friends used to call me a Lutheran theologian and were displeased with my eulogy of Luther in this book." And there was ground for this charge, for he almost entirely ignored Zwingli, whom the Reformed in America had always idolized. While he refers occasionally to Calvin, yet Luther and the Lutheran Reformation figure by far most prominently in this book. His education in Germany led him to magnify the Lutheran Reformation and minimize the Zwinglian.

Finally, another criticism on the book was on its optimistic hope of a final union of Protestantism and Catholicism. This was the dream of an idealist, not yet realized, for they are farther apart to-day than then, because the papacy has since then promulgated the doctrine of infallibility. The truth is that there is no middle ground between these two great faiths. Every attempt to bring Protestantism nearer Rome, as Puseyism, has failed.

Many years after, Dr. Schaff says he confessed that he flung this book as a firebrand, but it was not understood. "My little book was a harmless book, and I had not the remotest thought that I was out of accord with the views of the Reformed Church in this country." It is very evident that as a foreigner he failed to understand fully the American hostility to Rome at that time, which made many look on his concessions to Rome as treason to Protestantism. For it is to be remembered that his address was delivered just at the time of the bitterest feeling against Catholics. On May 3, 1844, the Irish Catholics of Kensington, Philadelphia, had attacked a meeting of the American party at which a number were killed and wounded. The American party afterward paraded with the American flag, which they had taken from the Catholics in the riot and on it they placed the inscription, "This is the flag trampled upon by Irish papists." This feeling was so bitter that a fire broke out which consumed thirty-nine houses and the militia were called out. Two Catholic churches in Philadelphia were burned. This bitterness was caused to some extent by the efforts of the Catholics to gain possession of the public schools. As the grand jury did not make its returns on these Philadelphia riots till July 1st, Schaff's irenic address came too soon after this. His subject was therefore ill-timed and his method of treatment laid him open to criticism of which he never dreamt. These political events are a forgotten element in the controversy against him in our Church.

SECTION 5. THE ATTACKS ON "THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM BY THE DIFFERENT CHURCH PAPERS.

A. The Protestant Quarterly.—The first attack on the pamphlet is said to have been in the *Protestant Banner* in the summer of 1845 by Berg. He continued his attack on it in the *Protestant Quarterly*, of which he was then editor. He was, as we have already seen, a warm champion of anti-Romanism. He had had, as we have already noted, an open debate with a Catholic priest at Lebanon. He had also for a number of years been publishing a number of books against Romanism. At the Synod of 1843, he had tried to get that

synod to commit our Church against the validity of Romish baptism. Nevin later charged that the synod refused to sustain Berg's position. Heiner, however, says that the synod was very much divided on the subject, many voting *non liquit*,



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and when the synod decided to recognize the validity of Romish baptism, it was only by a small majority. The minutes of the synod report no action on the subject, so that officially the synod could not well be quoted either way, as Nevin claimed.

Dr. Berg therefore was one of the first to scent any tendencies toward Romanizing in Schaff's address. He had published "The Old Paths" in the spring of 1845, in which he takes the usual Protestant view of his time, that the reformation was a return to the Church of the New Testament, and that the Catholic Church was the great apostasy. Over against Schaff's view of historical development he attempts to trace the connection of Protestantism with the Apostolic age through John's disciple Polycarp, Irenaeus, the Waldenses and other

sects. The *Messenger*, in reviewing the book, doubts the truth of his theory, and J. H. Good soon after wrote against it in the *Messenger*. Berg replied that if the reformers ought to claim the Papal Church as their mother because they came out of it, on the same principle he must regard Father Lot as deriving his patriarchal succession through Sodom. It needs hardly be added that Berg's theory since then has been given up as untenable, for the historical connection of Protestantism with the primitive Church lay not through the heretical sects, as Berg said, or through the visible Church, as Schaff and Nevin declared, but rather through the invisible Church.

Dr. Berg charged Schaff with exalting tradition above the Bible, the Church above Christ, the sacraments above personal faith; and that both Professors Schaff and Nevin had violated their oaths as professors by not teaching the doctrines of the Heidelberg Catechism. The passage in the "Principle of Protestantism" that gave so much offence was on page 87, ending with "The tradition was not a part of the divine Word separately from what is written, but the contents of Scripture itself as apprehended and settled by the Church against heresies past and always new appearing."*

B. The attack in the Lutheran Observer.—This paper, the organ of the Lutheran Church, reviewed Schaff's pamphlet, April 11, 1845, and slightly criticised it, saying that a longer stay in America would modify his views. On July 11 it criticised Nevin's sermon on Church Unity as too transcendental to be understood and charged him with being an ultra-Lutheran. After that, the paper came out squarely against Nevin's views. On September 26, 1845, the editor said:

"We have been acquainted with many distinguished divines of the German Reformed Church, such as the Helffensteins, Sr. and Jr., Ra-

*Just about this time occurred the Leahy episode. Edward Leahy was an ex-monk of La Trappe, whom Berg had converted and sent to Mercersburg to study theology (1844). Leahy was surprised to be taught there that the Church of Rome was a part of the Church of Christ and that Christ was really and truly present in the Lord's Supper. Such Romanizing he reported to Berg.

hausers, Hendels, Hiester, Gloninger, Hoffmeier and many others, and last but not least that clear-headed, strong-minded and by no means 'small' theologian, Dr. Mayer.* Not one of them understood the Heidelberg Catechism as Nevin does, but all believed in a real spiritual presence."

In the same issue and in October 10, this new pet phrase of Nevinism "spiritual real presence" was discussed. The phrase "real presence" had been used in Catholic theology and in none of the Protestant confessions except the larger Westminster. Real presence was but another name for transubstantiation. We would note that Nevin's opponents were always willing to use the phrase "real spiritual presence" as over against an imaginary spiritual presence. But Nevin always put the real after spiritual, making it "spiritual real presence." He clung to the Catholic phrase "real presence," only he tried to Protestantize it by putting the word spiritual before it so as to distinguish it from the corporeal presence which was the Catholic view. As he would not accept real spiritual presence, it is evident that "real presence" meant something more than merely spiritual presence, namely, the presence also of Christ's humanity.

C. The attack of the Christian Intelligencer.† The editor says a copy of Schaff's Pamphlet had come into his office in July accompanied with a note from Dr. Nevin. He notices it first (Aug. 7), saying it revealed great learning, honesty and boldness. On August 14 he goes farther, saying "that some of the principles of Puseyism which Schaff praises contain the seeds of Romish errors. While Schaff might be far from affinity to Rome yet others taking up these principles would be led to undesirable results."‡ "Schaff holds that not only is Rome a part of the true Church of Christ but, previous to the reformation, a depository of the Christian faith." This was very different from the general view of the Dutch Church that the Romish Church was an apostasy. On September 11,

*This refers to the common statement of many Nevinists in minimizing Prof. Lewis Mayer.

†The official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church.

‡This proved a true prophecy, for later a number of the pupils of Schaff and Nevin went over to Rome.

S. N. attacks another aspect of Nevinism, namely, its error about the ministry—

That it holds to a sort of apostolic succession not in the Catholic or Episcopalian sense but modified to suit Presbyterianism,—that grace from Christ through the apostles comes to every minister at ordination, so that by the imposition of hands he becomes a depository of that grace and has the remarkable power of transmitting this grace to others after the fashion of a Leyden jar full of electricity which discharges its electricity by coming into contact with objects that are conductors.

The whole theory, he claimed, was a fanciful speculation. In the same issue the editor says the saddest impression made on him by Schaff's address and Nevin's sermon is that its principles would be a barrier to the union of the two churches, which, alas, proved only too true, as they later became separated more and more on account of Nevinism.*

The editor disclaims (October 16) the charge made by some of the Nevinists that his paper was gratuitously circulated among the ministers of the German Reformed Church to prejudice them against Nevin. He says that a worthy individual procured some twenty or thirty copies of the *Intelligencer* from the office and circulated them, but that the editor was not responsible for it. As the *Messenger* had now opened its columns to both parties in the German Reformed Church he would hereafter abstain from editorial comment. But articles continued to appear in the *Intelligencer* against Nevin and Schaff by Berg and Helffenstein and Heiner. Helffenstein has an article (Dec. 18) quoting Schaff as favoring Puseyism, when he said "he goes with young Oxford." Guldin, formerly of our Church but now in the Dutch Church, published extracts from the theological lectures of the late Prof. F. L. Herman to show that the German Reformed Church was originally Calvinistic and against the newer views of Nevin.

*One of the writers in the *Intelligencer*, arguing against this emphasis of Mercersburg theology on the necessity of outward church rites, supposes a case of careless, unbaptized persons on a desert island, who were converted by reading the Bible, organized themselves into a church, elected a pastor from their number, lived and died without any other means of grace. He asks would they be lost because they had received none of the rites of the Church from a properly accredited ministry. This supposition evidently annoyed Nevin, for he refers to it in one of his articles but fails to answer it.

D. Attacks on Schaff by Other Church Papers.—The Protestant church papers, except the *Episcopalian*, disapproved of Schaff's position. The *Princeton Repertory* (Presbyterian), reviewed it favorably as to its ability, but criticised him for his tendency toward Puseyism, for giving more weight to tradition than was done by Protestants; also for his finding fault with the Free Church of Scotland because it seceded from the State Church; also criticised his section about the sects as being marred by false principles. The *Catholic Herald* (Episcopalian) went into raptures over it,—that a Protestant should concede so much to the Catholic Church as to say it was a true Church. The *True Catholic* of Maryland went into ecstasies that now the German Reformed sect was on the eve of joining the Church. In Germany the *Palm-Leaves*, published by Dr. Krummacher, said Schaff was charged with mysticism, transcendentalism, Puseyism, yes, with a Romanizing tendency.

E. Nevin's Reply in His Articles on Pseudo-Protestantism.—In the *Messenger* of August 13, 1845, Nevin began a series of articles replying to these attacks. He tried to show that the views of his opponents were not true Protestantism but a false or Pseudo-Protestantism—an extreme Protestant view. He defined the distinction between a true and a pure Church. The true church was one that had a regular ministry, where the Word of God was preached and the Christian sacraments were properly administered. The Roman Church, he claimed, was a true church. He refused over against his opponents to unchurch the entire Romish communion as such by denying the validity of their baptism. In this Prof. Charles Hodge, of Princeton Theological Seminary, agreed with him and had opposed the action of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1845 when it denied the validity of Romish baptism. Dr. Nevin thus tried to answer Berg's first charge, namely, that his views had a Romanizing tendency. He then replies to Berg's second charge, namely, that he held to a "spiritual real presence" in the Lord's Supper. He grants this and claims it is the doctrine of the Reformed confessions. "Real

presence," he defines, "is a literal concorporation, an actual insertion into the substance of Christ's humanity." He claims that he represents Calvin's doctrine that Christ's humanity had a vivific presence (streaming from his body to earth like the rays of the sun—A.). Nevin however, grants that he goes beyond Calvin in his psychology for he tries to correct Calvin's false psychology by a proper conception of organism and a proper distinction between the genus and the individual, which was made by realism. It had been suggested by his opponents that the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a real spiritual presence not a spiritual real presence as he held. They charged that the latter phrase came from the Catholics. He replies that he can not accept their phrase:

"Because Christ is there, by virtue of his ever-living present divinity and it may be by the efficacious presence of the Spirit just as he is present in the rolling stone and the evening zephyr."

SECTION 6. THE ACTION ON IT WITHIN OUR CHURCH.

A. The Attack of Philadelphia Classis.—The previous attacks were non-official. This was more serious because by an official body of the Church. Philadelphia classis, at a meeting September 16, 1845, appointed a committee to examine the "Principle of Protestantism." This committee, of which Berg was the chairman, reported against it. The report objected to Schaff's undervaluation of Scripture in favor of tradition, to his emphasis on the sacraments rather than on faith as the life-giving principle of Christianity, and to his views of Christ's corporeal presence at the Lord's Supper. Over against this, it held that the Bible was the rule of faith, that the sacraments were only a channel of grace and that their efficacy depended on the subjective state of the believer, namely, faith. It considered Schaff's divergences so serious that classis called the attention of synod to them. These resolutions were adopted, only one voting against all of them, Foulk, although Kessler, Young and Kooker voted against some of them. But the Helffensteins, of whom there were four, with Berg and Bibighaus, were the majority. Nevin used to say it was the Helffenstein faction who opposed him

in the Church. But they were not the only ones, for the controversy was more than a personal one; great principles and doctrines were at stake.

The classis also expressed regret that the *Messenger* should close its columns to the opponents of Nevin and Schaff, while surrendering its pages to Nevin for such a long and severe series of articles against his opponents as Pseudo-Protestantism. (This was the reason why a number of our ministers, as Berg, J. Helffenstein and Heiner were compelled to write in the *Lutheran Observer* and *Christian Intelligencer*, because their articles were not accepted by the *Messenger*.) The classis concluded its action by declaring itself in favor of the doctrine, which Schaff and Nevin opposed, namely, that the Romish Church was the great apostasy, the man of sin, the mother of abominations, etc., and as such was destined to utter and fearful destruction.

B. The Action of East Pennsylvania Classis.—While Philadelphia classis attacked Nevin and Schaff, East Pennsylvania Classis defended them. At its meeting (Oct. 1) it passed a resolution, defending the professors at Mercersburg and ordering its delegates to synod to do so on the floor of synod. The action was not quite unanimous. Wack, one of the oldest and most influential ministers, voted against it, thus joining the Helffensteins in Philadelphia classis in their opposition to Nevin.

C. The Discussion in Our Church Papers.—

After the protest of Philadelphia classis, the *Messenger* opened its columns to articles on the other side, and published an article from the *Lutheran Observer* on the "real presence," which had been written by Berg. Nevin replied by an article on "The Mystical Union." Heiner wrote an article against Nevin and Schaff, calling attention to a distinction to be made, in the historical connection of Protestantism with Apostolic Christianity, between the visible and invisible. There was no visible Evangelical Church from the first to the sixteenth centuries, but the invisible church existed in all true believers. In the next issues of the *Messenger*, Nevin finds a number of defenders as Sechler, Bomberger, Glessner, Brettell and B. Wolff (of whom the first three afterwards became his strong opponents in the liturgical controversy). Heiner in a second article contrasts the Protestantism of Mercersburg with the Pro-

testantism of the Bible and of the German Reformed Church. He especially attacks Schaff's statement that Puseyism was a legitimate reaction against the rationalistic Pseudo-Protestantism as well as against the religious subjectivism of the low-church party of the Episcopalians. He ironically declares that Schaff has the honor of introducing the American Church to Oxford and then to Rome. He also criticised Schaff for suggesting as cures of the evils of Protestantism, the revival of pictures, images, crosses, beautifying the sanctuaries and altars and emphasizing the objective in the sacraments, but the German Reformed Church says we are Christians not by being in the Church but by being in Christ. He closes by saying that since the publication of Schaff's "Principle of Protestantism" and Nevin's "Catholic Unity" there had been a woeful lack of unity in the German Reformed Church.

SECTION 7. THE ACTION OF THE EASTERN SYNOD ON THE "PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM" (1845).

Such was the condition of affairs when the synod met at York, Oct. 16, 1845. It received the complaint of Philadelphia classis, also two letters from Revs. Strassburger and I. Gerhart, expressing their belief that the charges were unfounded. It declared the complaint of Philadelphia classis irregular, because not first presented to the board of visitors. The professors, however, waived this constitutionality and the synod proceeded with the case. It was referred to a committee of one from each classis: Wolff, Bibighaus, Hoffeditz, Leinbach, Ziegler, Kremer, Seibert, Hensell and Welker.* The investigation lasted four days. This was the only meeting of the Eastern synod that lasted over two Sundays. The committee's report vindicated the book and its position on tradition, etc. It also criticised the action of Philadelphia classis as revealing an absence of consideration and forethought, and it recommended that the professors of the seminary receive the support and confidence of the Church. Berg spoke for two hours, Nevin for two, Schaff for three, mainly in German. Berg replied and Schaff replied in English to him. The report was adopted by a vote of 37 to 3, Berg being the only minister voting in the minority. There were

*It is interesting to note that four of these, almost one-half of the committee, later became strong opponents of Nevin in the liturgical controversy: Bibighaus, Hoffeditz, Ziegler and Welker.

however, other ministers sympathizing with Berg, some of whom were present at the synod but who were not members and, therefore, had no vote, as Heiner and Prof. Lewis Mayer.* This partly explains why Nevin and his followers detracted continually from Prof. Lewis Mayer's ability and work. It was because Mayer opposed them. Berg entered an eloquent protest against the report, concluding with the historic words of Luther, "Here I stand, I can not do otherwise." The synod appointed a committee to reply to Berg's protest. Schaff and his book were thus vindicated by synod. The debate was sharp, but Berg at the end of it said, "It makes me sad that Proff. Schaff and I must strike at each other, and I must grant he has a very hard head. But at the same time I can draw his heart to mine with the utmost love."†

Schaff afterwards said that if the result had been otherwise, he would have gone right back to Berlin, Germany. He wrote gleefully to Dr. Krummacher's church paper the "*Palm-Leaves*," of his victory at synod,‡ also stating that in many German Reformed churches in America there was no catechization, no confirmation, no observance of the Church festivals, no congregational singing, and that in Berg's church the mode of worship was like the Presbyterian. Schaff says§ that the synod of 1845 did not adopt the Principle of Protestantism. He had not expected that. But it declared the charges against him as unfounded and that his views were not a departure from those of the German Reformed Church. It had not declared Nevin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as the only true one, but it had refused the Zwinglian views of his opponents. He says the German Reformed Church adopted a principle whose consequences would be remarkable, viz. giving up Puritanism and Methodism and going back to the Church-theory. Dr. Schaff in this article shoots beyond the action of the synod.

*See *Palm-Leaves* of Krummacher, 1846, page 140.

†The Ohio synod, 1845, examined Schaff's pamphlet and recommended it for circulation.

‡Appel says it was a victory of logic over rhetoric. He misses entirely the gravity of the situation, for great principles were at stake, as is evidenced by the length and severity of the controversy that followed.

§*Palmblätter*, 1847, 114.

when carefully examined, for some of the things he refers to never came up before that synod for action.

Philadelphia classis met September 16, 1846. It took notice of synod's statement that they had shown want of forethought and consideration in their action. This they deny and they renew their action:

1. That Scripture over against tradition is the only rule of faith and practice.

2. That the sacraments have no inherent efficacy.

3. That the actual humanity of Christ is not on earth and that his presence is none the less real because divine and spiritual.

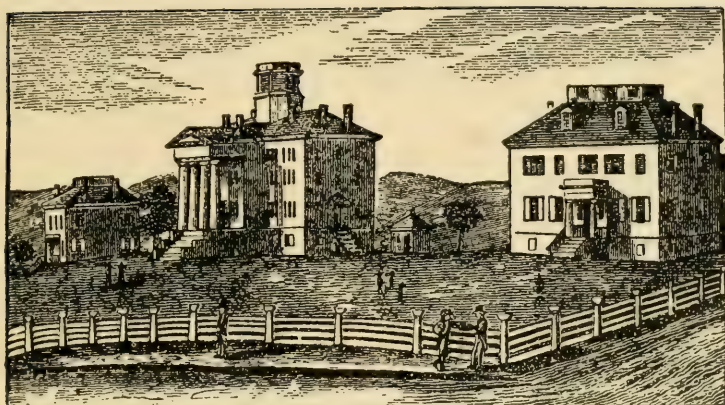
They approved of Berg's protest. They oppose Schaff's advocacy in his pamphlet of the use of images as aids to devotion, as a dangerous innovation, contrary to the simplicity of Reformed worship and to the Heidelberg Catechism (Answers 97 and 98). As to Schaff's theory of historical development, while they admitted there was truth in all ages in the Romish Church, yet they could not regard it as the main stream but as the great apostasy, the opposite of the Reformed Church and the Heidelberg Catechism.

The complaint of Philadelphia classis against the editor of the *Messenger* for not admitting the articles of Schaff's opponents also came before this synod. Synod refused to censure the editor but suggested that the columns of the paper should be impartially accessible to all temperate and judicious communications on any doctrine and practical subject agitating the Church. D. E. F., a friend of Nevin, in the *Messenger*, April 21, says the synod left the great question (about Schaff's principles) open and undecided,—it simply declared that there were no grounds for charges.

The action of the synod failed to quiet the Church. There was a small but a very respectable minority, composed of the Helffensteins, Berg, Heiner, Zacharias, Wack, Prof. Mayer and others outspoken in their opposition to Nevin.

The discussion continued in the church papers. Nevin continued writing in the *Messenger*. Hudson defended Nevin, making the Church and tradition equal. Jacob Helffenstein wrote in the *Lutheran Observer* on the

likenesses of Mercersburg theology to Puseyism (1) on the real presence, (2) the inherent efficacy of the sacraments, (3) the mystical union, (4) tradition, etc. (the editor of the *Messenger* having refused the article). J. G. Z. defends Nevin and attacks J. Helffenstein in the *Messenger*. Nevin, on January 14, attempts to quote Ursinus in his favor, and charges his opponents with being rationalists because holding to the low Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper. (This is not a true charge, for the memorial view grants the supernatural, which the rationalists do not. —A.) By January 21 Nevin finds a new supporter and that in the Dutch Church in Prof. Taylor Lewis, of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. He claims that the resemblances between Mercersburg theology and Puseyism were more apparent than real, and that its authors were honest in their devotion to Protestantism. He approves of their theory of Christianity as a life rather than a doctrine, but can not believe that through the black line of popes the true vitality of Christ's mystical body could have flowed. He differed from Schaff on some points, as when he says that the Reformation is a return to primitive Christianity, —that the papacy was necessary to such a rude era as the Middle Ages and is still a necessity in Spain, Italy and Ireland. He defends Puritanism, which Schaff had so severely attacked and believed Schaff had not done full justice to the Evangelical tendencies of the day in the United States. He agreed with Nevin's positions but he was inclined to make the mystical union to be with the human soul of the Redeemer, rather than with his humanity. On January 28, 1846, Berg and Nevin began a controversy in the *Messenger* on the Mystical Union. It began with organic unity viewed spiritually and went on to organic unity viewed bodily. The controversy lasted until March 25. Sechler defends Nevin, saying Nevin held Calvin's views. Prof. W. W. Nevin tried to popularize Nevin's views by a dialogue in the *Messenger* between 'Squire Schlosser and Solomon Traxler, to which S. Helffenstein, Jr., replied in another dialogue. Guldin, of the Dutch Church, also published in the *Messenger* a translation of Stapfer, the Swiss theologian, against Nevin, and S. Helffenstein quotes Heidegger, of Switzerland, against him.



MARSHALL COLLEGE.

CHAPTER II.

THE DOGMATICAL PREPARATION—THE FORMULATION OF THE MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY.

Further discussion in the *Messenger* was now overtopped by the publication of two books which were intended to define the system of the Mercersburg Theology, the one from a historical standpoint, the other from a doctrinal. The first was "What is Church History, a Vindication of Historical Development," by Schaff; the other was "The Mystical Presence," by Nevin. The preface of both books was dated the same, April, 1846, showing that they intended to publish them together and thus formulate the new theology. They had evidently felt themselves strengthened by the action of the last synod and now went farther on the offensive. The year 1846 was, therefore, epochal for their dogmatics, as 1857 was later for their liturgy.

SECTION 1. "WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY" BY SCHAFF.

This pamphlet was intended to be a vindication of the theory of historical development as already announced in his "Principle of Protestantism."

"He opens with a fine review of the methods of studying Church history.* He then gives a historic description of the various methods of studying church history.

The first form of church history was a simple record of events. Out of this grew,

1. The orthodox historiography, which appears in two forms: A. The Romish method, which regarded the Church in its system of doctrine and life as complete from the start. B. The old Protestant method. This was freer and more spiritual than the Romish, but, like it, looked upon history as fixed,—the Catholic, by the Church, the Protestant, by the Bible. All advances must be made within these limits.

2. Rationalistic (the other extreme). It regarded nothing as fixed but everything as changing. This he divided into two forms:

a. Pietistic. Although this claims to hold to the supernatural, yet its low views of the church and sacraments makes it powerfully serve the cause of skepticism.†

b. Rationalistic. This made history a purely subjective play of human passion. Hegelianism makes history the self-evolution of the absolute spirit. But this ignores the divine presence in history and made evil a necessity, a negative condition of moral progress.

3. The last method is the modern method of historical development, midway between the orthodox and rationalist. Historical development is history in growth,—organic,—a process of life, springing from the vital energy imparted by Christ. Against the orthodox, it insisted that history was not fixed by the past, but developed with the ages. Over against the rationalists, it insisted on an organic connection with the past, so that history was not mere chance. This organic development was carried on by dialectic opposites and extremes. Development, which is the key to all, takes places along three lines, restoration, revolution and reformation. The two first are opposites and the latter, standing midway between the two, is the true one.

*In its topics and arrangement, it reminds one of the masterly article by Prof. Rauch on "The Historiography of Germany," published in the Biblical Repository, 1837, only it is fuller and more recent.

†Pietistic-rationalism is a contradiction. Even a historian like Schaff could not put pietism and rationalism together. Schaff and his followers charged Puritanism with rationalism because it held lower views on the sacraments and the church than they. But of all men the Puritans could not be called rationalistic. Their pietism saved them from it.—A.)

Prof. Schaff in this book reveals the same wide grasp of his subject that he did in the "Principle of Protestantism." But the work does not come up to it in breadth of thought, perhaps because its theme is narrower. Some parts of it, as his eulogy of Herder, are beautiful. He follows Neander in his historical development, but grants that Neander was not churchly (p. 79). So Dr. Schaff must have gotten his high-church ideas somewhere else than from his teacher. His later development shows that he had been affected by the Puseyism of England. But while his work is open to criticism, we cannot agree with the judgment of Prof. Proudfit, of the Dutch Church, that Prof. Schaff was not a historian. He was a historian, but his method of history included in it some wrong principles. He is open to criticism:

1. For his Hegelian methods. Although he criticises Hegelianism for its rationalism, yet he constantly used its methods himself, indeed grants them (p. 76). Thus he states Hegel's principle of history, that the historian should resign himself without prejudice to his subject and let it become a living reproduction of its own according to its nature. We reply that even Hegel could not fulfil his ideal here, for he came to the study of history with certain pre-judgments; one was his pantheism, another his extreme philosophical realism, and a third his lack of historicity. This so-called "scientific spirit" is a farce, because it fails to note its own predilections and, therefore, blinds its owners to their own errors.

There have been three kinds of idealism in Germany: 1, *subjective* (Fichte), which emphasized our *idea* of a thing as being the only reality, 2 *objective* (Schelling), which emphasized the real existence of the objective, that nature's reality is the foundation of our own; 3, *absolute* (Hegel), which said that the reality existed neither in the subjective nor in the objective, but in their relation; the relation existing between both was the great reality, more so than either subjective or objective. Thus, take as an illustration a tree: As we think of it, it has three aspects, the idea of it in our mind (subjective, Fichte), the tree itself, (objective, Schelling), and the relation between the tree and our idea of it (absolute,

Hegel). Schaff reveals the latter (p. 93), where he says, "development is carried on by dialectic opposites and extremes" (p. 96),—truth lies not in extremes but in the middle of the place where they meet.

But all this is false. Truth is not always double and lying as the medium. Truth is often single. The reality does not depend on the relation of things, it can exist without relations as God does, who is The Truth and existed before he had any relations. Dr. Schaff's attempt to find the truth midway between two extremes by placing them opposite to each other, has made his many histories excellent rhetorically, but so diffuse that one is often uncertain of his exact meaning. For the sake of bringing out the two sides of truth according to the Hegelian method he sacrifices clearness and directness of thought. In always trying to establish relations he has overloaded his histories with unnecessary materials.*†

SECTION 2. "THE MYSTICAL PRESENCE," BY NEVIN.

This book is a profound and scholarly statement of the doctrine of our Union with Christ, especially through the Lord's Supper and the Church. It is an elaboration of his previous views as expressed in his sermon on Catholic Unity and as developed in the controversy into which he was drawn by the publication of the "Principle of Protestantism." It purports to be a vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

*The *Puritan Recorder* says Schaff's "What is Church History" did not mention Klieforth and yet there is a strong affinity when Klieforth's article is compared with Schaff's pamphlet.

†The biographer of Schaff (page 127) gives the following humorous incident about Schaff's emphasis on historical development: Some colored men working at the college grounds at Mercersburg overheard the discussions of the students about historical development. Greatly perplexed about them, they had recourse to Brooks as to "what this here devilment theory meant which them thar students war talking about so much in the hall." Brooks was a leader among the colored population of the village and also a constant champion of Nevin and Schaff. "Devilment," said he; "devilment, I guess they have been enough devilment already. If them students don't look out, the old devil will get hold of them sure."

He opens with a translation of an article by Prof. Ullman, of Heidelberg University, Germany, in the German theological publication "Studien und Kritiken," of January, 1846, on "The Distinguishing Characteristic of Christianity." This makes religion to be a life and to be organic. On this article as a basis, Nevin builds up his doctrine of the Mystical Presence. He develops the subject first historically and then dogmatically. He first describes the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, attempting to prove it from the Reformed creeds. He then in contrast gives the modern Puritan theory, charging it, first as a departure from the faith of the church of all ages, and, second, with an affinity with rationalism and the sects. He then goes to the dogmatic statement of his positions, first scientifically defining the mystical union and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and then, secondly, building up a Biblical argument on the incarnation, the new creation, the second Adam, Christianity a life, the mystical union, and the Lord's Supper. It is an elaborate program for a new theology, which he claims, however, was a repristination or restatement of Calvin's. His doctrine involved the following:

1. The incarnation. The Divine took generic humanity on himself and the divine and the human were so closely united as to form a *tertium quid* (a third entity).

2. Christianity is a life, not a doctrine or a work. By this life Christ is united to us through the Church. This theanthropic (divine-human) life is introduced into us as a germ at regeneration, it is nurtured by the Lord's Supper and completed only at our resurrection.

3. The sacraments are real participation in his humanity as well as in his divinity and this gives them objective force or intrinsic grace in themselves.*

In glancing over the book the first thing that impresses one is his elevation of Calvin as the great Reformer of our Church. In contrast with this is his lowering of the authority of Zwingly as the founder of the Reformed Church. He says Zwingly's relation was exceedingly external and accidental.

*Some one has summarized the five points of difference between Nevin's view, which he claimed to be Calvinistic, and what he called the modern Puritan view, as follows: 1. Calvin made the Lord's Supper different from all other forms of worship by a peculiarity of its own. 2. It was looked on as a mystery, nay, in some sense as an actual miracle. 3. It had objective force, *i. e.*, was potential in itself. It had intrinsic efficacy,—its grace was present where not excluded by unbelief. 4. It was a real participation in Christ's presence. It was not merely a communion with his divinity which is everywhere present, but also with his humanity. 5. It was participation in Christ's body and blood.

It is, however, to be noticed that it is only on the Lord's Supper that he agrees with Calvin and not on predestination, which he later severely attacks. Here, however, he claims that his theory of the Lord's Supper is a reproduction of Calvin's view of the vivific power of Christ's glorified body in heaven streaming out to us like the rays of the sun. And yet, while claiming to reproduce Calvin he also states that he differs from Calvin owing to Calvin's false psychology. He grants that some of his views were additions. His aim, however, was to bring the great Reformer up to date. (Three men have claimed to do this in the nineteenth century, Schweitzer of Switzerland, Schleiermacher of Germany, and Nevin in America. Schweitzer represents the mediating theology of Germany, but inclined toward rationalism. He claimed that God's eternal decree must be taken in a pantheistic sense. Schleiermacher claimed he was Reformed because he too believed in God's decree, but that decree was universal, for God had elected all. This was universalism. Nevin endeavored to re-state not the decrees of Calvin as they had done, but his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In the first two cases, the effort was unsatisfactory. Over against Schweitzer Calvinism is not pantheism.* Schleiermacher's view was false, for Calvin always held to particular election not universal. It remains to be seen whether Nevin will be more successful.—A.) He claims Calvin's philosophy is false on three points and makes three additions to Calvin.

1. Calvin did not sufficiently distinguish between law as a life-force and law as a method of procedure. In the former it has objective force, in the latter only the subjective idea of the mind.† 2. Calvin failed to insist on the absolute unity of the person. We are not two distinct natures, body and soul, but these are blended and intermingled in one personality. So, too, Christ is not a union of two distinct natures, for that would be Nestorian. He is a blending and intermingling of the two in a third form, called the theanthropic life. 3. Calvin does not distinguish between the generic and the universal, which Nevin does by distinguishing between the generic and individual humanity. (He thus adds his intense realism to Calvin.—A.)

*Fairbairn to the contrary notwithstanding.

†Here Nevin's adherence to Schelling's philosophy comes into view.

We might also add to these points that he differs from Calvin in his explanation of Calvin's figure of the vivifying rays. Nevin claimed that that figure was a reality, that those rays were Christ's real body coming down to earth. Calvin, however, uses them as figurative. The reality was not in Christ's humanity coming down to us, as Nevin held, but those rays, according to Calvin, were the Holy Spirit streaming down upon us, while Christ's glorified body remained in heaven.

We give the statement of Dr. E. V. Gerhart, one of Nevin's followers. It agrees with our statement, only it is couched in their language:

"Calvin fails, however, to distinguish between the idea of the organic law which constitutes the identity of a human body and the material volume it embraces as exhibited to the senses. He does not insist with proper freedom and emphasis on the absolute unity of what we denominate person, both in the case of Christ and his people. And he makes no clear distinction between the individual life of Christ and the same life in a generic view. Hence, while Calvin emphasized the absence of Christ's humanity from earth, the elevation of the soul to him by the power of the Holy Spirit and a real participation of his flesh by which the believer is nourished to eternal life, Nevin emphasized the presence of the humanity of Christ in his Church on earth—that is of the vivifying virtue of the human, hypostatically one with the divine, nature—the participation of the believer in the entire humanity of Christ, the soul no less than flesh and blood."*

Nevin therefore departs from Calvin on several fundamental points. Though he claims to be Calvinistic, it is evident that he is not. He adds to Calvin, fundamental philosophical principles that Calvin never knew, for Hegelianism and Schellingism had not appeared in his day. These later philosophical views added by Nevin changed everything. Nevin endeavors to pour these views into Calvinism or rather to state Calvinism according to these later views. This was a grand conception, but it could not be done. Nevin's position is no longer that of Calvin because his philosophic position is entirely different. It was Calvinism plus rationalizing philosophy. His realism was different; his view of organism

*"German Reformed Church," 1863.

different; his view of law different and these were fundamental differences. When he goes to apply these differences to the doctrine of Christ he leaves Calvin far behind.

In this new system of doctrine, it is to be noticed that it differs from the old Reformed doctrine on a number of points.* Old Reformed theology held that:

1. At the incarnation Christ took upon himself individualized humanity, not generic as Nevin claimed. But Nevin claimed that he united himself directly with the race and only mediately with individuals.†

2. Christ was a person of two natures, human and divine, each of which preserved its own integrity. Nevin calls this Nestorianism, but it was the creedal statement of our Church. Nevin claimed that these two natures are so united in the person of Christ as to be interfused and mixed. On p. 181 he seems to hold that Christ had one nature, not two. He was, therefore, later charged with Eutychianism and pantheism because he failed to properly preserve the distinction between the divine and the human. This distinction, pantheism always blurs and in its extreme form obliterates.

3. The union with Christ was mediated by the Holy Spirit. Nevin's opponents never denied, as he charged, that religion was a life. They hold it was a life, but it was the life of the Holy Spirit in us.‡ Nevin added to the old Reformed view (that this union was mediated by the Holy Spirit) another view that it was mediated by Christ's humanity. The old Reformed view was that Christ's humanity was in heaven (see

*Although Nevin claimed to reprintinate and complete Calvin, yet the later Mercersburg theologians, as Harbaugh, grant that Nevinism is an advance on old Reformed theology. See *Mercersburg Review*, 1867, page 400.

†On this Schneek (*Mercersburg Theology*, page 42) says that all this is a pure assumption, 1, that there is such a thing as generic humanity; 2, that Christ took it; 3, that Christ took it for our redemption.

‡They never hold it was merely a doctrine, as Nevin asserts. It was both life and doctrine. The doctrine produced life, the life crowned the doctrine. Nevin, by minimizing doctrine, knocked out the very basis of life because life is always intelligent in man.

Heidelberg Catechism, answers 47 and 76), while Nevin's view was that by virtue of its close union with the divine, Christ's humanity came down to earth and is present in the Lord's Supper.* He here misunderstands the old Reformed creeds which always state that the union was by the Holy Spirit,—they clearly state that Christ's humanity was in heaven and not on earth in the sacraments. This they especially denounce as the Lutheran view.

Indeed Nevin, in the very quotations from the Reformers and our creeds in his own book, reveals that it is the Holy Spirit that mediates between Christ and us. His own extracts are therefore against him. Thus Calvin† says the union with Christ is only by the Holy Spirit. So does Beza,‡ also the Gallic Confession,§ the Belgic,|| the Second Helvetic,¶ Ursinus,** and Hospinian,†† as well as quotations on pages 80, 81, 82, 83, 92, 93. In none of these is Christ's humanity said to come down to us, but all is by the Holy Spirit. And yet Nevin, from these extracts, tries to build up proof for his system. He says‡ that "The flesh of Christ or his humanity forms the medium and the only medium by which it is possible for us to be inserted into his new life." But the Reformed said that all this was done by the Holy Spirit, not by the humanity of Christ. Appel§§ confesses that Nevin is somewhat contradictory to himself in saying now that it is the Holy Spirit who mediates between Christ and us and at other times saying that it is the humanity of Christ that does this.

*Nevin says Christ is related to his people by organic conjunction. "This makes him the actual life principle of believers. It is the substantial conveyance of the very substance of the incarnate Christ to believers that saves them. The regeneration of believers flows from the general regeneration of humanity by the incarnation."

†"Mystical Presence," page 69.

‡"Mystical Presence," page 78.

§"Mystical Presence," page 79.

||"Mystical Presence," page 81.

¶"Mystical Presence," page 82.

**"Mystical Presence," page 84.

††"Mystical Presence," page 70.

‡‡"Mystical Presence," page 68.

§§Life of Nevin, page 274.

4. There is also another distinction between the old Reformed view and Nevinism. Nevin held that Christ's humanity must come down to us. The old Reformed view was the opposite, that our hearts must be lifted up to Christ in heaven where Christ's glorified body was. This is the statement of their old liturgies. Of course this lifting up of our hearts is subjective, too subjective for Dr. Nevin, who always emphasized the objective. And yet on page 124 he grants that Calvin says "I teach that Christ raises us to himself so as to transfuse into us the vivific vigor of his flesh."

5. In regard to the Lord's Supper the old Reformed view was that there was no objective efficacy in the sacrament. The reality in it lay not in the mere bringing together of an invisible grace and visible signs, as Nevin held, but its reality to us lay in bringing the believing heart into contact with the signs and through them with the Holy Spirit. Nevin laid emphasis on the objective, the Reformed on the subjective, side of the act. The amount of grace in the sacraments depends not on the amount of intrinsic grace in the elements themselves, as he held, but on the amount of faith in the believer. The more faith we have, the greater blessings we receive. But Nevin held that the sacraments had grace in them before the worshiper partook of them,—that grace came into them when they were consecrated by the minister and that the grace did not depend on the recipient's faith or act.

All this was very different from the views of the Reformed ministers in this country on the Lord's Supper. Some of them were so-called Zwinglians, holding the low memorial view and glorying in it because it was the view of Zwingli, the founder of our Church. Others held a higher view, the spiritual view of Calvin, but that the grace in the sacraments came through the Holy Spirit. Christ's humanity was not especially emphasized except as the Holy Spirit mediated our connection with it. Prof. Mayer said in 1844 that "the theory of Calvin on the Lord's Supper (the spiritual, not the Nevinistic view) was generally received in our Church but that that of Zwingli had many friends. The latter was gaining ground

and was probably the predominant theory in the United States."

In regard to this doctrine Nevin says that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not in the elements as such but in the transaction. The sacramental mystery as a whole makes present objectively the true life of Christ. Nevin thus places the reality in the union of the two, and not in either the elements or in the soul of the believer. We see here Hegel's absolute or relative idealism,—that the reality lies in the relation of two opposites. Thus Nevin says "the Lord's Supper is the outward sign of inward grace. Its reality lies not in either the outward sign or the inward grace but in their relation."* Again, he claims the reality lies not in either faith or objectivity but both must go together.† But he claims over against Lutheranism that his views are not Lutheran. Lutheranism, he says, brings the body of Christ to the elements. What, however, he means by body is the spirit of Christ's humanity, not his fleshly humanity. The Lutherans, however, would hardly grant that they held this carnal Capernaïtic doctrine with which he charges them. They, too, claim that it is the spirit of Christ's humanity, not his fleshly body, that is present. Nevin also claims that he differs from them on another point. They hold that Christ's body enters the mouth, which he denies. He says it is spiritually received because it is spiritual.‡

Several other points might be noticed where his view departs from the old Reformed. He places the atonement in Christ's person rather than in his work especially on the cross,—an atonement in life rather than an atonement by his death. He therefore emphasizes the incarnation rather than the atonement.

Again, the old Reformed view of justification was that of forensic imputation, that Christ's merits are charged over to

*Page 178.

†See pages 178-9 and 186.

‡For the most trenchant review of Nevin's doctrine of the sacraments, see Fritschel "The Mercersburg Theology," in the *Theological Monatschrift*, published by Brobst, of Allentown (1870-1). We shall refer to it in a subsequent section.

our account as the ground of our salvation. Over against this Nevin placed the theory of implantation, that we are justified by the impartation of Christ's theanthropic life to us. This virtually means that we are justified only so far as we are sanctified. Our justification must be "in Christ,"* not by Christ. On pages 166, 180 and 191 he attacks the old forensic view as a fiction, saying justification rests not on the objective merits of Christ, but that to become ours, justification must insert us in Christ's life.

We thus see the contrast between the old Reformed views and the new Mercersburg theology, which is outlined by these two books. They completed the formulation of the Mercersburg theology at its beginning and became its working basis. It is interesting to note that Dr. Nevin had not as yet proceeded any farther in his development of doctrine than that of the union with Christ and the Lord's Supper. Its reference to baptism did not come up till later, when the doctrine of the baptismal germ and of baptismal grace appears.

But these two books were hardly completed when another storm broke over the head of Dr. Schaff.

*Pages 180 and 189.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND CONTROVERSY ABOUT PROF. SCHAFF—HIS VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE STATE.

SECTION 1. THE ATTACK IN THE "CHRISTIAN INTELLIGENCER."

The first controversy had hardly cleared up, indeed the Church was just in the midst of the surprise occasioned by the publication of Schaff's and Nevin's recent books on Church History and the Mystical Presence, when this new controversy burst on them, and it proved a more serious thing for Prof. Schaff than did the first.

The *Christian Intelligencer** published a translation by Rev. Mr. Guldin, of Schaff's tract on "The Sin against the Holy Ghost" in which he taught a doctrine akin to purgatory (page 145).—"For all men there is an intermediate state beginning with death."

The extract he quoted was as follows:

1. "Those who already have despised the salvation published and offered to them were immediately at death provisionally judged and come into prison in Hades, about whose How and Where it is not becoming for us to wish to be given greater disclosures. * * *

2. For the undecided who had not here an opportunity to learn to know the way of eternal life, also especially for the heathen and Turks and such Christians as are placed under the touch of heathenism as the Armenians and Abyssinians, there is after death a season of grace in which is the possibility of forgiveness of sin and conversion, but only under the same conditions as here, namely, the penitent faith in the Saviour of the world. In a wider sense there falls under the same category also those in whom faith was truly begun before death, but without any fault of their own was not developed to maturity in the full communion with the Lord. These must on their side pass through a like school as is here necessary for the development of the future Christian life. All sensual ideas of a material fire are entirely to be cast aside as figurative and as prejudicial to the all-sufficient merits of Christ.

*July 16, 1846.

According to the Bible all salvation is alone and entirely to be sought and found in the justifying faith in the sufficient and redeeming merit of Christ."

Prof. Schaff replied to this,* trying to explain the matter by saying

That his tract had been written before he left the university, when he was only twenty years old,—it was a juvenile performance considered quite proper in Germany, where much freedom of thought is allowed,—it was written to gain the degree of bachelor of divinity and had been approved by Neander, Hengstenberg, Twesten and Marheineke. He did not think it fair that he should be judged by a production of his youth. Since that time he had learned much that would enable him to treat the subject in a more careful and thorough manner. When he came to America he had not concealed his views on this subject, but had made them known to the German Reformed Church before coming to Mercersburg. He had declared that he did not wish to be judged by it and, therefore, had not had it translated. He claimed that the translation of the extract from it in the *Christian Intelligencer* was not a good one, as it omitted extracts from Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Calvin and others in favor of the Middle State.

A writer in the *Christian Intelligencer*† asked, what does Schaff mean when he assigned to Hades "those who had a beginning before their death and must develop to maturity." What does he mean by the middle condition of souls not yet purified. The influence of such a view on missions would be disastrous. The motive given by James is that "he would save a soul from death." If that sinner be a heathen, James' weighty argument is converted into a bubble. Schaff says the saving activity of Christ enters and extends to Hades. "The blessed prepare themselves for their own resurrection and glorification by their continual sinking into the essence of God." (This last remark is dangerously near to Pantheism.—A.)

In the same paper of July 30, Guldin replies to Schaff. He says that Schaff's book, in spite of his desire that it should not be sold in America, was on sale in the chief German bookstores of New York; it had been recommended to him by Schaff's friends as an excellent work. It had been advertised all over the country, indeed had been advertised in one of the leading authorized periodicals of the German Reformed Church. His object was not the detraction of Schaff but to force him publicly to retract the doctrine for his own sake. As to his omissions in his translation, he had omitted the notes. This, however, did not alter the doctrine as stated by Schaff, as they were used

**Christian Intelligencer*, July 23.

†July 16.

only as proofs. (Schaff evidently held a view at variance with the 57th answer of the Heidelberg Catechism, which said that saints at death immediately go to heaven.—A.)

SECTION 2. THE EASTERN SYNODS OF 1846-7.

The classis of Philadelphia at its meeting, September 6, 1846, asked synod to inquire into Prof. Schaff's views on the Middle State,—whether he believes that death ends the probation of all men. When this overture came before the synod of 1846 it threw out the overture as irregular and expressed regret that the method recommended by the last synod, namely, of bringing all complaints first to the attention of the board of visitors before bringing them to synod, had not been followed. Berg replied * that he had not brought the charges first to the board of visitors because this rule had not been incorporated in the old constitution of the Church.

The matter also came before the synod in the report of the board of visitors. They had held a meeting several weeks before the synod and also during the sessions of the synod, when they investigated the matter. Schaff to them modified his views as stated in his pamphlet,—

1. "That the scriptural and philosophical argumentation is by no means in all respects satisfactory to me at present.

2. That the statement is too general, and

3. That it is too positive and categorical. I now hold

1. That in the case of those heathen who have died without the knowledge of the gospel, either before the coming of Christ or since, and who have been at the same time properly predisposed to embrace the Christian religion, the opportunity of doing so (and thus completing the work already commenced) will not be withheld from them by an infinitely merciful God in the world to come.

2. That if persons thus described are saved at all, they can not be saved on the ground of any personal merit, but only through Jesus Christ, as there is absolutely no salvation without him.

3. This involves the idea that Christ previously unknown to them must be exhibited to them in some way as the object of their knowledge and faith.

4. All this, however, and the whole subject of the Middle State of the heathen and of infants universally is involved in great obscurity, nor can it ever be made properly the subject of doctrinal and symbolical teaching."

**Christian Intelligencer*, June 1, 1848.

On this the board reported the following action :

Resolved, Whilst the board cannot endorse the view of Dr. Schaff as set forth in the above statement, they nevertheless do not deem it of sufficient importance to call for any special action of synod. The board deem it necessary to add that the view has not been taught nor is it contemplated ever to be taught in the theological seminary.

The committee of synod to whom the report of the board of visitors, of whom Reid was chairman, however, evidently considered it of graver importance than did the board. They did not agree with the board of visitors that it was not of sufficient importance to be brought before synod, for in their report they recommend it to synod for such action as synod may see fit to take. The synod then took the following action : that whilst the board of visitors did not consider that the case of Schaff demanded special action on the part of synod, they nevertheless cannot endorse the reported modification of view by Schaff.

The matter came up again at the synod of 1847, when the board of visitors reported that Rev. Alfred Helffenstein, Jr., had brought charges of heresy against the professors of the theological seminary. The board did not entertain them because they were not sufficiently definite and also were presented to the board at too late an hour to admit of action. The board also received a document from Rev. Dr. Berg, calling attention to certain points of doctrine at which the professors were at variance with the standards of the Church and the Word of God and asking for an expression of the professors on those doctrines. But his specifications were also dismissed by the board as not sufficiently distinct. The synod took no action on them.

The synod therefore was adverse to Schaff's doctrines. He was permitted to continue teaching, although with the understanding that he would not teach the doctrine of the Intermediate State. But it was a virtual rebuke by synod, as they censured Schaff's view, though they took no action about him personally. This he felt keenly, and many years after at the General Synod of 1893, referred

to it in his last address to our Church. But though he promised not to teach those views, they gradually became current in the Mercersburg theology. Many years after, at President James Buchanan's funeral, Dr. Nevin expressed very much the same views. The action of the synod was, therefore, another step toward permitting larger liberty of doctrine for the Mercersburg theologians. Although it appeared a victory for the conservatives and the Old Reformed, who held to the doctrines of their fathers, yet Dr. Schaff remained in possession of the field as professor.

Another important action of the synod was on the duty of the Church to unbaptized children. It was, that as they were members of the Church they were under the Church's supervision and should be carefully cared for by her. Dr. Heiner led in this movement and synod issued a pastoral letter on the subject, which later became the subject of considerable discussion in the heat of the liturgical controversy.

Dr. Nevin's sermon at the opening of this synod on "The Church," also created a sensation. In it he takes the same high ground in favor of the objective force and intrinsic grace of the sacraments. He emphasized the importance of the visible Church, minimizing the invisible Church, saying that an invisible Church can never satisfy the requisites of the case.

"Christ's humanity," says Nevin, "consisted of body and soul. This whole humanity of Christ is carried over by the process of Christian salvation into the person of the believer so that in the end his glorified body no less than his glorified soul will appear as the natural and necessary product of a life in which he is made to participate."

The *Wächter*, the German paper of the Reformed in the West, says that this sermon of Nevin's was an echo of Möhler's Symbolics which was the Catholic defence against Protestantism. It says Nevin takes, in his sermon, the attributes of the Church from Möhler. Following him, Nevin makes Christianity and the Church identical and attacks the invisible Church so as to save the visible Church. The Church is the incarnation of Christ's life. Faith in Christ is with him, faith in the Church. Nevin derides the idea (page 27) that religion is a personal thing—a transaction between each individual separately and his Lord, as this would depreciate the privileges and ordinances of the Church. The Church of the creed (rather than Christ) (says page 18) is the proper object of Christian faith.

The sermon was noticed and quoted approvingly by the *Catholic Herald*, which said it was Puseyism adjusted to the measure and condition of his sect. That paper closes by saying that "on the supernatural power of the Church, the efficacy of the sacraments and the authority of the priesthood he expresses his views as strongly as Catholics are in the habit of doing." The *Catholic Churchman* added, that if he (Nevin) will only travel straight forward, it will lead him, as it has led others, to the city of God. He is like the man in the gospel whose partially opened eyes saw men as trees walking.

After the synod was over, Schaff wrote a letter to Rev. Dr. Krummacher, which was published in his *Palm-Leaves*.* Schaff claimed a victory at the synod,—that he had satisfied the board of education, before the matter was brought before synod, that his "Sin against the Holy Ghost" was a juvenile production,—that the synod unanimously adopted the report,—that Berg raised no objection to it but rather had acknowledged his attacks to be unconstitutional and had taken them back. He says that the Reformed Synod took more favorable action for Mercersburg theology than before; yes, Berg and Heiner had laid down their arms and would in future work in harmony with him. The controversy, he said, instead of dividing the Church, had united it.

The facts we have given above do not bear out this rosy view by Schaff, and his letter was soon attacked by writers of our Church.

Berg, in the *Christian Intelligencer*, of June answers this letter, denying that he surrendered in discretion, that he rather supposed that the synod endorsed his view instead of Schaff's by endorsing the proposition of Philadelphia classis,—that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice. He says that not only did synod not give a stronger statement in favor of Mercersburg, but it had modified its expression of 1846. As to his raising no objection, that was not true. He

*1847, page 84. For translations of this letter, see *Christian Intelligencer*, Feb. 17, 1848.

never dreamt such a construction would be given to his acts. That he made a public withdrawal of his attack on the seminary and confessed his method in doing so was unconstitutional, he denied, and said that no attack had been made on the seminary from first to last, but only on Prof. Schaff's doctrine. He granted the irregularity of calling synod's attention to the charges by going to synod direct and not first to the board of visitors. But while he granted that, he did not acknowledge that his objections were unfounded, for he had withdrawn none of them. Schaff's letter said "Berg had himself given in considerably."* That was a misstatement, for he had not given up his objections, but it meant that he had given back a contribution pledged to the seminary some time before. It was very ungenerous in Prof. Schaff to place a man in such a false position after he had contributed the money to the seminary. He explained his gift,—that before the origin of the Mercersburg controversy he had subscribed to the endowment at Mercersburg, but that owing to the controversy he had been disposed to cancel it. However, after talking the matter over, he had paid the obligation to the college, interest as well as principal.

Heiner also† replied to this published letter of Schaff, for Schaff had said in it that "Heiner was now inclining towards Mercersburg," because at the synod he had championed the duty of the Church toward baptized children.‡ He replied that those were his views long before Mercersburg theology had come into existence, and that he had not by voice or vote expressed himself as favorable to Mercersburg. He called attention to the error of Schaff's statement that the Board had adopted Schaff's views of the intermediate state. On the contrary, the synod unanimously repudiated Schaff's views, even in their modified form. As to the statement in Schaff's letter, that Berg had said Heiner "out-Mercersburged Mercersburg" by championing the Church's care for baptized children,

*Berg hat bedeutend eingereicht.

†*Christian Intelligencer*, May 4.

‡Schaff said that Berg had said of Heiner for doing this, "he out-Mercersburgs Mercersburg," and carries out its ideas.

Heiner grants that on this doctrine he differed from Berg, namely, on the rights and privileges of children born of baptized parents. He held that relation and not character gave the right to baptism. But he declared that Schaff acted wrongly in mentioning as a serious fact a merely passing remark, as when Berg jokingly said that "he (Heiner) had out-Mercersburged Mercersburg." He also objected to Schaff calling Berg and the Helffensteins turbulent spirits.

CHAPTER IV.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS (1847-50).

SECTION 1. DR. NEVIN'S CONTROVERSIES.

Into the different controversies into which Dr. Nevin came because of the publication of these books, etc., there is little time to enter. We can only refer to one or two of the most important, especially where there is a development of a new phase of Mercersburg theology. In March, 1846, Dr. Nevin came into controversy with Dr. Berg. A Baptist paper had charged Berg with sympathy with Romanism because he held to infant baptism, for the Baptists claim that infant baptism is a product of the Catholic Church. This was too good an opportunity for Dr. Nevin to miss—that Berg—the arch-Protestant—should be charged with being a Romanist. Nevin used this against Berg. But Berg was his equal in controversy and he sharply suggested that Nevin either give up his Romanizing views or resign his professorship at the Reformed seminary,—that Nevin was in a far worse dilemma as a Reformed professor by teaching Catholic views than he was, if the Baptist charge against him were true.

Then the controversy between them deepens and they engage in a discussion on their points of difference as to the right of private judgment, the person of Christ, and justification. Nevin asks Berg four questions:

1. Has the humanity of Christ no organic part in his personality as Mediator? Is the union not hypostatical or only in outward show? Does it admit two centers of thought and feeling in the same person? or, did it not constitute a common, i. e., a single indivisible self-consciousness.

2. Is Adam's sin made over to posterity by a purely abstract act of God's imputation with no further connection between the parties than such as springs from God's covenant. Or does this imputation depend upon the life of Adam involve the presence of this organic stream.

3. In justification, is the sinner viewed by God in justifying him as in Christ or out of Christ? Can the objective side be sundered from the subjective?

4. Is the active obedience of Christ imputed to us or only his passive obedience. If so, can it be counted ours any further than we are inserted into his life.

Berg replies to the first question that if the natures were so closely united, as Nevin suggests, he would ask how could the divine nature suffer. The divine nature was not made finite or the human nature made infinite according to the Heidelberg Catechism (Answer 48). In regard to the second question, imputation was not only imputed but inherent because of the covenant with Adam. As to the third question, justification must be sundered from sanctification. It is a forensic act. But every justified person must be regenerated, although regeneration is not the ground of the justification. As to the fourth, both active and passive righteousness are imputed to us.

We have already noticed that in his last book, Nevin was beginning to apply his doctrine of objectivity to baptism as well as to the Lord's Supper.

Quite a discussion arises on this subject in the *Messenger* in 1847. Inquirer asks whether Nevin means by baptismal grace the same as baptismal regeneration. He replied that objective grace was not regeneration, as the case of Simon Magus stood in the way. He generally avoided the phrase "baptismal regeneration" because obscure. But on the other hand in denying that it was regeneration, he did not wish to be classed with those who deny all objective grace in the sacrament. Between the two extremes he held the mean that there was grace in baptism, but not necessarily regenerative.*

Aleph in August 11 asks if baptismal grace is given and the baptized fall from it, would there be the necessity of reconversion. Reconversion the Scripture nowhere teaches. He claims that the religion of the Christian is not most prominently the outward, as Nevin holds, but it is the subjective and personal, as where the individual is united to Christ. He quotes as proof, answers 1 and 54 of our Catechism, "a member of Christ by faith," i. e., by a living, personal experience.

Inquirer,† who asked the first question of Nevin, says he is not satisfied with his reply and propounds three more questions to him: 1. Is baptismal grace, saving grace or not? 2. If saving grace is bestowed by baptism, on what is the bestowment of that grace founded,—on the faith of the parent of the baptized child or on the objective force of the sacrament itself? 3. If by baptismal grace, something short of saving

*What he seemed to emphasize was that there was grace in baptism regardless of the subjective attitude of the person baptized.—A.

†August 25.

grace be meant, wherein does Dr. Nevin's view on baptism differ from that of his opponents.

Dr. Nevin replies to the first, that if the question meant grace that actually saves he would answer no. But if it meant grace that is able through faith to save him, he would answer, yes. As to the second, the grace depends on the objective force of the sacrament, which, if truly administered, was not the act of the minister or of the parent, but of Christ. As to the third, baptism was a definite act, having force as such in its own nature when not frustrated by unbelief. He entirely dissented from the low view, which made baptism merely a human act of no force except as a dead token of something else (as in the parental covenant.—A.)

This is about the clearest statement of baptismal grace, according to their early views, that we have found, although the doctrine is further developed by Apple and Gerhart. We would, however, suggest three difficulties with Nevin's view.

1. A philosophical one,—the philosophy underlying the doctrine. He so entirely emphasizes the objective that the subjective is lost sight of. But the true philosophical position is that the subjective has as much a place as the objective.

2. A historical difficulty. He forgets that, midway between his high view and the very low view which he attacks is a middle view—the old Reformed view, which holds that there is grace in baptism but its efficacy depends not on the objective force of the sacrament but on the subjective element,—on the amount of faith present.

3. There is also a liturgical difficulty. He claims that the grace peculiar to baptism comes with the application of the water. We ask when? In his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the grace of it is placed in the bread and wine when the minister by prayer consecrated them before administering them. But there is no such preliminary prayer of consecration in baptism. The water is used in baptism without previous consecration. Indeed, there is no reference to any consecration of the water in any of the baptismal forms. When and how does the special grace come into it; when the minister touches it or when it touches the head of the person baptized? The omission of any such preliminary prayer of consecration in the Reformed liturgies is against any special grace inher-

ently in it. How can it have objective grace or get it, if the water has not been first prayed over just as the bread and wine are in the Lord's Supper? If it be replied that the grace comes into it when the name of the trinity is spoken over the child, that is putting a magical meaning into the words Father, Son and Holy Ghost, such as the Catholics hold.

4. There may be said to be a practical difficulty. If this grace is so easily lost by many who are baptized because they fall away, of what practical use is it. If it can be so easily frustrated by unbelief, it can not be great grace. The covenant idea of baptism, which was the old Reformed view, put a meaning into it which this one, leaving out, leads to an absurdity, making baptism virtually a nil in its effect.

Dr. Nevin also came into a long controversy with Rev. Dr. C. Hodge, of Princeton Theological seminary, who attacked his book, "Mystical Presence," in the Princeton Repertory in 1848. Hodge grants Nevin's ability but takes exception to his views on the Lord's Supper. He quotes in support of his position, as Dr. Nevin had done for his, the Reformers and the creeds of the Reformed Church. He says that there had been in the Reformed Church two views as to the meaning of the reception of Christ's body and blood at the sacrament. Its virtue was:

1. In the crucified body and blood; or,

2. In the vivifying influence, not from the crucified body, but from the glorified body. The first emphasized the crucified body, the second the glorified body.

Both were supported by the Reformed creeds. But the first was more strongly supported and was the most Scriptural. The second, which was the view of Calvin, was not held even by Calvin's successors, Beza, Turretin and Pictet.

The controversy was also carried on in the *Lutheran Observer*. A. H. wrote on Mercersburg Theology, saying the name "mystical" is very suitable because it is hard to be understood. Does Nevin in some places comprehend his own phraseology? The editor of the *Observer* says he had been a minister for thirty-five years and that the German Reformed ministers had leaned more to the Zwinglian view on the Lord's Supper,—that they had attacked the Lutherans for their high views of that sacrament and had prided themselves on their more rational Zwinglian view. He says: "The golden days of Helffenstein, Hoffmeyer, Wack, Hendel, Mayer, Rauch, etc., were days of Christian dignity and harmony compared with the new regime." The *Observer* quotes the *Puritan Recorder*, which says that the main characteristic of the Mercersburg theology is an idolatry of what is improperly called the "Apostles' Creed." This is carried

so far as to amount to a denial that the Bible is the only rule of faith and so tradition is foisted in. It refers to the Mercersburg Review, July, 1849, which places tradition above the Bible.

For a somewhat favorable review of Nevinism, see Prof. Taylor Lewis' review of the *Principle of Protestantism, Mystical Presence, etc.*, in the *N. Y. Literary World*, April 14, 1849. He says Nevinism is based on German idealism in its view of the generic over against the individual. Yet he reminds Nevin of the weakness of that view that in some respects a moral union is higher than a generic one. He differs from Nevin by making the atonement instead of the incarnation the prominent doctrine and criticizes him for speaking too contemptuously of his opponents. He is the first to call attention to the likeness of Nevin's view to Swedenborg, the first sign of Nevin's tendency to incline to Swedenborg in his later years. But his criticism is in the main friendly as to Dr. Nevins' principles.

SECTION 2. THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT DR. KRUMMACHER'S LETTER.

Rev. Dr. Krummacher wrote a letter to Prof. Schaff, which was published in the *Messenger*, as his vindication. But it was considered by Schaff's opponents as against him.

Dr. Krummacher had met Rev. Dr. Kurtz, editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, at Berlin on several occasions, and from him had learned that Schaff had been charged with

1. A new view of the Lord's Supper like the Lutheran.
2. Many of other denominations, especially the Dutch and Presbyterians, suspected he had not come to a full apprehension of the Evangelical doctrine of justification by faith.
3. He had not always avoided the appearance of leaning to Romanizing views on the doctrine of the Church.

Dr. Krummacher, in his letter, said he believed Schaff held to the Evangelical doctrine, but he could not but wish he had expressed himself more clearly and agreeably to the doctrine of the Church. He objected to Schaff's sentence, "It is not possible for God to declare a man righteous and treat him as such when he is not so in fact." This looked as if he placed the efficient cause of justification in the new life-principle divinely planted in him at regeneration, in which God discerns the full perfection of holiness as a plant wrapped up in a germ. Krummacher said he would have stated it better, had he said that God estimates the sinner rather by the measure of Christ's righteousness set over objectively to his account. As to the charge that Schaff was Romanizing, he knew the charge was false; but he was not surprised at it, because he identified the visible church with the mystical body of Christ and confounded the congregation of the baptized with that of

the sanctified. He appeals to Schaff not to be so dictatorial in insisting on his view of the Lord's Supper, because in these days, the King of Darkness was trying to divide the Church. He closed by urging on him the famous motto, "in fundamentals unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity."

On this letter a controversy arose whether Dr. Krummacher meant by it to endorse Schaff's views. Dr. Kurtz, in a letter home, said that every time he met Dr. Krummacher, as at Prof. Twesten's home, he expressed himself in sympathy with Schaff's opponents, Berg and Heiner, and he said his companion, Rev. Dr. Schmucker, was his witness. He said Krummacher's point of objection was that Schaff's doctrine of justification was wrong. This agrees with what Krummacher says in his letter. Dr. Kurtz, who was attacked because his church paper used Krummacher against Mercersburg, says that a friend of Mercersburg, when he read Krummacher's letter in the *Messenger*, said, "I think our friends at Mercersburg had better not have published Krummacher's letter, for it certainly makes quite as much for the *Lutheran Observer* as for them."

Dr. Berg, in the *Protestant Quarterly Review** took up Krummacher's letter and bitterly resented his unguarded remarks against the opponents of Schaff, calling them narrow, malevolent and perverse, because they called the Mercersburg system "Puseyism in a Reformed garb."

Prof. Schaff replied to Krummacher:

1. That on the Lord's Supper Nevin held to Calvin's view, but had departed from it only in his scientific statement of it. Nevin was opposed to the Lutheran view of oral manducation.

2. On justification, his views had been endorsed by Berg, the *Christian Intelligencer*, etc.

3. The controversy in the German Reformed Church, instead of dividing it, had united it. (A strange declaration, for the controversy was dividing it more and more.—A.)

Schaff had suggested to Krummacher that the "Mystical Presence" be translated into German. But Krummacher skilfully warded it off by saying that although it was an admirable book, its entire historical apparatus was not altogether to his taste, especially in its arrangement.

SECTION 3. "THE HISTORY AND GENIUS OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM" BY NEVIN.

This was the next book by Dr. Nevin, published in the spring of 1847 and is interesting as revealing the further development of his theology. In 1841-2, he had published a series of articles on the Heidelberg Catechism so as to aid in

*July, 1847.

the observance of the Centenary of our Church. This later work reveals that much of those early articles has been left out and that the work has been largely re-written, from the standpoint of the new or Mercersburg Theology. The book is, however, especially interesting, because it reveals how far he has now gone in his departure from the old Reformed views as given in his previous articles. In the articles of 1841, he had held that the Heidelberg Catechism was Calvinistic on predestination and the Lord's Supper.* Now he holds it is Melancthonian and that it is Calvinistic only on the sacraments, the doctrine of predestination being passed over in silence except as comprehended in the providence of God. The Catechism is of Lutheran extraction† and semi-Lutheran in spirit.‡ In the previous articles he had strongly declared that the German Reformed was closely allied to the other Reformed Churches. Here he claims she is entirely different from all the rest by being Melancthonian. Though the Dutch and German Reformed were united in a Triennial convention, yet they were different.§ Zwingli was not the proper founder of the Reformed Church, it was Calvin, who contributed to give it form and character.|| He takes the opportunity to make another attack on the Evangelical Alliance.¶

In this book, two new features begin to appear in the development of the Mercersburg theology. The first is a growing tendency toward liturgy. Thus, he says** that in order for a Church to be churchly, it must be so in its connections and associations. He speaks favorably of the German Church, of its altar, gown, pericopes and Church year of religious festivals and of its repetition of the Lord's Prayer and Creed.††

The second new feature was the development of baptism along the lines of Mercersburg theology. Thus, he says‡

*See pages 113-5 of this book.

†See his *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, page 140.

‡See page 153 of this book.

§See pages 153-6 of this book.

||See pages 12-13 of this book.

¶See page 150 of this book.

**See page 153 of this book.

††The Germans never repeat these audibly in the church service.

“that baptism inserts the child into the life of the Church objectively considered.” Mercersburg theology sprang out of the Lord’s Supper. Nevin’s first work was a vindication of the Lord’s Supper in his “Mystical Presence.” Baptism had not been referred to or only incidentally. Insertion into Christ, when spoken of, was said to take place at regeneration, by which at first conversion seems to have been meant. But logic will sooner or later assert itself. If the Lord’s Supper has such great objective value, so also must its companion sacrament, baptism. Nevin’s philosophy laid emphasis on the objective. It was only a question of time when he would apply that philosophy to baptism also. By and by we will find that baptismal grace and baptismal regeneration, the cornerstones of their system, are brought out more prominently even than the real presence in the Lord’s Supper, which was their first contention.

Several errors, however, appear in the book. Dr. Nevin was not as strong in history as in theology. Thus,* he says the Augsburg Diet, 1566, gave a decision favorable to Frederick III and the Heidelberg Catechism. This was not exactly true. That Diet came to no decision but postponed action to a later conference and by the time that conference met at Erfurt in September, 1566, the opposition to Frederick and his catechism had waned and a reaction had set in. Again, he quotes the articles of Leipsic, 1631,† to show that the Reformed Church of Germany was then favorable to Melanethonianism. He is utterly in error, for that conference stated the Reformed views quite as high in Calvinism.‡ Even the quotation he gives, instead of emphasizing the objective as he does, emphasizes faith or the subjective. Again, he says§ that the Palatinate Liturgy says that the minister at the communion should take his place before the altar, which is just what the Palatinate does not say, for it uses “table” instead of altar all the way

*Page 67.

†Page 144.

‡Hering’s *History of Union Efforts*, I, 342; Herzog “*Encyclopædia*,” 2nd Ed., VIII, 547; also my “*History of the Reformed Church of Germany*,” pages 609-10.

§Page 175.

through. For saying that the eightieth question (which is against the Romish Mass) was not in the first edition of our catechism, he was severely attacked by the Dutch Reformed, who called it another evidence of his Romanizing tendencies. Nevin in reply quoted a number of Reformed historians, as Alting, Seisen, Vierordt, Goebel and others, although he does not seem to know that they were not all Reformed. But he was right in his position about the catechism. Later discoveries have proved it. In 1864 a copy of the first edition of our catechism was found by Dr. Schaff at Bremen,* and it did not contain the eightieth question. Still, while he was right as to this historical fact, he is wrong as to the argument he derives from it. He says that the eightieth question is contrary to the spirit of the catechism, which is irenical. He forgets, however, that our catechism, while irenical on many points, has nevertheless very decidedly polemical questions in certain parts. Thus answers 47 and 48 take strong ground against the Lutherans, answer 33 against the Socinians, answer 114 against the Perfectionists, and answers 30, 63, 64, 72, 78, 97, 98, 102 are all strongly against the Catholics. In a word, thirteen of the answers (exclusive of the eightieth), or one-tenth of the catechism, is polemical. The Heidelberg Catechism was in the main irenical, but not so much so as to give up fundamentals. It strongly attacked the theological views of the Lutherans, Catholics, Unitarians and Perfectionists.

SECTION 4. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND GERMAN REFORMED.

The most significant event of 1847 was the abrogation of the Triennial Convention because of Mercersburg theology. The first Triennial Convention between the Dutch and German Reformed Churches had been held at Harrisburg, August 8-9, 1844. The Dutch General Synod appointed 12 delegates, of whom 10 were present; the Eastern synod 16, of whom 14 were present, and the Ohio synod 6, of whom 3 were present. Rev. Dr. Schoonmaker, of the Dutch Church, called the con-

*This copy of the first edition is now in the library of the University of Utrecht, Holland.

ference to order, and Rev. Dr. Ludlow was made president and Rev. S. R. Fisher, secretary. The opening sermon was preached by Nevin, on Eph. 4: 4-6, the Unity of the Christian Church.* A committee was appointed to draft rules for the government of the convention. Committees were appointed from each of the synods represented to propose items of importance for action by the convention. The rules ordered the opening of the convention with religious exercises; also the use of the customary parliamentary rules, and demanded a unanimous vote from each delegation on any question. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having appointed delegates to take seats if invited, the convention decided it had not authority to receive them, but appreciated the fraternal interest that led to their appointment. It appointed a committee to consider the reports brought in by the committees of the various synods. It recommended that there be comity of licentiates, correspondence between students of seminaries, similarity in the system of instruction in seminaries and also in liturgy and form of worship; also that the Dutch make vigorous efforts to cover the destitute districts of the German Reformed Church, and that charges organized by Dutch missionaries unite with German churches unless they be contiguous to a Dutch church. The convention adjourned to meet in 1847.

After Mercersburg theology began to show its tendencies, friction in regard to this form of union began to show itself. The Dutch paper attacked Schaff's "Principle of Protestantism" in 1845, and 1846 their General Synod took action.

The classis of Bergen of the Dutch Church, as early as May, 1846, unanimously sent an overture to the General Synod of the Dutch Church, suggesting that on account of Mercersburg theology, the Triennial Convention be abolished. At the Dutch General Synod of 1846, Proudfit and Ferris, the two delegates from that body to our Eastern Synod of 1845, reported, but they did not agree in their report. Prof. Proudfit brought in a report which contained more in it than merely the actions

*We have referred to the sermon on pages 210-214 of this book.

of our last synod. He added to this a statement of the books of Nevin and Schaff on Mercersburg theology which had appeared. The delegate to that General Synod from our Church was Rev. B. C. Wolff. In his address he entered into the details about Schaff's and Nevin's doctrines, especially on Union with Christ and the Lord's Supper. He said, the Dutch Brethren had entirely misunderstood their position, and that this was caused because Schaff's and Nevin's terminology was derived chiefly from the German. He said the effect of the controversy in our Church was to unify the Church. Wolff tried to show the different use of words by Mercersburg, by giving as an illustration the word "body." This ordinarity meant with us something material, but according to Nevin it meant that which embodies life.

A witness says, in the *Christian Intelligencer*, that during Dr. Wolff's address, the members crowded around, listening intently, and that after it was over there were expressions of surprise and dissatisfaction and avowals of inability to understand him. The synod appointed a committee, with Prof. Proudfit as chairman, to meet a similar committee of the German Reformed Church. The General Synod then, out of courtesy to our synod, refused to dissolve the Triennial Convention without the consent of our synod, but it firmly stated its adherence to the principles of Protestantism over against the errors of Rome. After the synod there appeared in the *Christian Intelligencer*, an article by "A Minister of our Church," saying that as to Wolff's statement at the Dutch Synod that Nevin was misunderstood because he used German terminology, he replied that there were other ministers in the German Reformed Church who thoroughly understood German and who knew what Nevin meant. He denied that there was any unity of sentiment in our Church, as there was a minority in the Eastern synod, who desired to remain true to the old Reformed faith. The synod of the German Church, at its next meeting, suggested that the subject, being one of doctrine, belonged to the next Triennial Convention. The Dutch Synod of 1847 acquiesced in this view and authorized their delegates to that Convention to present the doctrines involved. Unless

these were relieved, they were authorized to vote for its dissolution.

The next Triennial Convention opened at Reading, August 11, 1847. The sermon was preached by Rev. Prof. Van Vranken of the Dutch Church. There were present from the Dutch Church nine delegates, from the Eastern synod twelve, and from Ohio, one. Rev. Dr. Wolff was elected president and Rev. O. H. Gregory, secretary. Various committees were appointed, as one with Dr. Schoonmaker as chairman to bring matters of importance before the synod; another, with Dr. Heiner as chairman, to bring the wants of the East before the synod, and Rev. Mr. Ernst was to bring wants of the West. The previous Dutch General Synod had voted for the dissolution of the Convention, and the delegates from each body met separately to consider this subject. Dr. Marselus informed the body of the action of the Dutch General Synod and that the Dutch delegates were unanimous in the opinion that it ought to be discontinued. Rev. Dr. Taylor brought matters to a crisis by reading from Nevin's book on the Heidelberg Catechism, where he declared that there was no unity between the Germans and the Dutch Reformed. The German delegates almost all opposed the dissolution, asking the Dutch to leave the matter for future action. It was discussed during the whole of Thursday till midnight, when they adjourned without decision. On Friday morning, Berg offered the resolution for the dissolution of the convention. All the Dutch voted for it, as did two of the Germans, Berg and Leinbach. Then the chairman, Dr. Wolff, declared the action could not be carried out, because an article in the original compact required that any recommendation to the synod of either body must be unanimous. But the decision of the chair was not sustained by the body and so the resolution stood. A last effort was made by the German Reformed delegates to give the impression that the Convention was not dissolved. Bucher offered a resolution that the Convention commend to the synods to appoint delegates for the next meeting, to be held at Chambersburg in 1850. The Dutch delegates protested against this, but after discussion, for the sake of catching a train, the Dutch

delegates agreed to the resolution, that in case the Convention be continued, it be held at Chambersburg. Thus the Triennial Convention was virtually dissolved, and with it the closest relations the two denominations ever had were destroyed. Fraternal relations however were continued between the bodies a few years longer by interchange of delegates. We thus see how Mercersburg theology came in between the German and Dutch Churches to prevent their closer union and made them fall apart. But for it, it is altogether probable that the two denominations would now be one.

SECTION 5. "ANTICHRIST OR THE SPIRIT OF SECT AND SCHISM" BY NEVIN.*

In the summer of 1848, Dr. Nevin published this pamphlet, called forth by the repeated attacks made on him for Romanizing. From the preface, he evidently had been considerably stirred up by Hodge, for he defends himself against him by restating his peculiar views and denying that he is a follower of Schleiermacher, as Hodge had charged. In this book he describes:

1. The nature of Antichrist, 2 his history, 3 his marks.

Under the first, he says that the term "Antichrist" means something opposite to Christ. We must therefore first define Christ and Christianity. Christianity was not a doctrine or a law but a fact. Antichrist does not refer to a person but to a spirit that produces itself in history and which is hostile to Christ. His historical review of the ancient heresies is the ablest part of the book. He says the incarnation is denied in two ways, by denying Christ's divinity or his humanity. He shows how on the one hand Gnosticism, Manichæism and Eutychianism run into each other, and how on the other hand Ebionism, Pelagianism and Nestorianism followed each other, each making one of these denials. To-day the great denial of Christ is sectism, which is the successor of Nestorianism. He denies that the Romish Church is Antichrist as set forth in the Westminster Confession, because it does not bear the two Biblical marks of Antichrist:

1. The denial of the Father and the Son (John 2: 22).
2. A refusal to confess Christ (1 John 4: 5).

*Antichrist was published in German in the *Studien and Kritiken*, 1849.

The Antichrist of his day are the sects of Protestantism, whom he attacks severely. Rupp, in his recent publication on "The Religions in the United States," had given no less than 40 or 50, yes 70, denominations in our land. This gave Nevin a fine opportunity to declaim against them. The third part of the work is weak compared with the former part of the book. He gives twelve marks of Antichrist and applies them to the Spirit of Sect and Schism in the Protestant Church.*

His discussion of the twelve marks is wearisome and repetitious. Perhaps it is because his position is weak that his argument here is weak. For the sect-spirit is not Antichrist. Sectism may be an evil, but it never sets itself up against Christ and his divinity and power as does Antichrist. Some of the sweetest Christian spirits have been among the sects. Nevin's argument would have been much stronger had he limited himself to the two Scriptural marks of Antichrist, instead of enlarging them to twelve. But then he would probably have found it difficult to apply them to the sect-spirit, because they do not deny the Father and Son and they do not refuse to confess Christ. Indeed, some of the boldest confessors of Christ have been from among the sects. Dr. Nevin in this book laid himself open to the charge of Romanizing, for he placed Antichrist not in the Catholic Church but in the Protestant Church—in the sect system that it fosters. He laid himself still more open to the charge, for while he inveighs so severely against the Protestants, he defends Rome from the charge of being Antichrist. His ironical and derisive reference to the recent meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at London, which he said ended in smoke, appeared then to show his lack of sympathy with Protestantism. Especially his attack on private judgment,* and his ridicule of the invisible unity of Protestantism add to the unfortunate impression made by the book, that it is an attack on Protestantism, aiming to undermine it.

The truth is that Antichrist represents any power arrayed against Christ, as Nero, in Paul's day, and rationalism in our's. The pope and the Romish Church is Antichrist in so far as it sets itself up against God. The pope, by claiming to be God's vicar on earth, and especially since 1870, by claiming infallibility, sets himself up as God on earth over against the God of heaven. The pope is much more nearly Antichrist than the sect-spirit against which Nevin so severely inveighed.

*Page 59.

†Appel says (Life of Nevin, page 414) that Antichrist is opposed to modern Protestantism, which makes the papacy to be Antichrist and draws a parallel between it and Gnosticism, whose fundamental error was the denial of the incarnation and of objective historical Christianity. Dubbs says the book was a powerful protest against disintegration, which was the evident danger of Protestantism.

Another error is a historical one. In the preface he tries to prove that the Reformed Church of Germany was Melancthonian and that the Augsburg Confession, the creed of the Lutheran Church, was at first received by the entire Reformed Church of Germany. He does not seem to know that the Reformed Church at Emden, the earliest Reformed Church in Germany, never received it. He seems not to notice that the others, that did receive it, received it as Lutherans, but when they later became Reformed they set it aside for the Heidelberg Catechism.

Just at the time when these high views of the Church and its ordinances were being fostered by Nevinism, there occurred a case which caused considerable comment and added still farther to the suspicions of Romanizing. A minister of the Evangelical Association, Rev. Nicolas Gehr, left that denomination for the German Reformed Church. The classis of Mercersburg re-ordained him. Kurtz, in the *Lutheran Observer*, charges Gehr with improper motives in joining the Reformed Church, that having been born a Catholic, he now goes back to a Church tintured with Romanizing. Gehr replied that he left the Evangelical Association mainly for three things (1) its doctrine of sinless perfection, (2) the extravagance of the anxious bench system, (3) its almost general opposition to an educated ministry. He denies that he had any tendencies toward Nevin's sacramentarianism. In this Kurtz was in error, for Gehr's later life proved that he had no sympathy with Mercersburg theology, for he became one of its opponents. His coming into our Church gave the high-church party an opportunity to show their contempt for sects, as they called the Evangelical Association. From their standpoint they declared that the Evangelical Association was a sect and not a church, because it was started by a layman named Albright without any ordination. Hence there was no historical succession of the objective grace of the Church coming through him to those after him. The classis of Mercersburg declared that the Albright sect was no part of the Church of Christ. Nevin, in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1849, defended their re-ordination of Gehr and explained the seeming inconsistency

of accepting Gehr's baptism but not his ordination. He explained this by saying that they could recognize his baptism because it had been performed by a true, real Church, the Catholic, for Gehr had been baptized a Catholic. But at the same time they refused to recognize his ordination because by improperly ordained men in the Albright Church. Nevin went on to say that if Albright could thus originate a Church "any Tom, Dick and Harry could."

But though this was their argument, it appeared strange to most Protestants that one Protestant church would re-ordain a minister of another, because it was the rule among them to respect one another's ordination. And this re-ordination was made use of by the enemies of Nevinism to still further prove its Romanizing tendencies, because while the Mercersburg theologians and ministers refused to accept the ordination of the Evangelical Association, who were Protestants, they yet were loudly proclaiming their recognition of the baptism of Catholics.

SECTION 6. THE FIRST YEARS OF THE "MERCERSBURG REVIEW."

With the beginning of 1849, there came a new development in the controversy—the publication of the *Mercersburg Review*. This gave the Mercersburg party new power, as they now had an organ. It was begun because it was felt that the theological articles that had appeared in the *Messenger* were out of place in a popular church paper as they were too heavy, and because they were intended more for theological minds than for the average member of the Church. Another cause was the fact that Nevin had had difficulty to get his replies to Hodge accepted by any of the theological reviews. It was therefore felt that the Church ought to have its own review. These long theological articles had caused complaint from some of the subscribers of the *Messenger*; besides a Review of their own would enable them to develop their peculiar type of theology more fully and would give them better standing before the world. The Alumni Association of Marshall

College formally determined to embark on the project. Henry Mish, Esq., a lawyer and editor of *Mercersburg*, offered the Alumni, in 1848, to publish a Review provided he received the necessary support, and a committee was appointed to take up the matter. Dr. Nevin declined to become editor, but consented to become leading contributor. This committee sent out circulars for subscribers but received few replies. Three hundred subscribers were necessary to make it pay and only one hundred had been received, mainly at the commencement of the College. But finally the committee went ahead with it.

Dr. Nevin's main articles in 1849 were on the Apostles' Creed. An attack on the Creed in the *Puritan Recorder* gave him a fine opportunity to attack Puritanism and Dr. Nevin never shows to better advantage than as a polemist. He says the creed was a growth, though it had its main composition in the early period of the Church. Not until Puritanism with its sect system began to appear was the Creed left out of the confessions of the Church as in the Westminster Confession. From the outward history of the Creed he proceeds in the second part to describe its inward constitution and form. The Creed is no work of mere outward authority, nor is it the product of reflection but it is a growth—a reflection of the early Christian consciousness of the Church. He says the Creed does not spring from the Bible. The early Christians got it not from the Bible but from the fact of Christianity itself, which must be allowed to be in its nature older even and deeper than its own record under this form (page 337). The divine tradition which starts from the original substance of Christ, only itself as it underlies the Bible, meets us under its clearest, most primitive and most authoritative character in the Apostles' Creed (page 339). He thus virtually places the Creed before and above the Bible. This article was severely criticised in the *Biblical Repository* and *Princeton Review*, October, 1852. In this article he lays himself open to the charge that his teaching was against the received doctrine of the atonement, for he says "that the union of the divine and human in Christ not simply qualifies him for his work but involves in his person the reconciliation that redemption requires. He is in his constitution our peace" (pages 154-5). The atonement from this took place in his person, not in his act on the cross. His article was criticised for its approval of tradition, for elevating the Creed above the Bible as being the original tradition of the Church. His fling at the Evangelical Alliance (page 303) as a convention of sects—a convention of the blind to settle the laws of light,—was considered hostile to Protestantism.

Later investigations on the Creed, as by Hahn, Zahn and McGiffert have shown how false were Dr. Nevin's high-church views of the Creed. The Creed was a growth, but its article on "the Church," on which Dr. Nevin lays so much stress in his writings on the Creed, was not in the earliest form of the creed,* as Ireneus does not refer to it and Tertullian does not give it in his form. According to Hahn, Phœbadius and Gregory of Tours omit it, as does Eusebius of Cæsarea, who omits all after the article on the Holy Spirit, and this is often done in the early forms. This clause was not added until the third century. And when it was added, it did not have the high-church meaning that Dr. Nevin puts into it. For Zahn says† "the Church was not looked on as the *author of salvation* and creator of truth but as the faithful witness of the truth." Again, Dr. Nevin's claim that the Creed was an organic growth is not born out. The articles came together in a sort of haphazard way, now from this part of the Church and now from that. This is the impression one gets in looking over Hahn's masterly work giving all the different versions. The Creed was not a settled substance of the truth of the early Church, as Nevin claimed, but its forms were various, some longer, some shorter. Frequently parts and sections were left out, especially the whole last section after the life of Christ. And the order of the clauses of the creed differs at times. Dr. Nevin claimed that the position of the article on the "Church" was significant as it came between the Holy Spirit and the forgiveness of sins, showing that forgiveness was through the medium of the Church and objective Christianity. But while that was the general form of the Creed, there are variations. The article on the Church is sometimes elsewhere placed. Priscillian puts it before the article on the Holy Spirit. Fulgentius puts it at the end of the Creed. The Antiochen Creed omits all between the article on Pontius Pilate and the remission of sins. Far from being a certain organic form of early Christianity, the Creed is often uncertain as to its details. And if we may believe Prof. McGiffert, its articles were called

*See McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed*, 22, 92-94, 152-155.

†The Articles of the Apostles' Creed, English translation, page 178.

forth by the controversies of the early Church and were not the natural growth and expression of the early life of the Church, as Nevin holds.

Nevin's book reviews are also significant. He reviews Sartorius' Person and Work of Christ favorably, because Sartorius holds substantially to the same views of development and organic Christianity as Nevin. In his review of Kirwan's "Letters against the Romish Church" he said that Schaff's defence in the "Principle of Protestantism" is a better defence than they were. Winebrenner's "History of Religious Denominations in the United States" gave him another opportunity to attack the sects of Protestantism. He compares the fifty-three denominations described in it to Catlin's Museum, where each tribe paints himself. His review is a wholesale condemnation of the denominations of Protestantism as now divided. He condemns even the most conservative, although he is especially severe on the Church of God and the Campbellites, and says the Albrights and United Brethren hold to justification by faith without works.

The *Mercersburg Review* of 1850 contained several leading articles by Nevin that are significant. They were his review of "Brownson's Quarterly" and of Wilberforce on the "Incarnation." The former was an examination of a Catholic's position, the latter of a Puseyite's views. His article on Brownson revealed his views on Romanism. He begins by saying that he did not criticise Brownson as a weather-cock, because he went from Unitarianism to Romanism, for the very principle that led him to renounce Unitarianism prevents him from stopping short of Romanism. Brownson's defence of Romanism was not to be despised as of small account, for his Puritan training made him familiar with the weaknesses of Protestantism which he could use for the benefit of Rome.

On the other hand, he disagrees with Brownson, who had reduced the significance of the Reformation to zero, for it had historical significance and value. He criticised Brownson's Romanism because it does not allow room for the doctrine of historical development; and, besides, it wrongs man's constitution by not allowing the ordinary law of freedom to have power in the sphere of religion. Brownson makes authority everything and liberty nothing; but this was slavery. Brownson's supernatural is abstract, (God, abstract; Christ, abstract; Church, abstract,) and is not sufficiently historical. Brownson also had a wrong conception of faith, making it opposed to reason, whereas it was opposed to sense. But while Nevin thus disagrees with Catholicism, he also severely criticises Protestantism. Protestantism can not identify itself with Apostolic Christianity. Brownson was wrong but so also was the Protestant theory of the Bible and the right of private judgment. He

was more lenient with Brownson than with the Protestants, whom he always calls Pseudo-Protestants.*

Brownson replied by saying that as Nevin had charged him with being a deist, he charged Nevin with being a pantheist. This Nevin denied. Nevin criticised Brownson for so sundering the objective and subjective so that they fall dualistically apart into two worlds. They are different, but he objects to their absolute separation. He objects to Brownson, because he sets the supernatural out of nature and above it. The question, Nevin says, is not the full objectivity of the supernatural as an order above nature, but we ask for a corresponding subjectivity on the part of man, so that he be lifted up into his superior sphere not by magic but by faith.

Nevin, in his article on Wilberforce on the Incarnation, gives a review of Puseyism. He says he cannot agree with some of Wilberforce's admirers in saying that it was the greatest theological work of the age, for they undervalued the works of German theologians. But he was glad to find that Wilberforce, though hazy at times, agreed with the positions he took in the Mystical Presence, as:

1. That the mediation of Christ holds prominently in the constitution of his person. The Protestant view was to make the mediation always stand outside of the transaction of the Mediator, whereas it is within himself. The incarnation is not in order to mediation, but is the mediatorial fact in height, depth, length and breadth. "Christ is the actual medium of conjunction of God and man." The Bible is secondary to, and rests on, Christ. The Bible is not the principle of Christianity, neither its origin, its fountain or foundation.

2. The Incarnation is in strict organic and historic continuity with the human world as a whole. The universalness of Christ does not consist of his assumption of the lives of all men into himself, but of that living law or power which forms the entire fact of humanity irrespective of the particular human existence in which it may appear. These are a finite all, the other a boundless whole, two different conceptions, as far apart as the poles. Humanity as a single universal fact is redeemed in Christ truly, really without regard to other men, any farther than they are made to partake of this redemption by being brought into living union with his person.

3. The humanity of Christ is the repository and medium of salvation for the rest of mankind.

4. Christ carried our universal human nature in his person so that all men may be joined with God through him.

5. Christ's presence in the world is in and by the mystical body, the Church.

*Pages 76-7.

6. The idea of the Church as standing between Christ and Christians, implies of necessity a visible organization, common worship, public ministry and ritual.

This article is especially valuable because it gives more clearly than before Nevin's philosophical views about the universal humanity which Christ assumed and also reveals his friendly attitude to Puseyism.

In the early part of 1851 there are several articles by Nevin. The first is one on Catholicism, by which he means not the Catholic Church but the universal Church, viewed especially as an organism. There are two kinds of universality, all and whole. All is individual; whole, collective. The latter produces an organism and it is in this sense that the word Catholic is used. No other order of society except the Church can be Catholic. The state can not. No sect can be Catholic, and here he inveighs against the sects. He derides the Puritan theory of the atonement and justification as a magical supernatural change by the Holy Spirit. He has also a review of Balmes' work, "European Civilization." Balmes was one of the most prominent of the apologists for the Catholic Church. Nevin, in his review, says that Protestants ought to read Catholic books in order to be properly informed. He commends this book to all who are under the baneful influences of Pseudo-Protestantism. It lives, not in an element of infidelity like them but of faith. Unlike them, it aims not at undermining faith in the divine character of Christianity, but at establishing it. He agrees with the author that the Catholic Church was the true mother of modern civilization and culture, but disagrees with him in saying that Protestantism hindered the forward movement. In May, he writes on "Cur Deus Homo." In his review of Liebner's Christology he had declared that Christ would have become incarnate, even if there had been no sin. He viewed it from the organic standpoint, because otherwise the race would have no true unity or holiness. If its parts are not to fall asunder, it needed to have a personal head in whom the human is joined to the divine. He endeavors to prove it from Scripture.

SECTION 7. "EARLY CHRISTIANITY," BY NEVIN.

This article in the *Mercersburg Review* in 1851-2 caused a tremendous sensation. Before writing it, he wrote an article in that *Review* (1851) on "The Anglican Crisis," which is significant.

There is, he says, a crisis in the Anglican Church. The question is whether the original doctrine of the Church as it stood for ages before the Reformation is to be received and held as a necessary part of the Christian faith or to be rejected as a dangerous error. The alternative is Church or no Church, sacrament or no sacrament. The two general alternatives are really four:

1. The giving up of the sacramental system, for baptistic independency and unchurchly orthodoxy.
2. Despair of Protestantism and reconciliation with Rome.
3. A new miraculous dispensation by Christ as held by the Swedenborgians, Irvingites and Mormons.
4. The only one left to a thoughtful mind is historical development. By this, without prejudice to the Catholic as first in its order and sphere, or without prejudice to the Protestant as a real advance on the Catholic in modern times, the present state is viewed as transitional. Historical development will enable the Church to surmount the painful contradictions of the present Protestant controversy and carry it on in the best sense—"the type neither of St. Paul (Protestantism) or St. Peter (Catholicism) but brought together in St. John in some form that will etherialize and save the rich wealth of the old Catholic faith (p. 396).

The *Christian Intelligencer* criticises this article because Nevin, while glorying over the spread of Puseyism, scored, as rationalism, everything like the private interpretation of the Bible as held by Protestantism.

But it was his articles on "Early Christianity" that caused the greatest sensation. His object in them was to show the difference between Puritanism of to-day and the early Christianity. He said the relation between them might be (1) of identity or (2) of contradiction. It was not the former (which was the view of most Protestants), but it was the latter.

He aimed to show how Protestantism is to be placed in true relation with the Christianity of the second, third and fourth centuries. He started out by making use of a report sent home by Dr. Bacon from Lyons, France, to the ladies of New Haven, and also of certain notices by Bishop Wilson, the Episcopalian bishop of Calcutta, while traveling in Europe in 1823. He attacked Wilson, who was a low-Church Episcopalian and who therefore claimed that the Christianity of the fourth century was still Evangelical. He also attacked the Puritanic view of Bacon, who claimed that the first century alone was Evangelical. The Protestants, Nevin said, are farther from the first century than the Catholics.* He attacks the Puritan view that the true faith was transmitted through the sects, as the Waldenses, Albigenses, Paulicians, etc. Puritanism claims to base itself on the Bible and yet the Bible has come down to us through what they call the apostate Church of Rome, to whom we owe its canonicity and uncorrupted text. This Puritan hypothesis was as unnatural a hypothesis as were Strauss'

*Page 481.

and Bauers' mythical theories about the Bible. He quotes from the early fathers to prove his view and attacks Mosheim and Gieseler as historians.

The main controversy, he said, was on the true idea of the Church. He severely attacks the doctrine of the invisible Church.* With him the visible Church is everything (which is a Romanizing view.—A.) He says the invisible Church is not in harmony with the Church of the second century. He contrasts Puritanism with the true view on the Church, ministry, sacraments, rule of faith, order of doctrine and faith in miracles, showing that the early centuries did not agree with the Protestant view. As a rule of faith the early Church employed the Creed rather than the Bible. As to miracles, Puritanism claimed that they had ceased with the first century, but the second century still believed they continued and it consecrated relics. He closes by saying that either ancient Christianity is intrinsically false or Protestantism is a bold imposture.† His third article appeared January, 1852. The question is, shall theology rule history or history, theology. He was willing to be the Galileo to suffer for the new discovery of the idea of historical development. He then goes on to reply to the charge that he is Romanizing in these articles. He was not writing doctrine but simply giving facts. If Athanasius were living to-day, he would be worshiping in the Catholic Church. Augustine would not be acknowledged by any Evangelical sect. Chrysostom would find the Puritanism of New England as inhospitable as the Egyptian desert. The Puritan theory, that the Catholicism of the Middle Ages was an apostasy, is the negation of all previous history. Protestantism runs into infidelity. So we are shut up to historical development. He refers approvingly to the history of development by Newman as differing from Brownson in granting that there was a development. Protestantism is not the end of the reformation. It will develop into something more. What it will be, he does not attempt to define, as his article is only historical. The ultimate result may, however, appear in one of three forms:‡

1. Protestantism may be taken as the reigning stream of Christianity, though not as the whole of it. Into this the life of Catholicism is to pour itself as a wholesome, qualifying power, yielding to it the palm of supremacy, right and strength.

2. Or Protestantism and Catholicism may be viewed as the contrary sides of a dialectic process in the Hegelian sense, which must be alike taken up and brought to a new form of existence, that shall be itself true of both and yet something far higher and better than either.

3. The principle succession of the proper Church-life lies in the

*Page 538.

†Page 562.

‡Page 49.

channel of the Catholic communion. While Protestantism is legitimate and necessary in its time, it must in the end fall back into the old Catholic stream in order to fulfill its mission.

Of these three, the first is most agreeable to Protestants. But as far as historical development is concerned either would suit. He does not propose to discuss them, but simply to show that Protestantism must move on to a more tolerant feeling toward the Catholic Church. Anti-popery, with its war-whoop of the Pope as Antichrist, is not the best type of Protestant scholarship. Such Puritanism is to form a truce with infidelity. We go with Rome against infidelity, rather than with infidelity like that, against Rome. The real Antichrist is the spirit of Puritanism, which denounces the Catholic Church as of the devil,—it was the sect-spirit which was rationalism in the Church and radicalism in the state. He closes these articles with some theses which summarize them, proving that Nicene Christianity is not the same as Protestantism, but the same as Catholicism and that even in the second century the Church was not the same as the Protestantism of to-day. Protestantism is not a repristination of Apostolic Christianity. Protestantism, to be considered a new fact altogether, rooting itself on the Bible without regard to history, is such an assumption as goes to upset completely the supernatural mystery of the holy Catholic Church in the form in which it is made to challenge our faith in the Apostles' Creed. Protestantism can be vindicated historically only through the medium of the Catholic Church. No opposition to Rome can deserve respect, that is not based on historical development.

Dubbs says* "that Nevin's purpose in writing these articles was strongly misconceived by those who charge him with Romanizing. His intention was to show that the Oxford Tractarians, in endeavoring to repristinate the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, were taking one of the many roads that lead to Rome. He showed that no such chasm existed between the Church of the fifth century and the succeeding Middle Ages and therefore he was supposed to be writing in defence of Rome."

Whether he was misconceived or not his articles roused a storm of criticism. The *Christian Intelligencer* thus summarizes "Early Christianity": The Church possesses not merely a divine life, but an outward institution which secures it an authority prior in time and greater in effect than the Bible. The Creed determines the Bible and not the Bible the correctness of the Creed. The Bible derives its view from the sanction of the Church and not from the inspired author. Or, rather, we do not know its books to be inspired without an express declaration to that effect by the Church. Nevin avers that "no man, whose tongue falters in pronouncing Mary the Mother of God, can be

*American Church History, page 377.

orthodox in heart in the article of Christ's person.' Is he a safe teacher when he says this? asks the *Intelligencer*.

The *Puritan Recorder* says, "Nevin holds that the visible Church is an organic body developing itself by a regular life-process through its history, giving frame to theology and forming a tradition not inferior to the authority of the Bible. Protestantism makes the order of doctrine to be from the Bible to the Creed, Mercersburg theology, from the Creed to the Bible. Nevin believes that the power of working miracles is perpetuated in the Church and says that the veneration of works is one of the beauties of it and that there is peculiar merit in celibacy. What is there in tract No. 90 of Oxford so outspoken in favor of every cardinal feature of Popery as this?"

Dr. Berg says that Nevin's articles are against a man of straw, that Protestantism did not hold that it represented any Christianity later than that of the first century. Nobody denies that the corruptions of Christianity began in the third and fourth centuries and even in the second, but nobody, not even the most learned members of Rome, ever attempted to prove that Purgatory, image-, saint-, and work-worship were definitely settled then and nobody dreamed of transubstantiation, that crowning folly of the papacy. The germ of it all was in the Early Church (Col. 2:8). He quotes the oath of office taken by Nevin in becoming professor of theology as against his present views of Scripture. He says, Archbishop Hughes, of the Catholic Church, never ventured to speak of Protestantism in such tones of lordly contempt as Nevin, a Reformed professor of theology. The *Presbyterian* says it is "in its whole tenure a defense of papal doctrines and an assault on Reformation principles,—these are treated with sneering contempt, and the very claims on which papacy realizes as the true and only Church are sustained."

The *Catholic Herald* speaks of it as a masterly article, destined to create no little sensation, not only in his own denomination, but among Protestants in general. The way he demolishes the favorite theory of Protestants that popery is a corruption of early Christianity must be anything but agreeable to its advocates. It says, "The intellectual exercises which now occupied the learned mind of Prof. Nevin are exactly those which have caused many others to feel that the ground has given way beneath them and that nothing remains as a foundation for their trembling feet but that which the old faith (the Roman Catholic) held out as a refuge. He hath entered upon a path, which should he neither recede, pause nor turn aside, must eventually conduct him to the Catholic fold." Dr. Schaff says* that Nevin's last two articles on the Anglican Crisis and Early Christianity show that the whole Protestant Church is in a crisis in which it is openly wounded and being deflected from the churchly path with nothing left except a glance of faith to the

*See *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany, 1852.

future. Schaff's biographer says that in these articles, Nevin went beyond Schaff's positions. But this and the other writings of Schaff at that time do not bear him out. Dr. Schaff in his later years, especially after he had gone into the Presbyterian Church, receded from some of these earlier positions, especially on some of those made prominent by the Mercersburg theology.

A friend of Nevin, D. E. F.,* grants that the principal fault with "Early Christianity" was not its facts but its spirit. This was its exposition of the evils of Protestantism and its hearty good-will by which some of the superstitions of popery were relieved from alleged misrepresentation.

The impression made upon us in reading these articles at this distant date is that Nevin makes some unwarranted concessions to Rome because of his high views of the objectivity of the Church and the sacraments; and at the same time he does not guard himself properly against Rome's errors so as to reveal a true Protestant spirit. His later inclination toward going to Rome, of which we shall speak later, reveals the state of mind into which he was then entering.

**Messenger*, April 21, 1862.

CHAPTER V.

THE RESIGNATION OF DR. NEVIN.

SECTION 1. HIS REASONS FOR RESIGNING AND THE EVENTS PRIOR TO THE SYNOD OF 1851.

Matters at length came to a crisis in 1851. This was caused by the resignation of Dr. Nevin as professor of theology at Mercersburg and by the call of Prof. Schaff at the same time to be pastor of the Salem's German Reformed Church in Philadelphia. Dr. Nevin, in September, 1850, had made known to the board of visitors of the seminary his purpose to resign; but the formal notification was not sent to them until March 25, 1851. Rumor added to his resignation, says Schaff, that as his articles on Early Christianity and Cyprian appeared about the same time as his resignation, he resigned because of his growing dissatisfaction with Protestantism. Let us see. The reason that Dr. Nevin gave for his resignation was the embarrassed financial condition of the Seminary. But was this the only reason? It is to Prof. Schaff that we owe some side-lights on this subject. He wrote a letter to Prof. Ebrard for the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany.* He says:

1. That Nevin's resignation was due partly to his natural desire to have less responsibility and to have more leisure after so many years of faithful, self-sacrificing service at Mercersburg.

2. That it was due to a conscientious doubt whether he was just the man suited to direct the theological youth for service in a Protestant denomination, while in his own mind the whole church question was undergoing radical revision.

It is to be noticed that this latter reason is given not by an enemy of Dr. Nevin but by one of his warmest friends and

*A translation of this appeared in the *Christian Intelligencer*, December 16, 1852.

most intimate associates, who ought to have known his mind. It seems to us evident from this testimony that Dr. Nevin had lost his foundations of Protestantism and was drifting at the time and he felt it. Schaff also says in the *Kirchenzeitung* that Nevin's articles on the Anglican Church and Early Christianity had made some of his warmest friends wonder and doubt for a moment. The *Kirchenzeitung* gives two more reasons, namely, that he resigned because the number of students was not large and because Dr. Schaff also gave lectures in English, so that he could be the better spared from the seminary than from the college.

Just before the synod met, the editor of the *Messenger*, Rev. Dr. Schneck, sent a bombshell into the camp of the Mercersburg adherents. He wrote an editorial in the *Messenger* of September 17, 1851, with the approval of his assistant editor, Rev. S. R. Fisher. It was the first note of warning uttered officially by that paper against the Romanizing tendency of Mercersburg theology. In reviewing Nevin's articles, he says, "they have been rising in regular gradation high and still higher until our head is dizzy. We are at a dead halt." With much of them Schneck was in full sympathy, but he had to make an avowal, painful to make, yet honest and sincere. He believed Nevin was honest in his beliefs, but he criticised him for dwelling too much on the faults of Protestantism to the exclusion of its more hopeful side. Again, Nevin was looking back too much to the second, third and fourth centuries and seemed anxious to conform the present Church to that model. He thinks Dr. Nevin had gone too far in his positions and that he lives too much in his speculations and in an ideal Church. He believes that nine-tenths, yes nineteen-twentieths of the German Reformed ministry with him protest against the views lately brought out in Nevin's articles.

This article was the first public attack on Nevin by any official organ of the Church and caused great excitement. Schneck was severely criticised by the friends of Nevin. At the next meeting of synod, he was severely taken to task, and one of its members, who later went over to Rome, proposed

that he be expelled from the synod or formally censured.* The ultimate result was that Schneck resigned the editorship of the *Messenger* the next year. Fisher was made editor and a strong adherent of Nevin was elected as an assistant, Rev. Samuel Miller, who later published the first attempt at a systematic presentation of Mercersburg theology.

Another significant event was the action of North Carolina Classis in 1851. It instructed its delegate (who, however, did not attend the synod) to vote for the acceptance of Nevin's resignation. It also took action refusing to give money to the Board of Domestic Missions, because it believed the money would be used to disseminate the peculiar doctrines of Mercersburg, which they said they believed were "contrary to the Word of God, subversive to the Church and destructive to fraternal union" (with the Dutch).

Meanwhile every effort was made to get Nevin to withdraw his resignation because of the crisis it would produce.

SECTION 2. THE SYNOD OF 1851.

It was evident that this synod had a difficult problem before it. Jacob Helffenstein says there was anxious suspense before the synod met as to whether the resignation would be accepted or not. Berg says he ceased attacking Nevin because he was given to understand that it would be accepted by the synod. The synod had two problems before it, the resignation of Nevin and the call of Schaff to Philadelphia. The call of Prof. Schaff came up first. Schaff intimated his readiness to accept if the synod permitted him to resign. The committee to whom it was referred brought in a report that the request be not granted. After Nevin had spoken on the report, Berg arose and tried to say something in reference to Nevin's remarks, but he was decided out of order and the vote was taken. It was carried by a vote of 42 to 5, Berg and Helffenstein voting with the minority.

Nevin's resignation was also referred to a committee, which brought in a report, requesting him to withdraw his resigna-

*See *Reformed Church Monthly*, 1874, page 277.

tion and resume service in the seminary; and that in case he insisted, the synod would yield with great reluctance for the present and leave the professorship vacant in the hope that he might ultimately see his way clear to return to it at no distant day. The vote for the adoption of this was 42 to 4. Schaff eloquently defended the report.

Dr. Berg said that during the discussion a change came over the synod. This was owing partly to the sympathy which was awakened in Nevin's behalf by the injurious imputations by church papers outside of our denomination against him.* This change was partly due to an affecting speech of Dr. Nevin's, in which he declared very emphatically and with great emotion, "I love this synod." Dr. Schaff in his speech alluded to the fact that Dr. Nevin shed tears. As the result of this play on their emotions and the fact that a large number of the members of the synod were graduates under Nevin, the vote was so strong in his favor, says Berg,†

But the action of the synod, instead of clearing matters, complicated them. The question that then arose was, "Did the synod in refusing to accept the resignation of the two professors, by that act endorse the Mercersburg theology?" Jacob Helffenstein, in the *Christian Intelligencer*,‡ said that the vote was a test and was an endorsement of Mercersburg theology. Berg, on the other hand, stated in the *Protestant Quarterly Review*,§ that the vote was not to be taken as an endorsement of Nevin's teachings. He says it meant that the synod did not deem "Early Christianity" of sufficient ground for the withdrawal of confidence in the professor. Still, although it was declared that Mercersburg theology was really not on trial before the synod (because there was no direct charge against it there), outside of the German Reformed Church and among other denominations, the action of the

*It was declared that if his resignation were accepted, it would be construed as a want of confidence in his orthodoxy and general theological course.

†See also account in *Messenger*, 1853, October 5.

‡November 6, 1851.

§January, 1852. See also the *Christian Intelligencer*, Dec. 16, 1852.

synod was looked upon as a virtual endorsement of Mercersburg theology. As an illustration of the confusion, we mention some facts that show the contradiction of even the leaders in their judgment on this action. Just before the vote was to be taken on the case of Prof. Schaff, Nevin arose and said that the report of the committee on the subject before the synod, whether it would fully endorse Schaff or not, would be so regarded by every one. If, as had been hinted, there was any distrust and dissatisfaction with Schaff, now was the time to indicate it by a plump and direct approbation of Schaff or the reverse. Nevin thus made it a test and yet later, when Nevin comes to reply to Berg's "Last Words," he says, "the action of the synod did not commit the synod to such an endorsement." If one of the leaders is so contradictory, it is no wonder that the world at large was uncertain what the action meant.

Schaff, too, quoted the action of the synod as endorsing his theological views in a letter* he wrote to the *Kirchenzeitung* of Germany, saying the synod showed its endorsement of himself by re-electing him to his position. Now, this was not exactly true. Synod had not re-elected him, but simply refused to accept his resignation, which was quite different from a re-election. He also said, "With the same unanimity the other professor was, as it were, elected." Neither was that exactly true. Nevin was not re-elected "as it were" or in any other way. The *Messenger* later denied this statement,† when it said there was not a word said about endorsing all the published views of Nevin, much less of endorsing anything of a Romanizing tendency.

Prof. Schaff also said in the *Kirchenfreund* that the synod treated the affair of the resignation not only from a personal standpoint but at the same time as a question of principle, and that it had never expressed so decidedly its attachment to Dr. Nevin and the theological and churchly tendency as at that time. The *Messenger* said‡ that the action of the synod

*Translated in the *Christian Intelligencer*, December 16, 1852.

†December 29, 1852.

‡October 29, 1851.

proved that all rumors that Nevin's resignation were caused by dissatisfaction with him in the Church were untrue.

W. M. says the action was not meant to endorse all of Nevin's views, but simply that it was satisfied with his general theological acquirements and position and desired to retain his valuable services. Sure we are, he says, that the Church in general does not subscribe to all that Nevin has said in "Early Christianity."

The truth seems to be that owing to the confusion that ensued and the severe criticisms, made especially by other denominations, the Messenger became more cautious about stating that it was an endorsement. And the next synod (1852), in reply to the charges of the Dutch Reformed Church, declared its action of 1851 did not sanction Dr. Nevin's peculiar views. Dr. Nevin continued as president of Marshall College and gave private lectures in theology until his successor was elected a year later.

SECTION 3. "CYPRIAN," BY NEVIN.

In the May number of the *Mercersburg Review*, Dr. Nevin began a series of articles on Cyprian, the great Church father. They were in a measure complementary to his articles on "Early Christianity" but carried his conclusions to fuller development and to their logical results. If Early Christianity caused a sensation, these articles on Cyprian did more so.

For in them he more fully commits himself to the idea of a visible Church, which at present can only be found in what he calls the Catholic Church. Cyprian would shed additional light in showing that the Christianity of the second century was not Protestantism. He gives a scholarly monograph of Cyprian's life and character, making him the complete ideal of a Christian bishop. Cyprian's idea of the Church was that it was the only divine medium of salvation. Nevin declares against schism and speaks favorably of the Catholic Church because it holds that the Church is an organic unity. "Cyprian's idea of the Church was that it was a real constitution, carrying in it by divine appointment, actual supernatural and heavenly powers,—there was no salvation outside of the Church. Baptism brought grace. The Lord's Supper brought the body of Christ as a sacrifice and offering." Having

described Cyprian's life and work he proceeds to go back earlier than Cyprian. The Church of his type could not spring up with mushroom-like rapidity. It must have existed before and that for a century in order to account for its completed form. Hence the age before him, the second century, must have approached his idea of the Church. Nevin disagrees with Neander, who looked on Cyprian's work as a decline from the previous age, saying that that position was due to Neander's wrong view-point,—that Neander had no conception of organic unity of the Church but was inclined to the spiritualistic Quakerish idea of the Church. Then he takes up the church fathers of the second century, as Ireneus and Tertullian, showing that they held the same ideas as Cyprian about the unity of the Church. Ignatius is in harmony with Cyprian. The objective must rule and condition the subjective. The Cyprianic doctrine of the Church therefore falls back in its fundamental conception to the earliest Christian time. Nevin denies that the cardinal doctrine of Protestantism over against the Catholics, is the invisible Church,* because the doctrine of the invisible Church is un-historical and an abstraction. It is painfully evident that Protestantism is defective. There is no experimental religion outside of the Church.† He speaks severely against what is called Evangelical religion (sect-system);‡ in a word, he declares that Evangelical Christianity and Puritanism are at war with the Church of the first ages.

The friends of Nevinism later thus state his object in these articles. Appel§ says, "Notwithstanding the strong language which he used in those articles regarded as most Romanizing, he leaves the way of escape open in the theory of historical development, which makes room for Protestantism as one form of Christianity although one-sided and transitional to a much better age and higher union of what is good in both Romanism and Protestantism." Dubs says|| "His •Early Christianity and Cyprian were especially charged with Romanistic tendencies, but his object was misconceived. He intended to show that the Oxford Tractarians in endeavoring to repristinate the church of the fourth and fifth century were taking one of many roads to Rome. Nevin showed there was no such chasm between the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries and the succeeding Middle Ages. His adherence to the historical development is against Rome as he showed in his answer to Brownson."

These articles on Early Christianity and Cyprian were the results of careful study of several years previous. They reveal wide scholarship, but they also reveal his peculiar tendencies. His emphasis on the

*Page 445.

†Page 446.

‡Page 448.

§Life of Nevin, page 416.

||American Church History, page 377.

Church as an organism and on the objective in the Church and the sacraments was leading Romewards. His limitation of salvation to the visible Church and denial of the invisible Church was a departure from the true basis of Protestantism. His severe criticisms on Protestantism, and at the same time his favorable notice of everything high-Church and Catholic caused great suspicion, that he was not true to Protestantism and inclined to Romanism. Early Christianity and the action of the Synod of 1851 were capped by Cyprian. Had Cyprian not been written the results might have been less disastrous, for his enemies laid hold of these articles, especially Cyprian, to prove their accusations; and so the breach became wider, for Nevin had proved that the Church of the second and third centuries was Catholic not Protestant.

Berg's criticism of "Early Christianity" applies equally to Cyprian. He says Nevin was setting up a man of straw to fight against. None of his opponents claimed that the second and third centuries were the same as Protestantism. It was the first century that they claimed Protestantism approached and Nevin had not touched that century. He was beating the air, they said, to no purpose, except to show his learning and also his high-church and Romish tendencies. The Catholic organ, the *Freeman's Journal*, published by Archbishop Hughes, prophesied his speedy conversion to the Romish Church. It said of these articles: "We give the conclusions of it as very interesting to Catholics to induce our pious readers to pray for his speedy conversion. We can not doubt that the silence of his study and of his prayers will continue but a short time till the inward voice will bid him rise and hasten to the home of his Heavenly Father, where the doubts and suffering of his long trial shall be replaced by the joy and gladness of heart that is the portion of all who with unreserved wills submit to the Church."

The position of Prof. Schaff about these articles of Dr. Nevin has been somewhat doubtful. His son, who is his biographer, says* that he did not go as far as Dr. Nevin. But this does not seem to be carried out by facts, for the *Kirchenfreund*, of which Prof. Schaff was the editor, speaks approvingly of them,—that they state proper views of the Church and that as long as Nevin holds such views his conversion to Rome would be impossible. In the *Mercersburg Review* (Jan., 1853.) Schaff says that Nevin in Early Christianity and Cyprian has produced arguments that in a historical view can not be refuted. He speaks of the growing confusion of Protestantism due to subjectivity, which is to be remedied by compromise and union with Catholicism. "Protestantism

*See His Life, page 121.

is not fixed but in motion, and the motion is for the time in the direction of complete self-dissolution.”

In 1852, Nevin stopped writing for the *Mercersburg Review*. His articles had caused much criticism. Some wanted the *Review* discontinued so as to prevent strife. A Doctor of Divinity earnestly wrote Theodore Appel to stop publishing the *Review* at once and to burn all sheets for the last number of the year now in the hands of the printer. But in spite of such opposition the alumni decided to continue its publication.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UPRISING AGAINST MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY.

There had been controversy before, now there occurred an open uprising against Nevinism in various ways within our Church. Of these there were six, which we shall now describe.

1. The withdrawal of Dr. Berg to the Dutch Reformed Church.

2. The uprising of the German students at Mercersburg.

3. The withdrawal of North Carolina classis from our Church.

4. The withdrawal of Rev. Jacob Helffenstein and our Church at Germantown to the Presbyterians.

5. The appeal of Rev. Dr. Heiner against the *Messenger* at the synod of 1853.

6. A similar appeal by Rev. Dr. Zacharias.

These, with the influences hostile to Nevinism from other denominations, as the withdrawal of the Dutch Reformed Church from correspondence with us produced a peculiar crisis in our Church.

SECTION 1. THE DEPARTURE OF REV. DR. BERG TO THE DUTCH CHURCH.

The first sign of the reaction against Nevinism was the resignation by Dr. Berg of the First Church at Philadelphia and his departure to the Dutch Church. At the synod of 1851, Jacob Helffenstein had, in a speech, hinted at secession from our Church. But Berg then stated he would not secede, although the vote of the synod had been overwhelmingly against him. Berg had said* that the vote at the synod was not to be taken as an endorsement of Nevin's teachings. Yet he resigned his church in March. Perhaps his act was due to the fact that Jacob Helffenstein, giving up hope of

**Protestant Quarterly Review*, January, 1851.

rousing our Church against Nevinism, had issued a circular calling on sister denominations to join with Berg and himself in the protest against the action of our synod. But nothing came of it except that it roused the wrath of the Mercersburg men and caused their derision. And Berg, finding so little response in or out of the Church, became discouraged and left. But Berg, in his reply to Nevin's strictures on his farewell sermon, gave as the reason for it, Nevin's second article on Early Christianity, which he said was the most infamous assault by Nevin on the first principles of the Protestant reformation.

Dr. Berg preached his farewell sermon in the First Reformed Church, Philadelphia, on March 14, 1851, his text being "Jehovah Nissi." He declared he left the German Reformed Church because she taught principles contrary to the five points of Protestantism,* which were:

1. That the Bible and the Bible only was the rule of faith and not tradition; or even the creeds and catechisms, excellent as they are.

2. That justification is by free grace. Christ's righteousness is imputed to us. This Nevin denied when he declared justification was inherent in us as the Catholics held. This immanent righteousness of Christ in us as the ground of faith is a fiction.

3. That she taught the true doctrine of the person of Christ while Nevin taught Eutychianism (which blended Christ's divine and human natures into one). Berg here quotes from the "Mystical Presence" where it said that Christ was the bearer of a fallen humanity.

4. That contrary to her doctrines, his opponents taught the inherent power to confer grace in the blood and spirit of Christ,—the intrinsic power of the sacraments or participation in Christ's glorified humanity at the Lord's Supper.

5. That the papacy was the great apostasy, which his opponents denied.

"The late action of the synod," he said, "is a practical avowal of sympathy with views which I can not endorse." This last statement is contrary to his earlier statements about our Synod of 1851, made in the *Protestant Quarterly*.

Dr. Nevin replies to Berg's "Last Words." He first defends himself and then the German Reformed Church. He charges Berg with leaving

*Like the five points of Calvinism.

†*Mercersburg Review* for May, 1852.

because of personal motives,—that he was ambitious to lead a party and create trouble in the Church. But he found himself so poorly at home that he left it for another. He minimizes Berg's passage from one denomination to another as not of very great consequence, especially between two such closely related denominations as the Dutch and German Reformed. He was quite ironical on Berg. In the part defending our Church, he said that Berg had aimed to fix on our Church the character of heresy and apostasy. Berg does not refer to any direct action of the Church, only to the controversy which he had had with her theological professors.

1. As to Berg's first charge about the Bible, he said Berg's theory rises to the baldest scheme of private opinion, by which every man is his own theologian and can manufacture his own creed. Over against this he defended a certain use of tradition. Every denomination had its own tradition, whether written or not,—in its general mind and its historical life. Through this medium it interprets the Bible. Even Berg had his own tradition. And it was not his own discovery but it had come down to him from the old Catholic Church, which, like another Nero killing his mother, he now seeks to destroy.

2. As to the second charge about justification, he claimed that Berg had not understood his language. Justification is something more than an outward act forensically charging over the merits of Christ. "It imputes to him the righteousness of Christ by setting him in connection with the power of it as a new and higher order of life wrought in the bosom of humanity by Christ as the second Adam."

3. As to the charge against his views on Christ's Person: If Berg charged him with Eutychianism, he returned it by charging Berg with Nestorianism. Berg had charged that he said that sin was in the person of the Redeemer. This he utterly denied. But Christ bore fallen humanity because he must descend with it to the lowest depth of sorrow and sin. Berg's charge that he held to the ubiquity of Christ he denied, referring Berg to his Mystical Presence.*

4. As to Berg's fourth charge that he placed so high a value on the sacraments as to put them in place of Christ, he said he was misrepresented. He did not hold to magical grace in the sacrament, but that there was intrinsic grace. If there is efficiency in the natural law, there is supernatural efficiency in the sacraments for the accomplishment of heavenly ends. But the intrinsic grace in the sacraments must be met by a right disposition in the heart of man. He charges Berg with heresy because he denies the mystical force of the sacraments and this leads to denying the supernatural character of the Church and in the end denying the whole mystery of the incarnation.

5. The last charge of Berg was the only one he granted. He denied that the papacy was Antichrist and that the German Reformed

*Page 173.

Church had ever made such a doctrine a test to her ministers. The opposition to himself consisted of only Berg and the Helffenstein family. (It is sad to see how both Nevin and Schaff in their controversy bring personalities in at this point. Besides, Nevin's statement is not true, for Heiner mentions a number more than Berg and the Helffensteins who were opposed to Nevin, as Zacharias, Schory, Aurand, Colliflower, F. W. Kremer, Wack and others.—A.) Nevin says Berg had not gone about the matter in a constitutional way because constitutional rules were not to Berg's taste. As to Helffenstein's charge that the Synod of 1851 had made itself responsible for his views by refusing to accept his resignation, that, he said, was false.* No such points were ever brought before the synod. There was no trial and no vote toward the determination of any theological question.

Berg replied to Nevin.† As to his first charge against tradition and for the Bible, he said that the synod of 1845 in vindicating Schaff's "Principle of Protestantism" had declared that formal tradition was indispensable and, therefore, had committed itself to it. As to the second charge, Nevin does not clear himself of heresy in regard to justification. For Nevin says the righteousness of Christ by which the believer is justified is immanent in human nature, while the Heidelberg Catechism, on the other hand, says the justifying righteousness is Christ's and set over to our account. Nevin calls this view a putative act and he will have no fiction like it. But the Catechism demands this putative act as essential and insists on the very fiction that Nevin repudiates. He says, "Justification with Nevin is not a reckoning to us of that which is not ours in fact," but our Catechism, in answer 60, says it is.

As to the third charge about the person of Christ, Nevin was Eutychian, because he blended the two natures of Christ. If so, then he asks Nevin, Can the divine nature suffer—can it die? As to the fourth, he repudiates Nevin's high views of the sacrament. He also says that Nevin is again attacking a man of straw in his opponents, namely, that they held that the Lord's Supper was only commemorative of Christ's death. Nobody holds that view. As for himself, he denies that the sacrament is merely commemorative, but declares it is also communicative when faith accompanies the sacrament. As to Nevin's last charge against him of mortal antipathy to Rome, he pleads guilty of the charge. As to the action of the Synod of 1851, while the synod did not endorse what Nevin had only just written in his first article on Early Christianity, it showed its practical sympathy with it.

Dr. Schaff, in the *Kirchenfreund*, is very severe on Berg. He bears testimony to Berg's ability but insinuated that Berg was not at heart Reformed but Moravian, in which faith he had been born,—that a large

*Page 302.

†*Protestant Quarterly Review*, July, 1852.

part of his congregation was tired of him because he was no pastor and that he neglected the catechization of the youth. If he had been as busy in his pastorate in Philadelphia as he had been in attacking Rome there would have been several more Reformed congregations organized there. (We fear some of his criticisms were written under intense heat, for they can hardly be proven.—A.) He sums up Berg's closing sermon as if Berg said, "You would not let me be pope, therefore I can not remain with you any longer."

Schaff says, "Nevin, if orthodox anywhere, is so on the person of Christ, while Berg was heterodox in being a Nestorian. But even if Nevin held errors, why charge them to the German Reformed Church. Are Nevin's works symbolical books? Berg rather than Nevin ought to have been charged with heresy, because he was Nestorian and had fallen away from the old Reformed doctrine of the Church and sacraments." Berg's charges were based on the "Mystical Presence" written some years before and not on the present acts of the synod. Dr. Schaff sums up Berg's closing words as if Berg's departure was due to his dictatorial spirit and fanatical bigotry. Berg was supported, he said, by a half a dozen Helffensteins and the Church papers of other denominations. The German Reformed Church had not lost much by his going, but in it the opposition to Nevin had lost a leader and was broken at its centre.

But while Schaff thus minimizes the effect of Berg's departure, he is not quite true to the facts, for our Church in Philadelphia has never fully recovered from Berg's secession with so large a number of the membership of the First Church there. Dr. Bomberger, who later succeeded Berg, says that when he came there only a small number of members remained in the church and they were stunned, paralyzed and tempted to despair. The Sunday school had but three teachers and few scholars and there were fears of total dissolution. The church, after Berg's departure, called Dr. Heiner, but he declined and later S. H. Reid (who remained but a short time), and then Bomberger.

When Berg was dismissed to the Dutch Church by Philadelphia classis, the vote was seven to three in favor of dismissal.* Classis, however, in its action did not admit as true the reasons that Berg gave in his farewell sermon. Against this action Samuel Helffenstein, Jr., protested in the *Messenger*, because it acted on more than merely Berg's dismissal, which was the only item in the call for the meeting of classis. Thus closed the "Seven Years' War," as it was then called.

*Staley, Kooker, Wolff and Bonekemper voting for it. Jacob and Samuel Helffenstein, Jr., voting against it.

comparing it with the Seven Years' War of Frederick the Great, between Berg and Nevin, serious also like that war and sad in its consequences.

SECTION 2. THE SYNOD OF 1852.

This synod was an epoch-making synod in several ways, both in regard to the position of the Mercersburg professors and in regard to the liturgy. The latter point will come up later. Here we can only speak of its action as having any bearing on the Mercersburg theology. The opening sermon by Kieffer was full of Mercersburg theology. It was on the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. He endorsed Nevin's views in it, although he tries to find mediating statements of them. Thus he placed tradition subordinate to the Bible, but he claimed it had its place and then he said that the right to private judgment was dependent on the Church. This virtually, however, took away all right of private judgment, as held by Protestants. Outside of the Church there is no salvation, he declared.

Before this synod met, influences were brought to bear on Nevin to get him to return to his chair of theology. Thus East Pennsylvania classis had urged synod to do everything to get him back. Since Dr. Nevin persisted in his declination, the synod finally took action accepting it, but it passed the following resolution, offered by Dr. Heiner: "That it testified to the zeal and ability with which he discharged his duties during nearly twelve years, and that it will continued to cherish for him sentiments of very high regard, and never cease to respect and love him." The synod then proceeded to the election of a successor and elected Rev. B. C. Wolff, a more irenic man, although belonging to the Mercersburg party, and who had repeatedly defended Dr. Nevin. He was by no means Nevin's equal in intellectual ability, having been only a successful pastor rather than a scholar and student, although some of his later articles in the *Review* reveal careful study; but he has not the originality of Nevin and his work was largely reproductive of others.

After the synod, Dr. Heiner, who proposed the resolution in regard to Nevin, was ridiculed by Rev. A. H. Kremer in the *Messenger* as being a sycophant, because he had always opposed Nevin and yet at the synod had proposed such fulsome resolutions of praise. Dr. Heiner replied* it was true he had offered the resolution, but he did not intend by it to endorse Nevin's peculiar theological views. He gives the following story: Late at night and just before the close of the synod, one of the most respectable and influential ministers of the German Reformed Church strongly attached to Nevin, came to him and took him aside. He told him that he and others had been talking it over, and as Nevin was now out of the seminary and all would be quiet, still something ought to be done to give him a friendly notice, lest he will feel slighted and be driven further from us toward Rome. "Do you offer the resolution," was his request. Heiner says he was surprised and suggested that some of Nevin's friends ought to do it and not himself, as he had always been Nevin's opponent. No, they said, you are the man because of your known antagonism. They said it would aid in preventing him from going over to Rome. He replied he would be willing to do anything to prevent that, so he offered the resolution. Derr offered an amendment to it, that the synod would be happy to have Dr. Nevin return to the professorship at some future time. To this objection was raised on all sides, by Wolff and Hoffeditz, as also from the younger Nevinists: Reid, A. H. Kremer, Heisler and others. No one favored the amendment but Derr himself. Heiner then rose and declared that if there was any such amendment, he would withdraw the original motion,—that he did not intend to endorse Nevin's theology and referred only to Nevin's personality and to his zeal and ability. The brother who asked him wanted such a resolution adopted so as to keep Nevin from going to Rome. He says he was willing to do this if it would have that effect.

The synod took a more conservative and guarded action about Mercersburg theology than the previous synod. It had evidently felt the criticisms on its previous action. The editor

*See his letter in the *Christian Intelligencer*, Sept. 1, 1853.

of the *Christian Intelligencer* said the design of its report was to get rid of the odium of having practically supported Nevin and at the same time get rid of Nevin without the formal condemnation of the man or his heresies. This explains, it says, the disagreement of this report with that of 1851.

SECTION 3. THE UPRISING OF THE GERMAN STUDENTS AT MERCERSBURG.

The next event against Nevinism was a rebellion of some of the theological students. It revealed that not all the students in the seminary were of one mind in accepting Mercersburg theology. It occurred at the beginning of 1852. There were a number of German students, most of whom came from Lippe, in Germany. They had left their fatherland after persecutions for their Reformed faith. Their Heidelberg Catechism and Reformed doctrines were therefore very dear to them. They were devotedly attached to Evangelical doctrines or what Dr. Nevin called Puritanism. When they came into contact with Mercersburg theology they became dissatisfied with what they called Romanizing errors. Doctrines were taught and discussed that were strange to them in the strict Reformed Church of the fatherland.

"Pennsylvania," writing later in the *Christian World*,* says, a score of years ago, I was told by two of the seminary students at Mercersburg that they read more Roman Catholic than Protestant books at the seminary, such as Wiseman, Balmes, Möhler, etc. On being remonstrated with, they gave as an answer that they did so with the advice and consent of their professor. The informer says he decidedly denounced the professor's advice and sought to counteract his influence. Prayers for the dead, the intermediate state, auricular confession were taught and debated by the students. The *Messenger*† notices this article but tries to evade its force by saying that Dr. Schaff had by that time left the Church. The *Evangelist*‡ also says primacy of the pope, celibacy, the worship of the Virgin,

*July 17, 1873.

†July 23, 1873.

‡November 2, 1871.

the invocation of the saints, the early Church fathers were referred to as guides by the professors. The *Reformed Church Quarterly*, by its articles on "Early Christianity" and "Cyprian," added to the discontent. Some of the students defended the doctrine of an intermediate state, or purgatory. The result was that the students split into two parties, the one arrayed against Prof. Schaff, the other defending him. In the theological society in the seminary, fiery debates were held. The enemies of Nevinism were called Puritans, fanatics, unchurchly sects. The professor very naturally sided with his adherents. Matters finally came to a crisis. The faculty suspended J. C. Klar. As a result, the German students would not attend lectures. They went to the board of visitors in January, 1852, and made matters known to them. That board made an investigation. Each student was heard and examined and an effort was made to reconcile professor and students, but it was unsatisfactory to the students, as the Board said that they had misunderstood the professor. As a result, six of the students left: Becker, Winter, Bruecker, Toensmeier, Biehl and Blaetgen. Two of the German students remained, Muehlmeier and Lienkemper, although they made known to the professor their fundamental position against him. Thus Nevinism was threatened at its very center, the seminary.*

The *Reformed Church Monthly*† adds "other Romish books were recommended, as Wiseman's Doctrine of the Church, Fabiola, a romance, Sadler's First and Second Adam (High-Church Episcopalian), Bishop England's Works, The Poor Man's Catechism, Faber's "All for Jesus." This list was furnished by one mainly in sympathy with the Mercersburg theology. When these books were recommended, the *Monthly* asks, was there an antidote recommended, as Roussel's "Catholic and Protestant Nations Compared" and Bacon's "Two Sides against the Poor Man's Catechism." Rev. W. M. Reily, one of Dr. Nevin's pupils,‡ says Dr. Nevin had so lost confi-

*This section we have submitted to one of these students. He says our statements are correct.

†1872, page 339.

‡*Magazine of Christian Literature*, Sept., 1891.

dence in Evangelical Protestantism that he was fond of recommending to his friends the works of Sadler and other Tractarian authors.*

SECTION 4. ORGANIZATION OF FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE.†

The project of uniting the two Colleges, Franklin College at Lancaster, and Marshall College, at Mercersburg, was first discussed at the Synod of 1849.‡ Franklin College had property valued at \$51,508, but had only six students. Of this property one-third belonged to the Reformed and one-third to the Lutherans. A special meeting of our synod was held January 30, 1850, and synod declared its opinion that there was no legal or moral difficulty in the way. The financial problem was the most difficult,—how to raise the \$17,000 necessary to buy out the Lutherans. A plan was matured by which the synod would raise this money, while the city and county of Lancaster raised \$25,000 for the erection of buildings. J. C. Bucher, aided by Bossler, succeeded in raising the last amount. A charter having been granted 1850, the new board of Franklin and Marshall College first met January 25, 1853. It elected James Buchanan president, Rev. Mr. Keyes, pastor of St. Paul's Church, secretary, Rev. Dr. Mesick, pastor of our Church at Harrisburg, and Rev. Dr. Bowman, of the Episcopal Church at Lancaster, vice presidents.

*The *Christian Intelligencer*, November 3, 1853, gives the case of a young man at Marshall College who became biased towards Rome at that time. His pastor asked Dr. Nevin to influence him against it. When the young man said to him that he believed the Catholic Church was the true Church, Nevin said he could not blame him and would lay no obstacle in the way. The son returned home the next vacation a Catholic, stating that he had arrived at this conclusion by reading works recommended by Schaff and Nevin.

†This removal of the college to Lancaster was not a part of the uprising against Mercersburg theology; but we have placed it here because it comes in here chronologically. Still it is to be noted that by some it was hoped that when the college was gotten away from Mercersburg there would be less polemics and party feeling in the Church.

‡For full account, see Dubbs' History of Franklin and Marshall College, pages 241-244.

The *Christian Intelligencer** says that the charter for the College being granted, the new board met March 2, 1853, James Buchanan as president. A committee, consisting of Heimer, Wolff, Nevin, Rev. Mr. Bowman, of the Episcopal Church, and a number of laymen, was appointed to nominate candidates for the professorships. The committee reported that they had decided to nominate Nevin, but he was unwilling to give assurance that he would accept if elected. They then nominated, with one dissenting voice, Rev. Dr. Mesick as president and professor of moral and mental philosophy, together with the other professors.

Wolff† gives a slightly different version,—that when the committee first met, Nevin was not present when his name was mentioned, but came in afterward and emphatically protested. Mesick's name was therefore proposed. To this there was a show of dissatisfaction, although when the vote was taken Nevin was the only one dissenting, on the ground that there had been no chance of consulting the Church and that his nomination would not be acceptable to the prominent members of the board.

When the nomination was reported to the board, a motion was made to strike out Mesick's name and insert Nevin's. At once a debate sprang up. Hon. J. W. Killinger moved that Nevin be nominated and Buchanan supported it. When the vote was taken, it stood 19 to 13 for Nevin and he was declared elected. Dr. Nevin declined in a letter.‡ He said if it had been received when first proposed, he would have accepted; but "now the claims and interests, partly of health, partly of taste and comfort; but most of all, I may say now, in the form of inquiry and religious conscience, which reach with such uncertain distance into the future and the bearing of which it is impossible beforehand to calculate or foresee, stand powerfully in the way."

At the board meeting of April 9, 1853, Schaff was elected over Mesick by a vote of 14 to 11. It was expected that

*March 24, 1853.

†*Christian Intelligencer*, April 7.

‡See Dubbs' History of Franklin and Marshall College, 264-6.

Schaff would accept and be glad to leave so small a town as Mercersburg for Lancaster, because his position at Mercersburg was lonely and depressing. But he declined, saying that his engagements to the Theological seminary were such that it would be unconstitutional and disrespectful to decide until a meeting of synod. This delay was granted, although delay was dangerous to the best interests of the college. But the synod in the fall refused to permit him to accept the presidency by relinquishing his theological chair, which it said he had so ably and faithfully filled. If the action of the Synod of 1851 was looked upon as an endorsement of the Mercersburg professors, this action was a repetition of it, and Dr. Schaff could now look upon it as a justification of his course.

Thus, whatever plans the Anti-Mercersburg theology men may have had of checking the growth of the Mercersburg movement, by gaining the election of a president of the new college in Mesick, proved fruitless. The long delay in getting a president, however, was very disheartening to the College. The action of the synod, in refusing to let Schaff accept it, proved thoroughly dispiriting to all. Finally in the fall of 1854, Rev. E. V. Gerhart, president of Heidelberg College, our institution in Ohio, was elected. There was some significance in his election, as he had been away from the East during the bitterness of the Mercersburg controversy. He had expressed himself at Tiffin that the Nevinistic movement had gone too far. A writer in the *Reformed Church Monthly** says that Dr. Gerhart, while at Tiffin, pronounced the Nevinism of that day at variance with the historical faith and practice of the Reformed Church, and it was reported that he was about to prepare a series of articles against it when he was called to the presidency of Franklin and Marshall college. It was thought, therefore, that Gerhart might harmonize the East again, but after he became president he went over fully into the Mercersburg camp. The condition of affairs at the college was so low at the time, that Dr. Gerhart was urged to accept on the ground, that if he did not there was no future for the college. The Theological semi-

*1869, page 404.

nary was closed almost a year, 1853-4, because of Schaff's absence in Europe and because Prof. Wolff had not yet accepted. Thus the period 1853-4 in the college and seminary was dark with difficulties. Another fact then seized upon by their opponents was that one of the incorporators of Franklin and Marshall College was Father Kienan, the Catholic priest of Lancaster. This was spoken of as another straw toward Romanism. The Know-nothing movement was sweeping the country and violent articles appeared against the college because of his connection with it and because of the Romanizing tendencies of the Mercersburg theology. The *Messenger** explains the connection of the Catholic priest with the college by saying it was made by the suggestion of Mr. Buchanan and without the knowledge of the rest of the board; and besides Father Kienan's Church never permitted him to act in that capacity.

SECTION 5. THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH CAROLINA CLASSIS FROM OUR CHURCH.

The next sensation was the action of the classis of North Carolina withdrawing from our Church on account of Mercersburg theology. This classis had become active in the establishment of Catawba College at Newton, N. C.†

This classis had been the first to take action against the liturgy and now was the first to take action against the Mercersburg theology in 1851. It instructed its delegate to vote at this synod for the acceptance of Dr. Nevin's resignation and decided to refuse to give money to missions because of Nevinism. In 1852 it continued its action by declaring that

*August 9, 1854.

†In 1849 the classis first appointed a committee to report on the propriety of establishing a school within the bounds of the classis and under its control. It was opened at Newton, N. C., on December 3, 1851. At first it was under the control of Albert as Principal, assisted by Professor Smith, the latter a graduate of Bowdoin College. The citizens of Newton deeded ten acres of ground and erected a college building and a house for the principal. The classis raised a fund of \$10,000, Rev. J. H. Crawford acting as its agent. In 1860, when Rev. Mr. Vaughn was president, it was proposed to raise \$60,000, and Welker says that if the war had not intervened it could have been raised. But when the war began, the president fled and the buildings were idle and the bonds were cancelled.

unless the synod takes some measures to satisfy the just concern of this classis for the teaching of sound doctrine in the seminary, classis must withdraw her sympathy from the seminary entirely. It appointed no delegates to the synod. In 1853 this movement culminated in the withdrawal of the classis. It had first appointed a committee of three (Welker, Ingold and an elder) to examine into the teachings of Mercersburg and report at the annual meeting of 1853. That committee reported at length and the classis noted five objections to Mercersburg theology :

1. It undermines the Word of God as the only rule of faith by making the Bible subordinate to the Church.

2. It destroys the proper divinity and humanity of Christ by teaching the interpenetration of his nature.

3. It has no need of a personal Holy Spirit, but in his stead introduces "the ideal man" and says that "the Holy Spirit constitutes rather the form in which the higher nature of Christ reveals himself." The great office of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of sinners is transferred to the Church as the continuation of Christ's life.

4. The system attributes to the sacraments a virtue not warranted in the Word of God. They are not "signs of invisible grace" but "the grace exhibited belongs to the sacramental in its own nature." This is different from the Catechism and the Bible, where the great object in the view of the Holy Spirit seems to have been to give no possible occasion for believing in such "objective grace" or force.

5. It assumes a relation to the papacy opposite to the spirit of Protestantism, speaks harshly of Puritanism, but is tender of the "scarlet lady's" feelings. It is Germanized Puseyism, a strange mixture of the infidel philosophy of Germany and Popish superstitions.

"Classis has waited with intense solicitude for some satisfactory action by the German Reformed Church on these departures from sound doctrine. Twice has this classis directed the attention of synod to these errors. Not only has synod failed to take action, but it delights to cherish their authors, retaining and re-electing them as professors. We are told that our Protestantism has no affinity with that of other Evangelical denominations. We are, therefore, left to the alternative of taking our position near the papal apostasy or to be strangers among our brethren or unrecognized in the Church of our fathers."

They therefore passed the following action :

Resolved, That we use all proper means within our power to oppose and counteract these errors.

Resolved, That we use all diligence to raise our institution of learning (Catawba College) to a high position as furnishing a sound and elegant education and also to make it a foundation from which shall issue streams of faith and piety that shall refresh our churches.

Resolved, That we receive no minister into our classis who holds or has any sympathy with the errors of Mercersburg.



CATAWBA COLLEGE

Resolved, That the Classis of North Carolina no longer acknowledges the jurisdiction of the German Reformed Synod of North America, and that we declare ourselves independent of said synod until we are satisfied that said synod has not held or defends the heresies of Mercersburg.*

The synod of 1853 appointed a committee to confer with the classis; but the next year the classis responded to the letter addressed to it by that committee that

It regretted to find in the synod the spirit manifested in its report on the separation, and stated that "this classis has no grounds to justify it in a return to the jurisdiction of the synod,—that until classis is satisfied that synod has withdrawn her virtual endorsement and sympathy from the heresies of Mercersburg, we must remain true to the principles of our position."

*Prof. Albert, the president of Catawba College, seems to have been the only one in the classis in sympathy with Mercersburg theology. After classis had taken this action, he resigned and returned to the North, where later he entered the Episcopal Church.

The classis made overtures to unite with the Dutch Reformed Church in 1855, two of its charges, Newton and Catawba, having made such an overture to the classis. The classis referred the question to the several congregations to ascertain their wishes and also appointed a commissioner to visit the General Synod of the Dutch Church. Dr. Welker was appointed commissioner and Mr. Butler his alternate. Welker was prevented from attending the meeting of the Dutch Synod by sickness. Butler attended the Dutch Synod in the summer of 1855. He was cordially received and the motion was made that the synod reciprocate the fraternal feelings of North Carolina classis and regard with favor the proposed union.

But opposition began to develop in the Dutch Church on the subject of slavery. Rev. Drs. Duryea and Wyckoff opposed the union because slavery would bring discord into the peaceable and harmonious Dutch Church as it had into the Old-School and New-School Presbyterian Churches. Rev. Dr. How championed the cause of North Carolina classis on the floor of the Dutch Synod. He took the ground that slaveholding was not necessarily sinful, quoting 1 Tim. 6:1. Rev. Dr. Duryea one of the few out-and-out abolitionists said, "I would rather carry Dr. Nevin and all his theology on my back all the rest of my life than to give the slightest seeming endorsement to the crime of slavery, with its attendant host of evils." Rev. Mr. Butler replied, but in his statement confessed that three of the ministers of North Carolina classis were slaveholders.

Finding that there was opposition, Mr. Butler asked permission to withdraw the application of his classis. The synod, however, asked Mr. Butler to reconsider the withdrawal of his application and it postponed action until a special session the following October. It passed a resolution that it regarded with gratitude the noble stand of that classis against the errors of the Mercersburg theology and declared it could not let Mr. Butler retire without an expression of kindest feelings and assurance of fraternal sympathy. It commended the classis to the material aid of the Dutch Church (Mr. Crawford had been in New York City collecting for Catawba College the pre-

vious year) and said that their Theological seminary was open to them for the education of their ministers. Rev. Dr. How later published his remarks in a pamphlet, "Slaveholding not Sinful," which was replied to by Rev. H. D. Ganse, in "Bible Slaveholding not Sinful."

At the extra session of the Dutch Synod in October, Dr. Welker appeared from the North Carolina classis. Meanwhile several of the Dutch classis, as Schoharie and Holland, had overtured against the union. On the other hand the classis of Philadelphia had approved of the reception of the classis. At the synod there was a very animated debate between Drs. How, championing the union, and Duryea, who opposed it, mainly on the ground of slavery. Another objection, too, was raised that the classis wanted to come into the Dutch Church without offering to accept the creeds of the Dutch Church in addition to the Heidelberg Catechism. The vote was a close one, 50 against the union to 47 for it. In view of the closeness of the vote, the subject was tabled. Because of the opposition, Welker withdrew the request of his classis, which was granted by a vote of 55 to 34. The North Carolina classis afterwards approved of this action of Welker. Dr. Welker says that those in the Dutch Synod, who were original Dutch, were in favor of the reception of North Carolina classis. But the Church had had a strong infusion of New England abolition element who did not want slavery to trouble them. He says it was probable that the vote would have carried if Dr. Bethune, a Scotch-Irishman, whose fears were awakened for the peace and unity of his church, had not deserted to the opponents. Welker says that after the war the Dutch Church would have been glad to have undone the work done at this synod.

In 1857, Rev. Jesse Rankin appeared before North Carolina classis and presented the resolutions of the Presbyterian synod of North Carolina looking to a closer union. The offer, says Walker, was liberal but it was found that it would divide the classis to accept it, so that matter was dropped. In the meantime the German Reformed synod continued negotiations to get the classis to return but in vain. The synod of 1857

appointed a committee which visited North Carolina in the spring of 1858, Dr. Zacharias being chairman of that committee. As a result, two commissioners appeared at the eastern synod of 1858, Welker and Butler. These commissioners laid before the classis of 1859 the invitation from synod to resume its former relation. The classis almost equally divided four voting for it, six against and two not voting. The Civil War later kept them apart from the North. The matter of union with our synod rested until 1865, when a committee of classis was appointed on the matter. In 1866 it was decided to return to the old synod.

SECTION 6. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF GERMANTOWN AND OF REV. JACOB HELFFENSTEIN.

Rev. Jacob Helffenstein, pastor of our church at Germantown, Pa., decided to follow the example of Dr. Berg and leave our Church; and his congregation prepared to follow him. They had their charter changed April 13, 1853, and finally decided to withdraw and join the New-School Presbyterian Church. This was a more serious loss to our Church even than the withdrawal of Dr. Berg, for in this case it carried the congregation and church-building along. Dr. Helffenstein on leaving (March 27, 1853), preached a very severe sermon against Mercersburg theology, entitled "The Perverted Gospel." He charged Mercersburg theology with five errors, that,—

1. It denied that the Bible and the Bible alone (not tradition) was the religion of Protestantism.

2. It erred in regard to the sacraments in giving them intrinsic efficacy and in holding that outside of the Church there was no salvation.*

3. It denied that the papacy was the great apostasy and declared that all attacks on Romanism were uncharitable.

4. Its publications sanctioned Catholic abominations, as the use of images as helps to devotion and the denial of the Evangelical doctrine of justification.

5. If Mercersburg theology were carried out to its end, it would run into Romanism.

*Principle of Protestantism, page 177.

When his application for dismissal to the New-School Presbyterians came up in the Classis of Philadelphia, there was a severe struggle. An effort was made to get the classis to grant his request for dismissal, but that in doing so, it did not mean to sanction his statements against Mercersburg theology, upon which his request and the action of his church was based. The vote was lost by ten yeas to eleven nays.* The classes then constituted itself a committee of the whole for investigation. This committee arose and reported to classis they could not grant his request. The next day they took action that they could not grant it, because he had not first resigned his charge and because it meant the transfer of the congregation as well as himself. In this, the action of the classis was undoubtedly right constitutionally.

The classis protested against the action of the congregation in leaving our denomination and appointed a committee of vigilance of five members, who were to forward the protest to the Fourth or New-School Presbytery against the reception of the congregation. But the committee on vigilance was never able to do anything because the congregation unanimously supported the pastor in leaving our Church. The Reformed Church of Philadelphia has never gotten over the loss of this church. It has as yet no church in the main part of Germantown, whereas if this congregation had remained with us, there would probably be now two or three.

SECTION 7. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE DUTCH REFORMED GENERAL SYNOD FROM CORRESPONDENCE WITH OUR CHURCH.

The next event was the withdrawal of the Dutch Reformed Church from fraternal relations with our Church. This Church had from the beginning, as we have seen, looked with suspicion on Mercersburg theology. It had withdrawn on this ground from the Triennial Convention in 1847. It now withdrew from all connection with our Church for the same reason. Meanwhile certain events had occurred in connection with the

*Wack, J. Helffenstein, Shenkel, S. Helffenstein, Sr., S. Helffenstein, Jr., and four elders voted for it. Kooker, Ermentrout, Reid, Heffelfinger, Bonekemper and six elders voted against it.

interchange of delegates which led to increasing friction between the synods of the two bodies. Thus the Dutch delegates to our synod of 1851 reported to their General Synod of 1852 that the German Reformed Synod by refusing to accept Nevin's resignation had unanimously sanctioned Nevin's doctrinal views. This report led the next synod of our Church in 1852 to take action declaring that its action of 1851 did not sanction Nevin's views, as no issue like that had been brought before the synod. It protested against the report of the Dutch delegates, that the interchange of delegates did not give those delegates the right to sit in judgment on the synod of the other Church. Because the Dutch General Synod had adopted the report of its delegates, Porter and Hallaway, our synod felt aggrieved and wronged. Still, in spite of what it considered injurious treatment, it appointed delegates to the next Dutch General Synod. Rev. Dr. Porter, one of the Dutch delegates, replied to these charges of our synod, stating that he was present through the debate on Schaff's resignation, and his report was based on Nevin's own words when he said that the action of the synod in Schaff's case meant approval or disapproval of his teachings. Porter was corroborated by his companion, Rev. Dr. Hallaway, who said that Dr. Nevin declared that Schaff made his application to synod not because he wished to resign,—that Nevin said the action would cover the future as well as the past and Schaff would consider himself sustained in pursuing the same line of teaching he had followed. Dr. Porter said he was not present when action was taken on Nevin's resignation, but the rule Nevin laid down for Schaff must apply to Nevin's case also. He also added that the synod by refusing to accept Dr. Nevin's resignation and leaving the position vacant showed its colors on Nevinism. The Dutch General Synod resolved to send only one delegate to the German Synod instead of two delegates as before.

The *Messenger* replied to Porter's remarks that Nevin's remark was not the synod. It declared that the vote of the synod was only on his general orthodoxy, not on his particular views. It said that while the synod never formally

endorsed the views of Nevin, it at the same time did not condemn them.

Berg naively* asks what is meant by "general orthodoxy." A man, it appears, may be generally orthodox and specially heterodox, generally a Protestant and specially a Papist.

At the synod of 1853, Revs. Drs. Harbaugh and S. R. Fisher were present as delegates from our synod. The Dutch Synod decided to discontinue the sending of delegates "because it maintained unflinchingly its Protestantism and its opposition to the Romanizing tendencies of the Mercersburg theology." Before the final action was taken, Harbaugh made an address in which he could not conceal his soreness of feelings in regard to the sentiments of the Dutch. He gave utterance to the phrase "We consider ourselves persecuted and slandered by the secular and religious journals." To this the editor of the *Christian Intelligencer* later replied, denying it, but saying that the press was right and Nevin's views were wrong and closing with an illustration: "A clergyman was once asked by a lady whether she might wear all the finery and ornaments of worldly people, since these were external and showed nothing of the state of the heart." "Why, madam," he answered with much gravity, "when I see the fox's tail sticking from the hole I generally conclude the fox is there."

The action proposed by its committee to the Dutch Synod was adopted as follows: "that as correspondence with the German Reformed Church was the occasion of that body violating the principles of Christian courtesy and charity and the continuance of correspondence would seem to sanction sentiments favorable to Rome, as an expression of disapprobation and protest against it, we withdraw from sending delegates." The general sentiment among the Dutch was that inasmuch as our Church had not repudiated the Mercersburg theology but implicitly endorsed it and tacitly sanctioned it, they must withdraw. After the action, Dr. Fisher made an address in which he gave utterance to some unguarded remarks. He declared that Mercersburg theology was not understood,—

* December 16, 1852, *Christian Intelligencer*.

that Dr. Berg was mistaken at every point. "Time will show," he said, "that the German Church is the church of the Heidelberg Catechism." Ursinus' Commentary was used as a text-book at Tiffin and Dick's Theology at Mercersburg. He spoke slightly of the North Carolina classis. He said that our Church had its difficulties and he was not disposed to cloak them. "But," he added, "we will have our difficulties until our Church is free from all those men who made all the trouble. All that we wish of all those who trouble us is that they will every one just quietly leave us." This ill-advised remark of Fisher was later severely criticised by Heiner, who was one referred to. This suspension of correspondence between the Dutch Church and ours lasted twenty years, until the Tercentenary (1863).

SECTION 7. THE SYNOD OF 1853.

The last act of this part of the controversy occurred at the Synod of 1853. Rev. Dr. Zacharias, of Frederick, Md., brought charges against Rev. S. R. Fisher, the editor of the *Messenger*, for refusing to publish articles against the Mercersburg theology. Rev. Dr. Heiner, of Baltimore, brought a similar charge against both editors. The case of Zacharias came up first. He charged Fisher with endorsing and vindicating the views of Nevin and others, about which there were many conflicting opinions among the ministers and members of our Church. He charged him with abusing his position as editor by refusing to give the opponents of the Mercersburg theology a hearing through the columns of the paper,—by allowing abusive and slanderous articles against individuals of the Church, and yet refusing them an opportunity to answer,—by allowing articles with a Romanizing tendency and by holding up Protestantism in such a way as to raise doubts and by keeping its readers in the dark as to the true nature of the situation in regard to the controversy. Zacharias stoutly maintained his charges before synod. He said he knew S. R. Fisher's heart was right but he was in the hands of others,—a remark at which Dr. Fisher took mortal

offense. But the synod sustained Fisher by an almost unanimous vote, Aurand alone voting for Zacharias.

A friend of Dr. Zacharias speaks* of the Synod of 1853 as a turbulent synod and how terribly in earnest he was then and the greatness of his mortification and chagrin at his defeat.

Heiner's complaint was declared out of order, but the committee offered to go on with it nevertheless. He, however, asked leave to withdraw it, for the action of the synod on the Zacharias case virtually settled his case against him. Zacharias felt this decision for many years. He had a resolution adopted by his consistory in opposition to the *Messenger*. His church stood by him and gave no aid for the institutions of the Church as late as 1863, for when the Tercentenary offering was made, his congregation did nothing. It was not until the General Synod of Dayton in 1866 that he became more friendly to the Mercersburg men.

The synod also appointed a committee to act on the articles published in the *Christian Intelligencer* by a "member of the German Reformed Church," reflecting on its character. Dr. Heiner at once arose and avowed himself the author. The committee reported that the contents of the articles were calculated to do great injustice and injury to the Church and that the author was censurable. It, however, referred the case to his classis so as to give him an opportunity for retraction or explanation. "Harbaugh," says A Member of the German Reformed Church in the *Lutheran Observer* of December 9, 1853, "was the leader against Heiner. He had intended also to prosecute Douglass for his relation to slavery, but Heiner gave him to understand as to his reception south of Mason's and Dixon's line on the subject."

The treatment of Dr. Heiner by the synod raised a storm of protest from his congregation. His consistory met November 4, and took action against the synod, declaring its action disorderly and irregular, contrary to all the just principles of action and a violation of the spirit of the synod's constitution. It said the original report of the committee, as drawn

**Christian World*, September 3, 1874.

up by Harbaugh, was referred to by Bomberger as being too hot, "there being too much of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace in it." They assured Heiner of their undiminished confidence in him and they protested against the action of the Synod. They declared that the synod had prejudiced Heiner's case in order to silence him and destroy his usefulness.

On November 9th a large congregational meeting was held, 400 or 500 being present. The congregation endorsed the action of the consistory approving of Heiner's course. One member, a Mr. Super, offered a paper looking to suspension of correspondence with the synod, but this was admitted to be premature, both by Heiner and most of the congregation.

The classis of Maryland took up Dr. Heiner's case at its next annual meeting and took the following action:

"Whereas, The Classis of Maryland does not regard the language of the resolution of synod in reference to Dr. Heiner as implying a censure; and

Whereas, Dr. Heiner has availed himself of the opportunity and given satisfactory explanation, Therefore the classis deems it unnecessary to take any farther action on the subject.

This was reported to the next synod and the matter dropped. But it is very evident the congregation was very near the spirit of secession. As a result it tried some years later to go over to the Dutch Church.

This synod also appointed a committee on North Carolina classis. This committee reported that this classis could not withdraw without the will of the synod, and that its action was schismatic. But instead of taking severe measures, it appointed a committee to address a letter to the classis, pointing out their fault and exhorting them to repentance. Another matter that came before the synod was the acceptance by Dr. Wolff of the theological professorship. He very much desired to be relieved from the responsibilities of the position, but synod insisted on his acceptance. He, however, did not accept until February 27, 1854. And as Dr. Schaff went to Europe late in 1853, the seminary was closed for about twelve months. The financial aspect of the seminary was dark. When Schaff went abroad there was considerable

arrears due him; new students were slow to come, as it was not known what would be the fate of the seminary as to professors. Confidence had been lost and indifference prevailed. The only ray of hope was a legacy of \$10,000 that came to them just at this time from Daniel Kieffer, of Berks County. One of the reasons why Wolff hesitated was his aversion to burdening the Church with the expense of his support.

SECTION 8. THE RUMORS OF DR. NEVIN'S GOING OVER TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Rumors were current to the effect that Dr. Nevin would follow his teachings in his articles on "Early Christianity" and "Cyprian" and go into the Romish Church. This fact has been denied by Appel, Nevin's biographer,* where he says such a thing was a moral impossibility for a man of his vigorous and spiritual constitution. Rev. A. R. Kremer, the author of "A Short Life of Dr. Nevin," echoes this saying.† "The charge of Romanizing made against him is entirely gratuitous." Let us see whether they are right. Rev. D. S. Schaff, in his Biography of his father Dr. Schaff, says‡ Dr. Nevin's contributions to the *Mercersburg Review* started the expectation in circles outside the Reformed Church that he might pass over to Rome. He quotes a letter written by Rev. J. Beck to his father, November 25, 1852, thus: "the general opinion of you (Dr. Schaff) is that you are a sound orthodox champion of Protestantism but of Dr. Nevin that he must go to Rome, driven there by the overwhelming force of his own logic and the fatal concession he has made." This was written not by an enemy of Dr. Nevin but by one who had been his pupil and was always a strong supporter.

That this fear was not merely a rumor is shown by several facts:

1. Dr. Schaff's statement in the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany, in which he declared that Dr. Nevin in his un-

*Life of Nevin, page 410.

†Page 192.

‡Pages 199-200.

certain state of mind did not feel that he was in a proper frame of mind to guide young men for the Protestant ministry. This comes with force because it was the statement of Nevin's colleague and bosom-friend.

2. Nevin corroborates this statement of Schaff as to his state of mind, in his letter declining the presidency of Franklin and Marshall College, where he speaks of "his theological and religious conscience, which reach such uncertain distance into the future and the bearing of which it is impossible beforehand to calculate and foresee." Evidently his mind was uncertain at that time.

3. In the summer of 1852, a committee was sent by the Alumni Association, consisting of Revs. Joseph Clark and G. B. Russell, to interview Dr. Nevin as to his position in regard to these rumors. Nevin did not hesitate to say that he was still "an inquirer for the truth." Dr. Russell says he went away from the interview with Dr. Nevin with a distressed and foreboding heart.* Not long after, says Dr. Russell, he told me in a private way that he was now fully satisfied to stand on the Protestant position. But this language implies that he had been undecided before.

4. Mr. Rudolph Kelker told the writer that on one occasion, Prof. B. C. Wolff was sitting at his table at dinner. There had been no previous conversation on the subject, but suddenly Dr. Wolff burst out with the remark, "Well, Dr. Nevin is not going to Rome." Mr. Kelker, surprised, inquired what he meant. He added, "Dr. Nevin is not going to Rome. He has yielded to the influence of his friends and will remain in the Reformed Church."

5. One of the leading ministers of our Church told the writer that at that time he was earnestly urged by a near relative of Dr. Nevin's to use all his influence to keep Dr. Nevin from going over to Rome.†

*See *Fourscore Years and More*, by Dr. Russell, page 91.

†Rev. Eli Keller, D.D., November, 1854, in writing to his father, says a rumor had reached the Theological seminary at Mercersburg that Dr. Nevin had burned his theological writings and it cast a gloom over the whole institution.

In addition to these it is to be noticed that the first of a number of our ministers and members who went to Rome as the result of Mercersburg theology, Mr. Snively, a student of the Theological seminary at Mercersburg, went over to Rome in 1854. Mercersburg classis, June 7, 1854, tries hard to gloss over his departure by stating he had gone to "another connection."

The Wachter, twenty-six years after, says that in a private lecture Nevin then said that if he had to choose between the communion of the old Catholic fathers and the Reformers he would choose the former. In his theological lectures it says it was declared that a man is no farther justified than he is sanctified. Rev. Mr. Stern says that for five years after his resignation from the theological seminary, Dr. Nevin lingered on the borders of Rome. Some polemist on the other side in the later liturgical controversy calls this period Dr. Nevin's "five years of dizziness." And yet Dr. Schaff was afterwards made the scape-goat by the Mercersburg men for the perversion of a number of later perverts to Rome, which Dr. Schaff indignantly denied.

The truth was that Dr. Nevin's logic nearly carried him off his feet. His continual depreciation of Protestantism, his exaltation of the visible Church in Catholicism and his emphasis on the objective whether in the church or the sacraments, all prepared him to tend that way. In his philosophical position he followed Schelling but his high-church views came from Pusey and Klieforth. But Dr. Schaff, whose philosophical principles were those rather of Hegel and who laid less emphasis on the objective but rather on relative idealism, stood firm, although there is no doubt that at times his language and his counsel to his students was very unguarded. It is to Dr. Nevin's credit that he did not yield to Rome and enter the Catholic Church,—that he regained his balance and remained in the Protestant Church. But this period of his Romanizing tendency left a lasting and unfortunate influence on our Church-life, in ritualism on the part of his friends and the lack of confidence on the part of his opponents. He continued in our ministry until his

death, doing valuable service as president of Franklin and Marshall College for ten years.

SECTION 9. REVIEW OF THE CONTROVERSY.*

This controversy as viewed from the standpoint of a half-century later reveals some interesting phases. It was a real controversy. Mere personalities will never explain it, although they may have entered into it in a minor way. Men divided on great issues. Drs. Nevin and Schaff, it is true, tried to make it appear that it was a mere personal matter—a quarrel between Berg and the Helffensteins on the one side and the Mercersburg men on the other. That it was a controversy involving great principles is shown by the fact that Berg and Helffenstein passed out of our Church and yet the controversy continued. It was therefore a controversy about fundamentals. It was ably conducted and yet there were misrepresentations and mistakes in it, as in all controversies.

1. Dr. Nevin, for instance, thought that he had laid hold of German philosophy and so he had, but a Scotchman cannot do so fully; for a Scotchman is not a German. He viewed the idealistic German philosophy (which he supposed he accepted) with realistic Scotch eyes. Very naturally he became a Schellingite in his emphasis on the objective and the reality of externals. We have seen how Dr. Schaff, a genuine German, was more of a German idealist, as indeed had been Rauch. It was this emphasis of Nevin on the objective in regard to the Church and the sacraments that nearly led him to Rome.

2. Again, Dr. Nevin raised up a number of false issues,—of men of straw who did not exist. In the intensity of his conviction and the extremity of his logic, he declared that Protestantism, especially Puritanism, was rationalistic and that they made the Church and the sacraments meaningless. This was not true. The Evangelicals were not rationalists nor did they make the Church and sacraments a mere form. They believed in the divinity of Christ and all the funda-

*For a contrasted summary of the two theologies (Mercersburg and Old Reformed), see pages 587-94 of this book.

mental doctrines. His own statements blinded his judgment to a just decision.

3. Again, he made a mistake in severely attacking Protestantism, especially the evil of its sects, while at the time he apologized for Romanism and magnified its positions. Dr. Nevin's idea at first was not to go over to Rome (as he so nearly did afterwards), but it was an honest attempt to save Protestantism from rationalism by the doctrine of historical development. If he had kept that doctrine within the limits set by Neander (who got it from Hegel) and had not permitted Puseyism in England or Rothe in Germany to affect him, he would have been saved from the extremes to which his high-churchism led him. Though not a Romanist, he was Romanizing in his influence on the following points:

1. The Church was virtually placed above the Bible.
2. The Church came between the believer and Christ.
3. He emphasized the visible church and minimized the invisible church until it amounted to nothing.
4. He held to objective sacramental grace.

His theory of the historical development of the Church from Apostolic times through the Catholic Church of the middle ages was in error in its undue emphasis on the visible church. This, of course, was due to his philosophical emphasis on the objective. The old Reformed view was to leap over the Middle Ages and make the Reformation a return to the Apostolic Church. It made the New Testament and its age the norm. In the nineteenth century there came a conflict between this view and the new philosophy which emphasized the historical. This new philosophy demanded a connection between the Reformation and Apostolic Christianity. It was not merely a leap across the Middle Ages but a succession, but where was the succession? The Catholic Church was quick to see her opportunity and ask where was Protestantism before the Reformation? Nevin answered this by saying it was in the Roman Catholic Church, out of which it developed. Here he was wrong. The historic succession lay in the invisible Church of the Middle Ages, which, like leaven, had leavened the Catholic Church and some of the

sects. But Dr. Nevin refused to grant that there was an invisible Church or so minimized it that it amounted to nothing. Yet the invisible Church is a Scriptural view and had as real an existence in the Middle Ages as the visible. It was through it that the historic succession came to us in these later days, if historic succession be a necessary thing, as perhaps it is when viewed from a merely human standpoint. Nevin's opponents did not care for the merely historic standpoint, because they went back to the Church of the Bible. The Reformation had gone back to the Bible, and they went back to the Church of the Bible. What came between Bible times and the Reformation they cared little about. Nevin's articles on Cyprian and Early Christianity were beside the mark in defending the Church of the second to the fourth centuries. About these, as Berg said, there was no controversy; for the old Reformed went back to the first century instead of the second to the fourth.

Unfortunately for Dr. Nevin, a number of allied articles appeared to prejudice men at that time against him, as Harbaugh's on the public school question, and Schaff's on probation after death, all of which looked like tendencies toward the positions of Rome.

4. Dr. Nevin was charged with pantheizing. This does not come out so prominently yet,* but pantheizing views will appear in the later development of Mercersburg theology, although there are hints at it already.

5. He was charged with rationalizing. He charges his opponents with rationalism; they retorted by charging it on him. Dr. Nevin was a supernaturalist himself in belief, but his methods were an inheritance from pantheistic rationalism. Organism was the word by which he conjured. Everything, every doctrine must be organic. But this making everything to be organic was rationalism in the last issue, for it put everything under law. The organic means that it lives and grows by its own forces according to the laws of its own being. But put-

*A fundamental error of Nevin was his psychology—what constitutes a person. Like Hegel and his pantheizing school, he tends to the identification of body and soul in us and of the divine and the human in Christ.

ting everything, even God, thus under law, was ultimately pantheistic. It allowed no room for God working as he wills in the laws of nature. The supernatural was reduced to the natural.

Again, the relation of God to us in salvation was not organic in his sense. God's relation to us through the Holy Spirit is not organic, i. e. through law; for the Holy Spirit as divine is above law. He works when, where and how he wills. He works in the laws, through them and above them. The Holy Spirit can not be reduced to mere law for he is a free being.

Again, he combined the Holy Spirit and sacramental acts which reduced the activity of the Spirit and lowered his position. The relation between the Holy Spirit and us (or as he emphasized it, between Christ and us) is not the less real because not organic. There is something more real than an organism (although the latter plays a great part in nature), and that is Deity. Organism may be a law of the natural but not of the supernatural. God is not an organism. He is above law, even above the laws of his own being, because infinite. Nor are his relations merely organic. They are the free acts of an infinite being, in whose acts all reality consists and upon whom all relations depend.

6. Dr. Nevin also was mistaken in his views of the incarnation—that Christ took universal humanity. If Christ took universal humanity as Adam had it, he must either have taken the old universal humanity or a new one. If he took a new one it would not be like Adam's. But then Christ did not take our human nature upon himself, but a new human nature, which is contrary to the New Testament. So Nevin and the Mercersburg theology therefore held that Christ took our *old* universal humanity. But how did he get it? i. e., the universal humanity that was in Adam. It had been scattered through an infinite number of Adam's descendants, some of them on earth, some in heaven, some in hell. To gather it up again, those in heaven and hell would have had to come back, which is an absurdity. It may be said by them that he took the individual humanity of Mary and changed it into universal humanity in himself at his conception by the

Holy Spirit. But the Scripture makes no mention of this. As far as we can see he took not generic but individualized humanity—the humanity that was in Mary as an individual. He is said by Scripture to be the “son of Abraham,” the “son of David, the seed of Mary, but Abraham, David and Mary had only individualized humanity. The Bible is also careful in its statements to show that the body and soul of Christ belonged not to all men but especially to himself alone,—thus he says “this is *my* body”—“the bread which I will give is *my* flesh.” (See Crawford on the Atonement, pages 311-317.) Our Heidelberg Catechism is also against Nevin’s generic humanity of Christ, for it, like the Bible, says he was “of the flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary and of the true seed of David.”

This corner-stone of generic humanity in Nevin’s system is false and with it the whole structure falls to the ground. Salvation is not, as Nevin holds, exactly like original sin in its methods. We inherited sin but no man inherits salvation, for salvation is accepted only by a free act on our part. Salvation is a “gift,” and not “wages,” as in the case of sin. “The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life.” The connection between salvation and us is not natural as between sin and us, but it is supernatural. The method of salvation, instead of being like everything else organic, is the great exception, is above nature. It is a gift and must be accepted by our free act. On this view all the great so-called doctrines of grace depend.

In the main we agree with Dr. Berg in his positions against Nevin and yet in doing so we do not do it blindly and there are some corrections to be made.

1. We are doubtful whether Dr. Berg ever thoroughly understood Nevin’s realism in philosophy. Here was the fundamental point—the philosophy that was underlying the theology. There was, however, little attack on that point by either Berg or Helffenstein. Their attack was mainly Biblical and practical. That Dr. Berg understood German and German philosophy we believe, but his method of thought was the opposite of German realism. It was like all the Federal

theology, nominalistic. Nominalists often fail to grasp realistic positions, and he labored under this difficulty. Some of Nevin's views were misunderstood by him, though in the main he was correct in his inferences and results, although he might have used different arguments had he taken Nevin's philosophical standpoint more into consideration.

2. In regard to tradition. Dr. Berg often misunderstood Nevin. He charged Nevin with holding to the Catholic view of *ecclesiastical* tradition as authoritative. But Nevin meant by this, because of his realism and historical development, only *historical* tradition. This meant that in history the Catholic Church had carried down with it certain views, as its endorsement of the canon of Scripture, etc., and this fact gave authority. Nevin did not refer so much to the ecclesiastical side of the Catholic tradition as to the *historic* side, although there is a likeness between the two. Schaff guards himself by making a distinction between the different kinds of tradition, and yet as the controversy ran on he and Nevin emphasized more and more the visible Church,—Nevin virtually in effect began to assert the very things which Berg charged to him.

3. In regard to Dr. Berg's theory of the historic succession of the Protestants through the early sects, as the Albigenses, Waldenses, etc., in order to connect the Reformation with the Apostolic Church, he is clearly wrong. That view has since been entirely given up. It erred in limiting the historic succession to what was outside of the Catholic Church. The difficulty is to establish the connection between these sects as the links are missing. He should not have limited the historic succession to those sects outside of the Church but taken the true view that the historic succession lay in the genuine Christians within the Church as well as in the sects outside of it,—that all who belong to the invisible Church and were true Christians connected us historically with the Early Church. That some of these erred somewhat in rites and doctrine does not impair their Christian character. Thus Augustine, though a high sacramentarian, was Evangelical on the

doctrines of sin and grace; for when the head was wrong, the heart was right and the Evangelical fundamentals were more powerful than the errors. The true view of historic succession is through the invisible Church, which though invisible is still very visible in the lives of the men who have been actors in the history of the Church. But after all, historic succession plays a very small part as far as authority is concerned, for according to all the Reformed creeds the Bible is the rule of faith and practice.

4. As to the Pope being Antichrist and the Catholic Church, the Mother of Harlots, etc., we believe that Berg went too far in pressing this side. Still the times in which he lived are to be remembered. Polemics were then in the air even between Protestants, how much more so with the Catholics. Catholics had just attacked our public school system. There had been riots. Feeling ran high. No wonder most of the Protestants were bitter against Rome. But times have changed and we live in an irenic age. Polemics between Protestant bodies have ceased. The Romish Church is accorded its rights. And yet with all the change of sentiment, care must be taken that we do not give up fundamentals. The Catholic Church still has great and grave errors and sanctions them with all its authority.

The Pope is Antichrist in so far as he sets himself up against God by being God on earth, by taking the place of Christ or of the Holy Spirit, who is God's Vicar on earth. This false doctrine has been especially held since the promulgation of the papal infallibility, which, however, had not taken place in the early days of the Mercersburg theology. He is Antichrist in so far as he opposes the Evangelical gospel—the doctrines of grace which are fundamental. But he is not the only Antichrist. There are others to-day. Rationalism is another, mere secularism is another, etc. Antichrist is any power against true Christianity. We believe that Dr. Berg emphasized the Pope as Antichrist too much and yet there is a truth in what he said, but truer to-day than then. It needs but a visit to Papal lands of Southern Europe or South and Central America to see its idolatry and opposition to Evan-

gelical views, all of which are endorsed by the Pope and the Church.

In a word, Dr. Berg and his adherents in the main represent old Reformed theological views combatting the new theology which had come up through Nevin and Schaff. Doctrinally their views were like those of their predecessors, the Fathers of our Church of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, of Weyberg, Hendel, Helffrich, the Helffensteins and others. The men who opposed Nevin at first were not the lesser lights of the Church but its leaders, the Helffensteins all of them (Samuel, father and son, Alfred and Jacob), together with Berg, Wack, Heiner, Zacharias, Mesiek, Mayer and others. They aimed to keep up the old historic theology of the German Reformed Church in our country; while Nevin aimed at the historic development of that Church into something new. They emphasized the permanent principles in it—were conservative, whereas Mercersburg Theology emphasized the changeable and progressive and was a theology new to the Church.

A brief summary may now be given as a guide to the fundamental differences between the Old Reformed views and those of Mercersburg theology. It was not merely a controversy of personalities but had regard to great principles. These were in the main three,—

1. On doctrine. We have already stated the difference on this point.

2. On worship, Mercersburg was liturgical, the Old Reformed were semi-liturgical.

3. On constitution, Mercersburg held to aristocratic Presbyterianism, the Old Reformed to democratic Presbyterianism.

These fundamental differences ramified out in many directions as we shall see as we follow the history in the succeeding pages.

As a result of the Mercersburg theology, not only did Berg and Helffenstein leave our Church, the latter taking a fine congregation with him, but Rev. Alfred Nevin resigned the Reformed Church at Chambersburg and went back to the Presbyterians, Jamison left the theological seminary and went

over to the Dutch, the Phoenixville congregation under Fulton declared itself independent because of Nevinism, and finally Mesick began to find that in his congregation at Harrisburg there was an influential minority favorable to Mercersburg and against him. So he resigned and returned to the Dutch Church.

At the close of this controversy the old Reformed element was quiet. Its leaders, Berg and Helffenstein, had left the Church. Those who remained, as Heiner and Zacharias, were silenced. The Western Church remained in the main true to the old Reformed faith, but Mercersburg theology seemed to control everything in the East. It remains, however, to be seen whether the old Reformed consciousness would again assert itself. For there were those in the Church who did not wish to make the break with the seminary and its professors but were out of all sympathy with the extreme views of Nevin and Schaff. It remained for another issue to develop this latent old Reformed consciousness. It came, as we shall see, in the later liturgical controversy. Some one asks, Why did not Berg and this first movement against Nevin prove successful? The answer is, because the full import of the Mercersburg theology did not break on the mind of the Church in its full development until the liturgical controversy which did not begin till 1858. If the forces in the Church, which later rose against Nevinism, had joined hands with Berg and his sympathizers, the extremes of Nevinism at least would have been checked and perhaps the whole movement stopped.

BOOK II.

The First Liturgical Controversy (1854-1863).

CHAPTER I.

LITURGICAL PREPARATION FOR THE CONTROVERSY.

First came the doctrinal controversy (1845-53), then the liturgical (1857-1878). And between the two there were about four years of quiet. During that time there was no controversy, but there were certain premonitions of it.

SECTION 1. THE FIRST REQUEST FOR A LITURGY.

The first request for a liturgy came from East Pennsylvania classis in 1847. This beginning of a movement, which was destined to have such far-reaching results in our Church, was quite interesting and significant. Rev. Wm. Helffrich* says that at the East Pennsylvania classis of 1847 he spoke to Revs. Hoffeditz, Dubbs and Reubelt, asking whether the Palatinate Liturgy could not be printed by our Publication House and he asked Dubbs to request classis to petition synod to get a new edition of the Palatinate Liturgy printed. It seems, however, that it was Rev. Max Stern, who made this motion or overture to synod, "That this classis is not satisfied with the liturgy in use at present (Mayer Liturgy), and requests the synod either to have the old liturgy printed or to publish another prepared in the spirit of our catechism." Mr. Stern later declared that he never dreamed of such a liturgy as was later published. Indeed, he became a most outspoken opponent of Nevin, Schaff and the liturgical party. His idea in 1847, he says, was either a reprint of the Pala-

*Autobiography 270.

tinate Liturgy or a liturgy like it. He never dreamt of a responsive liturgy like those published by the liturgical party.

At the synod of 1847, this overture provoked much discussion and many motions were made upon it. The Church unconsciously seemed to feel that it was on the eve of a great crisis if it once entered on this subject. Some contended that the overture was premature and that it would be better to wait until the Church was ready to move unitedly on this subject. But the synod finally referred the whole matter to the several classes for their consideration.

The synod of 1848 received the reports of the actions of the classes. Appel,* in his zeal for the liturgy, overstates the result when he says that the classes with one exception favored the onward movement for a liturgy. The truth was that only three classes favored it,—East Pennsylvania, Goshenhoppen and Zion's. Philadelphia classis recommended the reprinting of the Palatinate Liturgy with such improvements and corrections as were necessary. Virginia classis recommended to synod to postpone action for one year, that in the meantime the subject might be discussed by a committee appointed by synod, so that the members of the Church might be informed on the subject. Maryland classis revealed a clear dividing line between the older and the younger ministers, the latter revealing the liturgical influence on them in the seminary. It compromised between them by favoring a liturgy but one that should be Biblical and in harmony with the catechism and the German Reformed Church. Lebanon, Susquehanna and Mercersburg seem to have taken no action. New York sent no minutes. North Carolina classis was the only one to declare positively against it,—that it did not consider it judicious to have any liturgy enforced upon the Church. Thus three classes favored a liturgy, two wanted a particular kind of liturgy—the Palatinate or a Reformed liturgy, one opposed the liturgy and four seemed to care nothing about it. This does not bear out Dr. Appel's statement that there was a great desire for mere liturgical services. Evidently the desire for a liturgy was a limited one,

*Life of Nevin, 481.

and there was much difference of opinion on the subject. The Synod refused the request of Virginia classis, which has its significance,—it seems to show that it did not care to have too much discussion on account of the difference of opinion at that time. The synod finally referred the whole matter, together with the actions of the different classes to a committee consisting of Bomberger, Zacharias and Mesick, with two elders.

At the synod of 1849, Bomberger, the chairman of the committee, reported, stating:

1. That the liturgical form of worship as recognized by our forefathers had a clear sanction of the practice and peculiar genius of the Protestant Churches.

2. There is nothing in the present circumstance of our Church in this country to call for or to justify a total departure from this well-established usage.

3. That the present liturgy is inadequate to our wants as apart from its other deficiencies, it makes no provision for the ordinary occasions of public worship.

4. The older liturgies of the Church and especially that of the Palatinate are of such a character as to commend large portions of them for adoption; yet there is need for various modifications in order to adapt them fully to our needs and circumstances.

5. That synod proceed to make necessary arrangements to secure a liturgy.

The subject of the liturgy was discussed for nearly two days after the reading of the report. Says the *Messenger*, objections were raised to the reception of the report as that the committee had not had a meeting. The chairman replied that he had written to each member desiring them to give him their views. One member declined acting altogether, the other did not reply until very recently,—he therefore thought that if the members of the committee did not feel sufficiently interested to even write a letter, much less could he expect a personal meeting because of the distance they would have to travel. Dr. Zacharias at once replied that he supposed Bomberger referred to him, for he had found it convenient to write, and he knew that he and Bomberger would not agree in their views. He said he could not unite in the report.

(He seems, therefore, to have been opposed to a forward movement on the liturgy.) In the debate on the first item, Samuel Helffenstein, Jr., wanted to know what kind of a liturgy was intended, high or low. Bomberger said a medium liturgy. Zacharias also inquired in the same strain as Helffenstein, saying that if only a liturgy for the sacraments and occasional forms were intended, they were all agreed. The first resolution was then passed, and so was the second without debate. On the third item, a debate arose. Douglass opposed it because he wanted free prayer. Bomberger replied by saying that the Reformed Churches in Europe had forms of prayer for the regular services. Ingold, of North Carolina, said that if a liturgy were adopted it would put read-prayer before free-prayer. Naille asked, "if I read another man's prayer, is it I that pray or the composer?" Berg, who, like Bomberger, then favored the liturgy, replied, "if I sing another man's hymns, is it I that sing or the composer?" Naille objected because all the prayers must be read. Welker, from North Carolina, said that "a liturgy instead of producing uniformity of worship would produce the opposite. The southern churches would not accept the liturgy." Bernard Wolff spoke on the other side, that the liturgy would be a safeguard against errors in the pulpit by being orthodox and doctrinal. Sechler wanted a liturgy like the old Reformed liturgy. The resolution was then adopted.

On the fourth item Nevin said that he had originally been opposed to the liturgy but was now surprised at his earlier prejudices. He said if the Church does not feel the need of it, it ought not to enter into it. Schaff was strongly in favor of it, basing it on the universal priesthood of all believers (a far different view from what was advocated later by them on the special priesthood of the ministry.—A.) But he repudiated the idea that the liturgy would be a barrier to free prayer. The Reformed Churches of the Continent had never been restricted in worship, least of all the German Reformed. The church service was to be both liturgical and free. Berg spoke in favor of a liturgy, for he said that as a Moravian in his early life, he had been accustomed to it. Ingold and

Welker asked Berg whether there was not a danger lurking somewhere in liturgical movements. Berg replied, "no, it will be a Reformed liturgy." Heiner also spoke in favor of a liturgy. The report was then adopted in full. Schneck then proposed a resolution that a committee be appointed to whom should be referred the whole subject of the proposed liturgy to report a plan or outline at the next meeting of the synod. The committee was expected to examine the various liturgies of the Reformed Churches and the literature relating to this subject and specify as far as possible the forms needed and furnish specimens called for by the circumstances of our Church.

It is very evident that all in the synod, as Zacharias had said, were willing to have a liturgy with forms for only special occasions, as the sacraments, marriage, etc., but the point of difference seems to have been whether a liturgy, which had also forms for the Sabbath services of the Church, was needed. Even the friends of the liturgy, however, said that the use of such forms was not intended to preclude free prayer. Bomberger, who drew up the report, says later that the report was a vindication of liturgical forms and emphasized the fact that "liturgical forms were recognized by the Fathers of our Church," and it pointed out the old Palatinate as our true ideal and as furnishing the larger portion of the material needed in the preparation of the work. Prof. J. H. Good,* of Tiffin, said afterwards† that the action of this synod was threefold:

1. It endorsed the Palatinate Liturgy as the basis of Reformed liturgies.
2. Nevin was already prepared to denounce a pulpit liturgy.‡
3. The synod was harmonious in its action.

North Carolina classis in reviewing the acts of this synod, says: "This classis heartily disapproves of any action of the synod making the use of any liturgy binding upon ministers and churches.

*Uncle of the writer and later professor of theology at Tiffin.

†See *Christian World*, October 9, 1868.

‡See pages 227-9 of this book.

The Ohio Synod of that year also had an overture in favor of a liturgy. This was brought before it by the Westmoreland classis, which asked it to unite with the Eastern synod in the preparation of such a liturgy as will meet the needs of the various parts of Christian worship. But the Ohio synod indefinitely postponed action by a vote of 14 to 4. The Ohio synod evidently was then not favorable to a liturgy or to any agitation of the subject.

SECTION 2. THE EARLY POSITION OF DR. NEVIN ON THE LITURGY.

About Dr. Nevin's early position in regard to the liturgy, there seems to be some difference of opinion, some holding that he was not at first favorable to a liturgy. We do not, however, find that this is borne out by the facts. His sermon on the Church preached at the synod of 1846 has a significant statement showing that he was then inclined toward a liturgy. He says,

"The sense of the objective must ever create a demand for liturgical worship. A subjective unchurchly piety has no sense of the liturgical principle. * * * We have a liturgy, only it is not much used. Here is a contradiction which needs to be cured. There is perhaps no subject more entitled at this time to the serious attention of the German Reformed Church."

Two years later,* Nevin, in an article on Liturgical Worship, asks whether all worship is not liturgical? He then goes on to say that

"in the common mind, worship is not always used in the same sense, thus in the closet there is worship which no one speaks of as liturgical. Again, worship may be silent as well as audible, whereas a liturgy refers only to the latter. To call liturgical forms of prayer crutches is superficial or to set formal worship over against special worship is unsatisfactory. Liturgical worship means something deeper than this. A good liturgy may be unliturgically used, as the Wesleyans of England use the Book of Common Prayer—the liturgy is external. A minister or a congregation may be unliturgical in feeling or a liturgy itself may be unliturgical. On the other hand, free worship may bear a liturgical

**Reformed Church Messenger*, February 9, 1848.

character. All public worship ought to be liturgical whether free or with prescribed forms. Our Church at present calls for an earnest consideration of the question; but we must dread action without due reflection. Better to remain in our present confused state than to manufacture a new liturgy without a liturgical spirit."

He said that he had no plan except to call attention to the necessity of a liturgical feeling before the preparation of a liturgy. Our Church recognizes the principle of a liturgy as necessary and good, which Puritanism does not.

He cannot avoid, at the end of this article, in a note, making a playful reference to Dr. Berg (the leading low-churchman) for having worn a gown in his church, which, however, Berg soon laid aside because he found some opposition in his congregation. Nevin says he wanted to show the inconsistency of Berg's unchurchly views with such a churchly dress. His reference, however, to this gave offence, although Berg afterward replies that the gown was not introduced at his own suggestion but at the solicitation of others, to which he gave consent because the gown seemed a badge of conservatism. He, however, reminded Nevin that any remarks about his gown came with poor grace from him. He says, "You advocate the use of the toga and then pull at my skirts when I put it on. I must say you are difficult to please."

Nevin writes another article* on liturgical worship. He says:

"some might say that the question he suggests takes a much wider scope than was directly intended by the Synod in referring the liturgy to the classes, as the synod did not refer the question of liturgical worship in general but only so much as had to do with *forms for special occasions and nothing further was contemplated.*" He says that the majority of the synod had in mind only the settlement of suitable offices for special occasions as baptism, etc., under some form so as to make them binding on the Church. His judgment then was against any action beyond these limits. The question regards the right and judgment of our liturgical services within the range already recognized in our church practices as desirable and proper; but all this had no bearing on the point he now urges—the need of a liturgical feeling. The extent of the liturgy was one thing, its spirit and the principle another. If only one form was prepared, as for the Lord's Supper or burial, it ought to be animated by a true liturgical character. The question is not the quantity but the quality of worship. He deprecated a form too didactic and for only pious reflection, owing no connection with the worship of other ages, cold, mechanical, destitute of genuine church spirit. He speaks against the mere use of occasional forms as low views of a

**Messenger*, March 29.

liturgy, although he confesses that this kind of a liturgy was the kind used by the fathers of the Reformed Church. "Still a formulary of prayers for special occasions seems to us a very good thing, provided it be valued and used only as a help at such times and as our Fathers here have set an example which we may naturally be expected to follow."

Nevin has another article in the *Mercersburg Review* at the end of 1849 on the liturgical movement. He says:

"It was a matter of congratulation that at last so auspicious a commencement had been made in this movement as the appointment of a committee. The action of the synod had thrown open the whole liturgical question to a free discussion. (This was what had been suggested to the Synod of 1848 by Virginia Classis and not approved by that Synod.—A.)* No one fears discussion, as the Church will never be hurried into a liturgy. He said that there were two necessities:

1. That if we were to have a liturgy, it is of the utmost consequence that we have a good one.

2. That there ought to be more general inward preparation for the use of one in its proper form. The danger is of an unripe liturgy. "Everything depends on the right starting point." This was the part of the article that J. H. Good† said contained the germ of his high-church liturgical views.

It is very evident from these quotations that Nevin favored a liturgy, but that he thought the Synod had not yet attained the liturgical spirit. He makes a significant confession that the desire of the Church then was for a liturgy for special services rather than for a liturgy for Sunday services. In this he agrees with what Zacharias had said at synod. All this only shows that our Church never had had a liturgical form for the Sabbath services and did not want them.

SECTION 3. THE SYNODS OF 1850-1852.

At the synod of 1850, the liturgical committee reported that after such attention as they were able to give the subject and in view of the general posture of the Church at the present time they did not consider it expedient to go forward with the work. If synod felt it necessary to produce a new liturgy, the most advisable course for the present would be to simply

*When the author interjects remarks into other's statements he will sign himself by A.

†*Christian World* of October 9, 1868.

give a translation of the old Palatinate liturgy, although the committee did not think that this would be the best ultimate form to provide for the liturgical question. At that time other questions of vital moment were before the Church that needed first to be settled. The report was adopted and the committee continued. The other questions of vital moment referred to in the report were the financial condition of the seminary (which was in straits), the exact position of the Mercersburg theology then being developed toward Romanism and the want of unity in the Church.

At the synod of 1851 the committee on liturgy reported that they had made no farther progress in the work committed to them. Nevin resigned as chairman of the committee. Schaff was made chairman and Porter was added to the committee. The committee was instructed to report as soon as possible. The truth was that at this synod the resignations of Nevin and Schaff from their theological chairs overshadowed everything else. Nevin later says in his "Vindication,"—

That the committee had come to despair very much of being able to produce any liturgy that would prove generally and permanently satisfactory to the Church. He says "this was especially my feeling. I had not led the way at all in the movement. My heart was not in it in any special zeal. I was concerned in it only on obedience to the appointment of Synod. Other interests appeared to me at the time to be of more serious consequence and I had no faith in our being able to bring the work to any ultimate success. In these circumstances I was not willing to stand charged with the responsibility of continuing as chairman of the committee and accordingly I asked synod to relieve me from the chairmanship."

This statement of Nevin does not quite agree with his statements quoted in our previous section. They show that he did have a liturgical tendency, but by 1851 he saw the difficulty so great that he gave up hope of success.

Before the next synod one or two significant articles appeared in the *Messenger*. A writer* calls attention to the fact that the edition of the Mayer liturgy was exhausted and a liturgy was

*See the issue of March 3.

needed in its place. He urged the ministers of the church to express their views on a new liturgy. But in spite of this request there was no response. Then the editor of the *Messenger* laments the fact that not a single correspondent of the *Messenger* had as yet opened his mouth on the subject of the liturgy even after his earnest request. From all this, one of two things are evident. Either a liturgy was not greatly desired by the Church, or there was such a great division of opinion on the subject that each party was afraid to speak out for fear of the other. The truth probably is that most of the younger ministers who were pupils of Nevin and Schaff wanted a new liturgy, while on the other hand the great majority of the Church, especially the older ministers, was either opposed to it or, if they wanted a liturgy, wanted the Palatinate. It was a calm before the storm that broke five years later.

At the synod of 1852 the liturgical committee reported that since the last meeting they had done what they could. The members living in Mercersburg had met weekly during the summer while the other members were requested in the meantime to prepare certain parts of a liturgy to be laid later before the committee for revision. The more they entered upon the work the more they felt its importance and difficulty. The difficulty increased because of the great number and variety of materials before and after the Reformation. They proposed the plan of a liturgy (see p. 86 of the minutes) and also the following basis for work:

1. The liturgical worship of the Anglican Church as far as in harmony with the Bible, the old church fathers and the Greek and Latin liturgies were to be the universal fundamentals of the liturgy. The more so as these were the sources from which the best materials of the liturgies of the sixteenth century came, such as the formulas for confession of sin, also litany, creed, Gloria, Te Deum, collects, and Decalogue.

2. Among the later liturgies special attention was to be paid to the Palatinate and the other Reformed liturgies of the sixteenth century.

3. But neither the old Catholic or the old Reformed liturgies were to be slavishly followed but to be reproduced in a free Evangelical spirit and made suitable to the peculiar necessities of our time and denomination. Various kinds of forms were to be prepared, some with responses

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and some without, with a view to avoid monotony and to adapt it to the varied conditions of the various congregations. The language and style to be as nearly like that of the Bible as possible, though the strict dogmatic tone of the Calvinistic liturgies was to be lessened for the more devotional. A family liturgy ought to be prepared. Finally the liturgy was not intended to hinder the right use of free prayer, either in the Church or the home, but to guide it and aid it.

The report, says one of the liturgical party, made the ancient liturgies as far as possible the basis and after them the Palatinate and other Reformed liturgies, but the liturgical element was not pressed so far as to restrict free prayer, but to regulate it.

The synod referred back the specimens (four services for the Lord's day, two baptismal services, a marriage service and part of the lessons and collects for the year) reported by the committee with instructions to carry out the suggestions at the close of their report and to print a specimen liturgy for the inspection of the Church. The name of Zacharias was substituted for Berg's on the committee, and S. R. Fisher was added. Bomberger, in "The Revised Liturgy," claims that these instructions required the committee to make special reference to the Palatinate and Reformed liturgies, which he later said they did not do, but modeled their liturgy after the forms of the Early Christian Church by making it responsive, etc. He also calls attention to the fact that the adopted report declared that the liturgy was not to interfere with free prayer, which action was violated in 1862 by Nevin's report on the liturgy and the later language of its adherents which opposed free prayer.

Up to this time the main thought in the mind of the Church seems to have been to reproduce the Palatinate liturgy with such modifications as would suit our age or a liturgy like it. The idea of introducing new elements as responses, litany, etc., did not enter into the minds of most of the ministers, and if attempted would have met with most decided opposition. Any attack on the use of free prayer would have been violently resented by the Church at that time. Bomberger later says the report was hurried

through the synod and adopted at a single session. The synod of 1852 was afterwards referred to by high-churchmen as the high-water mark of the Reformed Church. They gloried that that synod had turned the Church in their direction liturgically and had virtually endorsed their theological views.* Up to this time the instructions of the synod had been those of 1849, emphasizing adherence to Reformed liturgies especially the Palatinate. The action of 1852 opened the door for a liturgy on the basis of the earlier Greek and Roman liturgies. It was out of these instructions of this synod that the later difficulties between the high-church and low-church parties grew. The former claimed that the adoption of the report by synod gave them liberty to fashion a high-church liturgy with its responses and altar-services like that of the early Church. The low-church men did not so understand these instructions but supposed that emphasis would first be placed on the Palatinate and Reformed liturgies. The first demanded an altar-liturgy, the second a pulpit-liturgy. There is no doubt that the instructions allow room for the former interpretation, but the latter was the one truer to the old Reformed consciousness; for the true Reformed liturgies had no litany, *Te Deum*, responses, etc.

SECTION 4. THE REVULSION AGAINST THE LITURGY IN THE WEST.

The first action toward a liturgy in the Ohio synod was taken by Miami classis in 1851. Its committee, consisting of Shaull, Gerhart and Rust, reported that in the opinion of this synod, the last liturgy (Mayer's) of the Church is very deficient in many particulars and consequently does not satisfy the spiritual wants of the Church. Of the two liturgies formerly sanctioned by the Church we prefer the Palatinate liturgy and recommend its constant use within the bounds of this synod until a better one is provided and adopted. The report was laid over until the next meeting of the synod in 1852, which shows there was no great desire for a liturgy

*See Nevin, *The Liturgical Question*, pages 58 and 60.

then. In 1852, Miami classis renewed its request that synod appoint a committee, of which Gerhart was chairman, to co-operate with the committee of the Eastern synod in preparing a liturgy for the whole Reformed Church. The *Western Missionary** has an article favorable to a liturgy, urging that the subject be discussed in the church papers. But, as in the East, there was no response. Evidently the Western Church was not very anxious for it. Finally the editor of that paper wrote an article urging freedom in the use of liturgical worship on account of the varied character of the congregations of the Ohio synod, some inclining toward the freedom of Methodism in their worship, others being formalistic: but he wanted a liturgy based on the Reformed liturgies.

The synod of 1853 approved of the plan of the liturgy by the Eastern synod of 1852 and appointed a committee consisting of Gerhart, Steimer, Weisz and Kroh to join with the committee of the Eastern synod in preparing such a liturgy. Had this been carried out, it might have led to a high-church liturgy for the West, such as appeared later in the East. The Eastern synod of 1853 approved of the action of the Ohio synod.

On September 15, 1853, the *Western Missionary*, the organ of our Western Church, which had hitherto kept out of the controversy, makes its first statement about it. It says that for a year past there has been a controversy in the Eastern synod, that those who were opposed to Nevin were being shut out from the *Messenger* and had availed themselves of the *Christian Intelligencer* and the *Lutheran Observer* to express their sentiments. It said the *Messenger* ought not to censure them when it refused their publications. It expressed sympathy with them, because their replies were in every respect as dignified and free from improprieties as the articles in the *Messenger* to which they responded, nay, in its judgment much more so. The *Messenger* replied to these criticisms of the *Western Missionary*. But the significance of this controversy is that the *Western Missionary* shows to which side it was

*June 22, 1852.

leaning,—that it sided with Heiner, Zacharias and Mesiek against Mercersburg.

Another sign of a reaction was the action of St. Joseph's classis in January, 1854, as its delegates had voted at the synod against the liturgy. It declared that it supported them in their action. The classis reiterated its former view against the liturgy as an innovation and deprecated the movement, as it would tend to strengthen formalism in the Church. Miami classis (January, 1854), although it had twice overtured the synod favorably to a liturgy, now put itself on record against it. (Gerhart, who had been the leader of the liturgical element there, had left Cincinnati to become professor of theology at Tiffin and therefore had left the classis.) It objected to the Ohio synod's action appointing the committee on conference with the Eastern committee. It declared itself opposed to the liturgy, because they understood it was to have responses, and as several charges remonstrated to it against such a liturgy, it requested synod to reconsider it as it could not conscientiously use the liturgy if prepared. The vote of the synod was 17 to 5, Prugh, Rike, Rust and Zieber voting against it, representing the liturgical party. In February, 1854, Tiffin classis, now under the leadership of Gerhart, who had removed to Tiffin, declared in favor of a liturgy. In April, Gerhart tried to stem the tide against a liturgy in a guarded article in the *Western Missionary* on free prayer, in which he endorsed free prayer but declared that the use of a liturgy was not in conflict with free prayer and ought never to suppress it. On April 28, Sandusky classis also took action asking the synod to reconsider its action on the liturgy because the proposed liturgy was against the ancient landmarks of the Church. It declared it would oppose any liturgy which prescribed forms for Sunday services. It was opposed to confession, absolution, Te Deum, Gloria in Excelsis and other forms which savor strongly of Romanism and declared that it would be a violation of the constitution to continue the specimen liturgy for several years' trial. Iowa classis approved the plan of the liturgy. So did the North German

classis and as a number of its ministers used Ebrard's Church-book it ordered that it be used by its ministers. To the Ohio synod in May, 1854, the liturgical committee reported that it had been unable to meet with the committee of the Eastern synod, that as some members of the Church were opposed to the new liturgy and the distance from the Eastern synod made participation nominal rather than real, therefore the committee on liturgy be dissolved. This was adopted. But it recommended the use of the Palatinate liturgy and ordered ministers to abstain from any liturgy not prepared or adopted by the Reformed Churches of Europe and America.

SECTION 5. THE ATTACK ON MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY BY THE REFORMED OF GERMANY.

The adherents of Mercersburg Theology had been claiming that they represented the views and customs of our mother-church in Germany. A bombshell was sent into their camp by the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany, the official organ of our Church there. The position of our mother-church in Germany is significant and shows that the new theological views of Nevin were contrary to the time-honored positions of the Reformed in the Fatherland. It is true Ebrard had* reviewed Nevin's "Mystical Presence" favorably. He looked on it as a vindication of Melancthon's doctrine of the Lord's Supper in opposition to the low views of the Lutherans in America. He said of the "Mystical Presence":

1. It is the first attempt to introduce the science of German theology to the English world of North America.
2. Nevin defends the mystical union—the Melancthonian views against the Lutherans.
3. It possesses not only historical but dogmatical interest—it seeks to reconstruct the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Ebrard confesses he had started along the same line as Nevin. He agrees with Nevin that our union is with Christ's humanity so that we have part in his merits because we have part in his substance. The Reformed doctrine is that the communion is not with a thing (as the Lutherans held) but with a man. But Ebrard charges Nevin with con-

*See *Studien und Kritiken*, 1850.

tradicting himself—that he goes too far in blaming Calvin when the latter speaks of the Holy Spirit as mediating between Christ and believers.

But while Ebrard wrote thus favorably of Nevin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as revealed in his "Mystical Presence," he later, especially in his "Pastoral Theology," differed widely from the Nevinists in their later development on the liturgy, the church, the ministry and church-government. This point is granted later* by Rev. William Reily in an article on "Ebrard and His Position on the Church Question." He there says that Ebrard, while having some views akin to Mercersburg theology in his dogmatics: yet in his Pastoral Theology is utterly at variance with it in his low views of the Church and of the ministry and in his opposition to high-churchism. In cultus, Ebrard also differs, for while he believes in fixed forms of prayer, he yet makes the sermon the central act of worship instead of the altar, as Mercersburg held.

The *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany† gives an account of the troubles in the German Reformed Church in America and notes the fact that the Dutch Reformed had withdrawn from correspondence with it.

It suggests that Dr. Schaff in his attack on Puritanism either had not been well taught or did not exactly state their view: for it says such a view of the Romish Church as he gives is not the leading one in Germany, but the one generally rejected, as is shown by their most celebrated theologians, Nitsch, Müller, Tholuck, Ebrard, Harless and Hofman. The high-church Puseyite tendencies were contrary to German Reformed customs and theology. (Heretofore the Mercersburg theologians had claimed that they represented the Reformed Church of Germany. The fact was that Dr. Schaff represented not the views of that Church but of the Evangelical or United Church of Germany (which included Lutherans as well as Reformed), although he added some Puseyite tendencies to it.—A.)

The same paper had, the following year,‡ a critique on Schaff's *Apostolic Church* in which its author receives some sharp criticisms for his statements.

**Mercersburg Review*, January, 1870.

†Published then at Erlangen by Goebel, in its issue of February, 1854, page 59; also 1855, pages 300-302.

‡1855, pages 321-328.

It also criticises Nevin because he places entirely too much stress on the doctrines of the early Christian Church and because he maintains high-church views. It quotes from the *New Brunswick Review* a part of Prof. Proudfit's arguments against Schaff's "Apostolic Church," especially his attack on his view of Peter as the pope of Rome.

The *Kirchenzeitung* then attacks Schaff's position about the early Church. It says Schaff calls himself a pupil of the Berlin faculty, but he would not find such high-churchism in Berlin or in his Swiss home. Schaff seeks a final harmony of Catholicism and Protestantism as the ideal church of the future; in this he passes entirely beyond the views of the Germans. Schaff has mistaken views about the tendencies of Catholicism. And he makes an incorrect statement of the Protestant position that through weakness it permitted unbelief, although it did not sanction it. It repudiated this hint that Protestantism harbored infidelity. Schaff's ideas of the Johannean age which is to come after the Petrine (Catholic) and Pauline (Protestant), did not find support in Scripture. John knows nothing of a Johannean age, and Germany has not adopted such views. The eschatology of Germany is richer and deeper, although it grants the truth of Schaff's interpretation of Matt. 16: 18 that the Church is not built on doctrine but on Christ's person. It objected to Schaff's statement that Peter was the first pope and that he founded a permanent primacy,* that the primacy belonged to the original plan of Christianity as a historical development. Still it could not agree with Schaff's opponents in calling the pope Antichrist.

The *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* complains† that it had been repeatedly attacked by the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Chambersburg, Pa., for its opposition to Mercersburg theology as not Reformed,—for its Puseyite theology. It declared that the Dutch in attacking Schaff's statement of the continuing primacy of Peter were right. Schaff had, in the *Chambersburg Kirchenzeitung*, boastfully placed over against these criticisms the degree of doctor of divinity he had received from Berlin as a vindication of himself. It declares that during the seven years that Schaff had published the *Kirchenfreund* not an article had appeared on the Reformers.

Another event that was significant occurred during Schaff's visit to Europe in 1854. He attended the Evangelical Church Diet that year. But the editor of the *Kirchenzeitung* says that he did not attend, or show any sympathy with, the Re-

*Page 326.

†1856, 398-401, 416.

formed conference held at the same time and place. Schaff replied to this,* saying that he attended the conference, but said nothing, as its business concerned Hesse in Germany (where there was an attempt by the Lutherans to overawe the Reformed) and not America. He tries to offset the opposition of the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany to his theological views by saying that the *Reformed Church-Leavees* of Basle had favorably reviewed his book. But it is very evident from all this that the Reformed Church of Germany had no sympathy with the Mercersburg theology or its ritualism.

Later, in 1869, the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany, the organ of the Reformed Church of the Fatherland, attacked Dr. Schaff's statement that the Reformed Church of Germany had always been Melancthonian and not Calvinistic on the decrees. Its editor, Rev. Mr. Theleman, in reviewing Schaff's work on the Heidelberg Catechism, takes exception to his statement,† where Schaff says that predestination was not the doctrine of the Reformed of Germany. Theleman declared it was the doctrine of our Church there and cites the action of the professors of Marburg University in 1561 when they supported Zanchius' defense at Strasburg of the Reformed doctrine, and formulated a statement in favor of predestination.‡

SECTION 6. THE SYNODS OF 1853-1855.

Notwithstanding the elaborate instructions of the synod of 1852, no report on the liturgy was received at the synod of 1853. The liturgical work seems to have stopped because Dr. Schaff, the moving spirit of it, was in Europe. The forms that had been prepared by the committee previous to his departure were published in the *Mercersburg Review*. During 1854, the *Mercersburg Review* published specimen forms as

**Western Missionary*, July 3, 1856.

†*Reformed Kirchenzeitung*, page 128.

‡*Reformed Kirchenzeitung*, page 114. For further proof that the Reformed of Germany was officially and ecclesiastically Calvinistic and predestinarian in their creeds and conferences, see my *History of the Reformed Church of Germany*, pages 589-620.

for baptism (infant and adult), for marriage and the laying of a corner-stone, four forms for the regular services on the Lord's day, forms for confirmation and preparatory services, for funerals, church dedications, etc.

The form for the Sunday services was the most startling to the Church. Heretofore the Church had had a free service, but of the four forms for Sunday, the first was a full liturgical service, with confession of sin and repetition of the creed, together with brief responses, giving the option of using the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria*. The second added to these the absolution and gave the option of using the Nicene Creed instead of the Apostles', also the pericopes (the Gospel and Epistle for each Sabbath) and also a collect for each Lord's day according to the calendar. The third form was not responsive at all, except in the prayers which were broken repeatedly by "Amen." The fourth was a very brief form of prayer unbroken by any responses. All of them, except the last, were entirely out of harmony with the previous custom of the Reformed Church in this country.

While they were thus developing the liturgy, they were also developing their views of church architecture so as to prepare for its use. A significant controversy arose about the altar. Dr. Harbaugh, in the *Messenger*, gave a description of a church-dedication at Tulpehocken, in which he said that the church had an *altar-space* but no altar. "This is not Reformed," he said. He also said that those who built the church at Tulpehocken would feel shocked at the sight of a table when their feelings would require an altar. Dr. Harbaugh seems to have been ignorant that the Reformed Church in Germany and in this country never had an altar. It is mentioned in no true Reformed liturgies in Switzerland or America. Up to the time when the Mercersburg theology came in, the only German liturgy having an altar was the Hessian of 1657, which Harbaugh and his followers quoted to prove their position. They seemed entirely ignorant of the fact that this was virtually a union liturgy in which the altar, etc., came from the Lutheran side and that against its introduction the Reformed of Hesse entered their determined

protest.* All this does not look as if the Reformed wanted an altar. For his statement in the *Messenger*, Harbaugh was attacked by Foulk, who argued mainly on Biblical grounds that the only piece of furniture mentioned in the New Testament as being used at the Lord's Supper was a table.

On the return of Schaff from Germany, the theological seminary at Mercersburg began now to look up, Wolff and Schaff being the professors. The third tutorship had been created at the suggestion of, and in part endowed by, the liberality of Baron von Bethman-Hollweg, of Berlin, a member of the cabinet of the King of Prussia, who had charge of the department of instruction and public worship in that kingdom. William M. Reily and Jacob R. Kershner were the first incumbents of this tutorship.

The synod of 1855 gave the liturgical movement a new impulse. The liturgical committee reported that they desired their task to be confined to the preparation of a liturgy which should be only provisional,—that is, intended for experimental and optional use. They recommended that synod should not take final action on it until it could be thoroughly revised after a practical test of it had been made in the congregations. In order to facilitate the work, the quorum of the committee was to be reduced to five. The synod adopted this report and also the plan for defraying the expenses of the publication of the provisional liturgy by a public collection.

An interesting question arises why the committee thus proposed that the liturgy should be only provisional. This was a decided departure from the first plan of the liturgy which aimed at a permanent liturgy. If, as the liturgical party have always declared, the Church was so anxious all the time for a liturgy, why did they now halt and hold back and suggest that its use should be only provisional? The only answer that can be given is that they felt themselves in advance of the general feeling of the Church on the subject and were afraid to face the question of its adoption for fear it might be rejected. Besides, if they could delay the final

*See my History of the Reformed Church of Germany, pages 137-8.

decision on the matter, they probably hoped that the Church would grow toward a liturgy, especially as their forces were continually being increased by the graduates from the seminary at Mercersburg.

SECTION 7. THE "MERCERSBURG REVIEW," 1854-1855.

The *Mercersburg Review* of January, 1855, contained several significant articles. One was an article on "Christian Cultus," by Dr. Harbaugh. He may be called the æsthetic leader of the Mercersburg theology, as Nevin was its theologian and Schaff its historian. Later, he became also its theologian, as he brought to its fullest development the doctrines of that school, after he became professor of theology at Mercersburg.* His labors on the liturgy and on architecture favoring their views were very important. These articles on Christian cultus or worship were intended to help on the liturgical movement.†

He defines cultus as worship which brings under contribution three things: time, space and the new humanity in Christ. It consecrates its surroundings, making the natural become the medium of the supernatural. Cultus is active in three directions: pedagogically, sacerdotally and regally; corresponding to the three offices of Christ: prophet, priest and king. This three-fold division he works out. He attacks the pre-reformation cultus for ignoring virtually the prophetic office, reversing the order of the offices, kingly, priestly and prophetic. Again, it did not preserve the proportion of the sacramental and sacrificial, the former being greatly increased. It was too sensual and reduced the part of the laity in worship from the sacrificial to servility. He then turns to the Reformation cultus. Luther's idea was not so much the reformation of cultus as of doctrine. But the Lutherans were compelled to go farther in their ideas and practices away from the cultus of the Catholic Church. The Reformed, like the Lutherans, sought the completion of what was before in the Catholic cultus but in a different way. The Reformed differed from the Lutherans:

1. The Lutherans rested more outwardly on the old Catholic cultus, the Reformed, less outwardly but more inwardly.
2. The Lutherans gave more outward prominence to the sacramental, the Reformed; to the sacrificial.

*See his manuscript notes on dogmatics.

†He published the first in October, 1854, and concluded by another in the January number of 1855.

3. The Lutheran service was heavier, more complex, the Reformed, simpler.

In the January number, 1855, he continues, "if the Church before the Reformation grew gradually to the extreme of power, the Church after the Reformation grew gradually to the extreme of liberality. The first lost the sacrificial in the sacramental; the latter, the sacramental in the sacrificial.

Dr. Harbaugh's views are evidently largely based on the views and distinctions of Klieforth, the high-church Lutheran of Germany. Mercersburg theology has been said to have been influenced by Puseyism, but Harbaugh reveals more influences from Klieforth. He made no attempt to follow the old Reformed ideas of worship, but here followed the Lutherans and the extreme Lutherans at that. (The distinction which underlies the Mercersburg system between the sacramental and the sacrificial in worship is due to Klieforth, who said that the sacramental was what God gave to us and the sacrificial what we offered to God. It is a vicious distinction, as it is a distinction that can not be carried out. For

(1) Almost every rite is both sacramental and sacrificial. The line of distinction between the sacramental and the sacrificial is too fine and theoretical to be practically carried out. Even the sacraments are not merely sacramental, as they have in them also the sacrificial element. And prayer, which is sacrificial has in it also a sacramental element, namely, the answer God gives to us.

(2) Again, if every rite is thus made sacramental, then the sacraments have nothing peculiar to themselves to distinguish them from the other rites; which would seem to be entirely contradictory to Mercersburg's own doctrinal views of the sacraments. We prefer the old use of the word sacrament as referring to baptism and the Lord's Supper and not to any other rite. Their view lowers the meaning of the word sacrament and confuses the whole subject.—A.)

Dr. Harbaugh goes on to show that the post-Reformation cultus reveals its unnatural character:

1. In undervaluing the sacraments.
2. Losing sight of the priestly and kingly functions of the Church.

3. Disrespect for all symbols of faith and forms of worship.

4. It is distressingly naked and bare in its outward appendages and accompaniments.

He then gives an outline of three liturgies: Zwingli's, of 1529, Calvin's of 1541, The Hessian of 1567 (he does not know that the latter was a Lutheran, not a purely Reformed liturgy.—A.) Combining them, he gives a full order of worship of fifteen parts, including the confession of sin and absolution, indeed of twenty parts with the Lord's Supper. This outline was afterwards given in the Provisional liturgy. He then describes each of them in turn. In his description, the absolution becomes prominent. As neither Zwingli's or Calvin's liturgy have it, he gets it from the (un-Reformed) liturgy of Hesse. He, however, says that the absolution was in the Palatinate liturgy, and says it ought to be before the sermon and in connection with the confession of sin at the beginning of the services. (But we would note this difference, that in the Palatinate and Hessian this so-called absolution is after the sermon and not at the beginning of the service, as he makes it.—A.)

For the truth is that the Reformed idea of absolution was different from his. With him the minister is a priest with inherent powers,—one who has the right of debarring the Christian from entering fully into the worship,—the absolution must first be declared by the minister before his worship can be received. But the Reformed had no such idea of the special priesthood of the ministry, and so absolution was placed after the sermon; for the minister was not a priest, as the Reformed have always believed in the priesthood of all believers. They did not believe that the minister could declare absolution by virtue of anything in himself or his office, but only by the word of God. The Palatinate liturgy placed it after the sermon because the believer could come to worship without waiting for the absolution of the priest at the beginning of the service. Their absolution was simply a declaration of pardon on the basis of God's word stating that God was willing to forgive. In the Frankford Reformed liturgy the absolution was only a promise of Scripture quoted by the min-

ister. It was called a declarative absolution and was, like the benediction, simply a declarative and official act of the minister. This subject of absolution afterwards became the great bone of contention in the liturgical controversy, as we shall see.

Harbaugh also discusses the relation of the pulpit to the altar, which was unnecessary, as the Reformed knew no altar. Still it was an able and interesting discussion, showing that the Mercersburg school were now developing in worship as they had been developing in doctrine. By and by we will see how he completed the circle by attempting to develop the Church-government also, which led to the sharpest tilt in the liturgical controversy. Indeed, the whole controversy could be arranged around three headings if necessary, of doctrine (1846-53), cultus (1857-1866), and church-government (1867-78), each of these being most prominent in these periods, although the others were also discussed. The Tulpehocken event was only another phase in this growth in cultus of the Mercersburg theologians.

One other article in the *Review* of 1855 deserves special mention, and that is Dr. Nevin's sermon at the inauguration of his successor, B. C. Wolff. If the low-churchmen (Old Reformed) had hoped that by the election of B. C. Wolff to a professorship in the seminary, they had checked the forward movement of high-church views there, this sermon of Nevin's disabused their minds as it struck the keynote upon which Wolff was to play in his theological teaching. Its theme was "The Origin, Nature and Design of the Christian Ministry." If Dr. Nevin in 1847 had developed his high views of the sacrament in his "Mystical Presence," he here in 1855 develops fully his high views on the ministry. He says the ministry is of divine-human origin (which is the common Protestant view). But he claims it has a peculiar power, called the ascension-gift, or the special power of the Holy Spirit. This gift forms the origin and ground of the Christian Church. He does not call it Apostolic succession, as does the Episcopal Church, a doctrine which he had hitherto opposed, although he severely attacks its opponents who de-

rided it.* His view is, however, rather that of historical succession than Apostolic succession,—the ministerial office carries virtue in itself for its own end. (Just as he had before applied objectivity to the sacraments he now applies it to ordination and the ministry.—4.) He then goes on to speak of the origin, nature and design of the Christian ministry, and finally of its tests and conditions. Any sect, he says, who starts its own ministry produces a legitimate ministry of the realm of Antichrist. Prof. Wolff, in his inaugural address, reveals that he stands fully on the same doctrinal ground as Nevin but is more irenic in his spirit.

*Page 81 of Sermon.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADOPTION OF THE PROVISIONAL LITURGY AND ITS RESULTS.

SECTION 1. THE ADOPTION OF THE PROVISIONAL LITURGY (1857).

The year 1857 was an eventful year. It saw brought to completion the plan of a liturgy begun ten years before. It also marked the first signs of the awakening of the Church to the fact that the liturgy was more ritualistic than many of them expected. The liturgical committee had been holding meetings since the return of Dr. Schaff from Europe.* The committee closed its work October 21, 1857, at 6 P. M., with prayer by Dr. Nevin, Nevin, Wolff, Bomberger, Zacharias and Schaff being present. The committee had in all held 104 sessions, counting morning, afternoon and night sessions. These were exclusive of the meetings of sub-committees at Lancaster and Mercersburg. Of fourteen members, four took no part, although they favored the liturgy.

The liturgical committee reported to the synod of 1857 that they had completed their laborious work and that the work was in the hands of the printer and would be published in a few days. As fear had been expressed in some quarters that the liturgy would be forced on congregations who were unwilling to use it, the report says "they would be sorry to have the liturgy introduced in any quarters sooner or farther than there may be a disposition among the people to make it welcome. It was designed to be a help to them and not a hindrance to public worship." As the synod had ordered

*Meetings were held May 18, 1856, Jan. 2, 1857, April 20, August 25 and October 13. Each lasted from one to two weeks. The first four were held at St. Paul's Church, Lancaster, because it was central. At the August meeting of 1857 they had hoped to have finished their work, but found they were unable. So they met again at Philadelphia on October 13, 1857.

it to be used only provisionally, it was not expected that the Church would come to an immediate decision about it. "The liturgy asks no ecclesiastical sanction. It must work its way quietly and silently into general use, or pass away because there was no real demand for it."

The synod did not adopt the liturgy, but only commended the committee. This liturgy, which was called the Provisional Liturgy, was never adopted by this synod or any later one. This may have been due to the fact that the committee desired no formal endorsement. Why they did not desire endorsement is not mentioned. Perhaps they feared that the liturgy might be too revolutionary. Perhaps they desired this action so that if any attempt might be made to send it down to the classes for adoption, as our constitution required, they could prevent such a movement, as the liturgy had not yet been adopted by synod. But although the synod allowed its use provisionally, the impression gradually grew upon the Church that it had been in some way approved. The synod unfortunately failed to fix the length of time of its provisional use. But as the contract made with the publishers* was for ten years, this fact was later seized upon as an argument to prolong its use provisionally for that length of time. But there was in reality no ground for this as synod could doubtless have come to an amicable arrangement with the publishers. This omission of the exact time for its provisional use later caused much friction, as we shall see.

The action of the synod on the liturgy cannot but be considered very remarkable. It permitted a thing to be used which it had officially never seen or examined. It is true, various liturgical forms had been published in the *Mercersburg Review*. But as the chairman of the liturgical committee stated to the synod, "The synod could form no judgment from these, as new forms had been added and others changed." It is a very unwise thing for a synod or for any church court to adopt anything blindly as it did this. And it proved to be a great mistake. If the synod had gone more slowly but

*Lindsay and Blakiston, of Philadelphia.

with its eyes open, it might have avoided many future controversies. In regard to this we have some very remarkable testimonies.

Dr. S. R. Fisher, writing of the action of this synod on the liturgy,* says:

“No one outside of the working members of the committee were at all aware of its precise character. Had the book been before the synod and examined by its members it is very problematical whether its provisional use (an unconstitutional and dangerous use at best) would have been authorized by the synod at all; or if it had been, certainly not without a decided protest at least from a respectable minority in the synod.” The principal part of its report, he says, was devoted to a defense of a scheme of liturgical worship as it prevails in the Episcopal Church, “excluding extemporaneous prayer from our public services and thus radically changing our whole form of worship.”

It was expected that the liturgy would be published by November 15. But not until December 16th does the *Messenger* state that it has appeared. The expense of its publication was born by private individuals. Before a year had passed, a third edition was called for, although it was as yet introduced into only one or two congregations. Evidently there was a great desire to see it, although not so great a desire to use it.

We give a brief outline of the Provisional liturgy. The Lord's day service of the Provisional liturgy opened with Scripture passages on Christian worship, followed by primitive forms, as the Te Deum and litany. This was followed by lessons and collects for the church year given in full. Then came the regular service of the Lord's day, with four forms, followed by prayers for festival seasons. Then came the liturgical services for communion, baptism, confirmation, visitation of the sick, ordination of ministers and church officers, etc. Bomberger said later there were in the Provisional liturgy two entirely different systems of worship, one suited to the pulpit like the old Reformed custom, the other was the altar-liturgy, with responses. Of the two, the latter was by far the most prominent, as is shown by the fact that

**Messenger*, June 4, 1862.

the first and leading service for the Lord's day was strongly ritualistic.

We add a comparative view of some of the forms of the liturgy, comparing them with the Episcopalian prayer-book on the one hand and with our old Palatinate liturgy on the other. It is easy to see how closely it resembled the prayer-book, and is Episcopalian rather than Reformed. It is also easy to see how it differs from the Palatinate.* As a writer says, "The report plainly shows that it is not after the pattern strictly of any system of worship, which had hitherto prevailed in the German Reformed Church, either in this country or in Europe. The new liturgy is a new scheme of worship."

COMPARISON OF PRAYER-BOOK WITH THE PROVISIONAL AND PALATINATE ON CONFIRMATION.

PRAYER-BOOK.

"Do you here, in the presence of God and of this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that ye made or that was made in your name at your baptism, ratifying and confirming the same and acknowledging yourselves bound to believe and do all those things which you then undertook, or your sponsors then undertook for you? I do."

PROVISIONAL LITURGY.

"Dost thou now, in the presence of God and this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow made in your name at baptism? Dost thou ratify and confirm the same and acknowledge thyself bound to believe and to do all those things which your parents then undertook for you? I do. Dost thou renounce the devil with all his ways and works, the world with its vain pomp and glory, and the flesh with its sinful desires. I do."

Profess now your faith before God and this congregation, I believe, etc.

Do you heartily believe all that you have here professed in answer to the questions that have been asked? Do you renounce the devil and all his works and ways and all worldly wickedness? Do you hereby solemnly devote yourself to obedience to Christ and his Church according to the Word of God, promise to grow in faith, knowledge and piety and persevere in so doing against all temptations until by the grace of God

*See also pages 368-9.

you reach a blessed end, faithfully holding to all that you have here promised?

In neither the Prayer-book or the Palatinate is the creed used as it is so prominently by the liturgists of the Provisional liturgy. In the Palatinate there is nothing about renewal of baptismal vows, as in the later liturgies of our Church; for such a view came in from the Lutheran Church, and is not the original Reformed view of confirmation, which was that it was a personal confession of faith rather than a renewal of baptismal vows.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE PRAYER-BOOK AND THE PROVISIONAL LITURGY ON BAPTISM.

PRAYER BOOK.

Dost thou in the name of this child renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same and the sinful desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow or be led by them?

I renounce them all and by God's help will endeavor not to follow nor be led by them.

Dost thou believe all the articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed?

I do.

Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?

That is my desire.

Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments and walk in the same all the days of thy life?

I will, by God's help.

PROVISIONAL LITURGY.

Dost thou then, in the name of this child renounce the devil, with all his ways and works, the world with its vain pomp and glory, and the flesh with all its sinful desires.

I do.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, etc.

I believe.

Wilt thou that this child be baptized in this faith?

I will.

Dost thou solemnly promise to bring up this child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion.

I do.

How different the Palatinate liturgy is on baptism. There there is nothing said of the world, the flesh and the devil,—this verbiage is from the Episcopal Prayer-Book. The Palatinate asks:

“Do you desire, in true faith in the promise of God in Christ given to us and to our children, that he will not only be our God but the God of our children unto the thousandth generation—that this child be baptized into the same and receive the seal of divine adoption.”

Here the covenant idea of baptism is prominent (which is forgotten by the others), which is the old view of the Reformed Church.

SECTION 2. THE EARLY DISCUSSION ABOUT THE LITURGY (1857-8).

It is noticeable how soon opposition appears to the liturgy. We will try to give a brief summary of the discussion.

In the *Messenger*,* Rev. J. W. Hoffmeier writes glowingly about it, and says that he used it at Millersville at a communion.† But the next issue of the *Messenger* already has an article against it by M.‡ He says it is evident that the liturgy proposes great and important changes in the worship of our church, especially in the Sabbath services. He attacked it because it meant the setting aside of a liturgy which had been properly sanctioned by the synod (the Mayer liturgy). He also objected to a liturgy unsanctioned by synod because its use would lead to diversity of worship in the congregations instead of uniformity, as was originally claimed for it. He not only attacked the changes in the worship caused by it, but he also attacked the loose way in which its introduction is to be made, not by action of synod but by each individual minister at his pleasure. (Hoffmeier's act had evidently already caused alarm.—A.)

R. writes§ decidedly unfavorably to the liturgy. He says if any ministers intend to introduce it without the consent of their consistories or congregations, they differed widely from the committee. He regrets that the liturgy had not come before the synod. Had it come, his

*December 16, 1857.

†Staley also introduced it early in December, 1857, at Mt. Washington College at Baltimore, which prepared the way to the later controversy between Heiner and himself.

‡We regret that we do not know who the various writers of the articles in the *Messenger*, to which we shall refer, are. But they hide themselves under nom-de-plumes. We mention them wherever we are certain as to their identity. We also regret that we can not refer to all the articles, but lack of space will not permit it, so we can refer only to the leading ones.

§*Messenger* of December 30.

course would have been different, as would have been that of many others. He suggested two ways out of the present difficulty:

1. That its public use be prohibited as long as it is provisional.
2. That its use be permitted only so far as it does not involve changes in our method of worship.

He is opposed to ministers reading their prayers, to responses by the congregation, to its use of the confession and absolution and the litany, etc.

This liturgical controversy, begun almost immediately after the appearance of the liturgy in 1857, was continued with increasing warmth in 1858. This year saw the awaking of the Church to a ritualistic liturgy prepared by its committee and seemingly sanctioned so carelessly by synod. The editor of the *Messenger* writes a guarded article,* saying it was a work of great excellence, but as to its adaptiveness to the Church, that was another question. He grants that many of the forms were innovations.

Two weeks later two articles appear favorable to it, one by Willers, the other by Harbaugh. The latter says in a good liturgy, the wants of every soul will find utterance in the forms prescribed. In an unliturgical worship, he says, there is no "search me, O, Lord. What irreverence!" He says that there is little of genuine worship in a free service—that the worship of heaven as revealed in the Book of Revelations was liturgical. Why should there be any alarm, for the liturgy goes forth without the sanction of the synod and is only provisional.

Piscator (S. R. Fisher)† begins his attacks on the liturgy. He attacks the baptismal question where the parent in the name of the child renounced the devil with all his ways and works. "It speaks," he says, "as if they were the children of idolaters. It declares them to be children of the devil and not children of the covenant (which was the old Reformed doctrine of baptism)." Omega‡ comes to the defense of liturgy and asks others to do so. "N.,,"§ compares it with the Reformed liturgy published at Germantown, 1798. That was the opposite to it in its simplicity, for it contains no forms for the Sunday services, no confession, no absolution, no kneeling at services, no litany. Such were the forms used by the Hendels, Helffensteins, Hoffmeier, Becker, Geistweit, Hiester, Dr. Mayer, Gloninger, the Rahausers, and others of our Church. A church liturgy was seldom found except in the library of the ministers, a proof that no one but the pastor used it in the sanctuary. For this simplicity, were our forefathers disloyal to the Bible and Catechism because they were not in the habit of reading their prayers or having the congregation respond?

*February 3.

†*Messenger*, February 24.

‡*Messenger*, March 3.

§*Messenger*, March 10.

He believes our people would rather not be disturbed by audible responses and prefer that the minister be free in leading their devotions. L. R. defends the liturgy, as does Alpha, in the next week's *Messenger*.

In the March 17 issue is a letter from Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, Sr., the oldest minister of our Church. He says he disliked the litany, the responses, the repetition of the Creed, the kneeling, together with absolution and confession, all being new in our Church. Neither the Basle liturgy or the Palatinate has the litany. The litany would lead to formality and be especially objectionable to the German churches. Schlatter conducted his worship as we do with a free service. A later writer tries to parry Helffenstein's letter by saying it proves as much on one side as on the other. We, therefore, give this letter in the Appendix. To us it reads as against the liturgy. Rev. S. Helffenstein, Jr.,* attacks the formula of ordination—that it requires the candidate to subscribe to the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds,† while the old custom of our Church was to subscribe to the Bible and the Heidelberg Catechism, which contained in it the Apostles' Creed. Subscription to these other creeds was unnecessary and unusual. He also objects to its change in the doctrine,—that ordination is changed from the old view of an investiture of office to an investiture with power—the power of the office itself. The candidate is required to expect, that through it he will receive by the laying on of hands, the gift and grace of the Holy Spirit.

Conservator‡ backs up S. Helffenstein, Jr., in his opposition to the use of the Athanasian Creed at ordination because it was too metaphysical for a symbol and utterly unsuited as a devotional formula.

Rev. S. Helffenstein, Jr.,§ attacks the doctrine of apostolic succession underlying the form of ordination, saying that this succession had been interrupted by the Reformation when the reformers were excommunicated and deprived of their official character. He especially mentions Luther, but might have added Olevianus and Calvin, who were not ordained, and so through them no such historic succession of the ministry could come. He then enters on the Scriptural authority for ordination and also its design. He also attacks the teaching of the liturgy on the sacraments in regard to their objective form and intrinsic virtue. "The sacraments are then not signs, but the things signified: not seals but the things sealed." On baptism, the liturgy says "Christ ordained it for the communication of such great grace," obtaining by it that which we do not have. And as to confirmation,

**Messenger*, April 7.

†Schaff later, April 1859, *Mercersburg Review*, has an article on the Athanasian Creed against these attacks. But he does not find any Reformed creed endorsing that creed, and of the Reformed theologians only Pareus wrote anything on it.

‡*Messenger*, April 14.

§*Messenger*, April 21.

he said it was not of divine appointment but only a churchly form. Weyberg, the pastor of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia during the Revolution, never used the laying on of hands at confirmation.

The opposition against the liturgy was at first against the method of its introduction or against the particular forms in it or against the doctrines underlying them. But soon a writer* calling himself "Seldom Senior" starts the attack on its constitutionality. This afterwards became the main point which the Church found difficult to settle. He says the liturgy does not agree with the constitution of the Church. The Church's constitution says the public worship of the sanctuary shall consist of invocation, singing, prayer, reading of the Word, preaching a sermon or delivering a lecture, and pronouncing the benediction. But the liturgy in its Lord's day service was very different. The questions of the liturgy for adult baptism and confirmation are very different from those laid down for use in the Church constitution. He says the only constitutional way is to get a two-thirds vote of synod on the liturgy and then send the liturgy down to the classes for adoption and rejection, as required by the constitution.

Samek† writes favorably of the liturgy, as does H. Wagner,‡ defending what the opponents call baptismal regeneration. So also does J. W. Hoffmeier.§ But Rev. Samuel Philips attacked both Hoffmeier and Wagner|| for saying that those who opposed the liturgy were "not of a good and sound mind." He grants that the authors of the liturgy were men of well-known ability, but denies that their liturgy is adapted to the diversified wants of our Church. Even the liturgical committee must have thought so, for they made it only provisional. If we can not introduce the liturgy on its merits, we never can, he says, on the ground of the committee's capacity to prepare a good liturgy. He also refers to its unconstitutionality on adult baptism. Hoffmeier replies¶ that the liturgy was constantly gaining friends.

Dr. Heiner, who was a member of the liturgical committee, as soon after the publication of the liturgy as copies could be obtained, under-

**Messenger*, April 28.

†*Messenger*, May 12.

‡*Messenger*, June 16.

§*Messenger*, June 30.

||*Messenger*, July 7.

¶*Messenger*, July 14.

took to introduce it into his congregation. But opposition soon developed and he omitted its use. He soon lost confidence in it and became, as we shall see, an opponent of it.

The synod of 1858 was looked forward to by many to help the Church out of the confusion into which it had fallen because of the liturgy's disagreement with the constitution and the irregularity of its use in being merely provisional. But it took no action except to order a German translation.

Still there was an appeal case that came before the synod, which revealed the liturgical friction. A Female College had been established at Mt. Washington, Baltimore, supported by the Baltimore congregation. A new Reformed Church had been erected near it, but no congregation as yet organized. At its services the old free method of worship had been used. Staley, the principal of the college, introduced the liturgy into it in December, 1857, against the wishes of Heiner, who was chairman of the committee of classis on this new congregation. In February, although there was as yet no organization there he confirmed a catechetical class and administered communion, and on April 1 confirmed another class. The attendants at the church then prepared a memorial to classis asking that Staley and Davis be placed over them as pastors. It was signed by twenty-four persons. Most of the signers, says Heiner, were students who left the school the next summer. The trustees of the church property, who belonged to Heiner's church, also prepared a memorial to classis against granting their request. The classis decided for Heiner, so their opponents appealed to synod. At synod, Heiner stated that Staley's course was all out of order because there was no organized congregation at Mt. Washington, and confirmation and communion could only be administered in a regularly organized congregation. In the discussion, Rev. Joshua Derr defended Staley by quoting Dr. Nevin's administration of the communion at the seminary and his use of confirmation there. But Reid answered that Rev. Alfred Nevin had been censured by Mercersburg classis for administering communion where there was no congregation, and that Dr. J. Nevin had been president of the classis

when this action was taken. S. R. Fisher also stated that Dr. Nevin, when he administered the communion at the seminary, did it in connection with our Mercersburg congregation and under the authority of its consistory. Harbaugh, however, defended Staley. He said the memorialists were a mission congregation station of Maryland classis. He asked the question, to what church did the persons belong who were confirmed there. He then answered in a very high-church way by saying "To the Holy Catholic Church" (which was no answer at all, for where does the Holy Catholic Church exist except in the individual congregations. Still, it reveals Harbaugh's high-church views on the Church and its objective existence—A.). As the lines of the two parties were getting closely drawn and there was a good deal of division and friction, Gerhart finally suggested its reference to a judicious committee, which was done.

At this synod there was also another action taken which soon revealed the divergent tendencies in the Church between high- and low-church. Andrew Hoffman had been deposed by Goshenhoppen classis, and yet, for fourteen years after had performed ministerial acts. Then a minister in regular standing in the Church was called to his charge. The question was brought before synod as to whether the confirmations or baptisms of a deposed minister were to be respected or whether they should be performed over again.

The low-church view and the view of the Old Reformed, as decided by the Eastern Synod of 1842, was that the acts of a deposed minister were null and void. But the views of the Mercersburg theology elevated ordination almost to a sacrament and placed so much emphasis on the objective in ministerial acts that a deposed minister's acts had efficacy in themselves regardless of his deposition. Thus the formula of the trinity had been pronounced over those whom he had baptized—that made it real. Hence his ministerial acts ought to be recognized.

The synod decided that all his acts were irregular, but that synod could make them regular by a formal recognition. It gave Goshenhoppen classis authority to receive back the

congregation over which he had ministered, and in case the individuals applied to be re-baptized or re-confirmed the consistory could decide as to their recognition or not. The vote was 36 to 15. The synod thus transferred the responsibility of deciding this question from itself to the consistory. This led to quite a controversy.

Tobit* attacks this action of synod as being too high-church in putting intrinsic value in the baptisms, etc., themselves. He argued that the deposition of a minister takes away all authority and he becomes only a layman. His acts are therefore not merely irregular but invalid. If they are only irregular, why depose a minister at all. Such a view would destroy all order in the Church. He also attacks the method suggested by synod for the reception of such members—by recognition. You can not confer real baptism and confirmation merely by a resolution of synod. He asks the ministers who voted for it if they had been baptized or confirmed by a deposed minister whether they would be satisfied to stand before their Judge.

Tobitus† approves of Tobit's article. He says that Goshenhoppen classis had passed resolutions that the acts of a deposed minister were invalid and many persons confirmed by this deposed minister had been re-confirmed, which was based on a resolution of 1842. He says Goshenhoppen classis had not asked synod through its delegates for any action in this case, yet synod had given it and it had caused confusion by its action. Will not the ministers who re-confirmed the deposed minister's confirmants have to reconfirm them again according to this resolution of synod. The synod once refused to give an opinion on the case and yet now gives it without being asked. There were twelve or fifteen deposed or suspended ministers within the bounds of Goshenhoppen classis, so that this action of synod had a far-reaching effect.

In the same paper "Stand Up" replied to "Tobit." He takes the high-church view of the sacraments, saying the acts of baptism and confirmation can be repeated by no one unless he makes little or no account of them. The act was duly performed according to the words of institution, and as such it stands in full binding force. Its validity is not vitiated by the subjective condition or relation of the person performing it, and on this idea, the action of synod was based. These acts, when performed by a regular minister, had only one additional part, namely, bringing them into actual connection with the Church. This the synod proposed by its action to bring about. To affect the validity of sacramental acts there must be a defect in the acts themselves, and not merely in the persons performing them or in the conditions necessary

**Messenger*, December 15, 1858.

†*Messenger*, December 29.

to make them effective. Thus baptism is baptism, even though faith be wanting, because performed according to the words of institution. If the reality of a sacrament depends on the subjectivity of those who administer them, you open the door to fanaticism.

"Stand Up" was replied to by Tobit.* He says that "Stand Up" says the acts of a deposed minister are as really performed as those of a true minister. If his acts are valid, what is the use of deposing a minister. Tobit having compared the acts of a properly ordained minister and those of a deposed minister to the distinction between a true and a counterfeit banknote, Stand Up† says this comparison does not hold, for there is no parallel in the figures between a banknote and a sacramental act. Take a proper parallel to a sacrament, namely, the Word of God. If a deposed minister preaches the Word, is his preaching like his sacrament, a falsehood. No, it has God's indelible stamp upon it. The Catholic Church deposed the Reformers, yet their acts are valid because performed according to the words of institution. Its validity depends on the act itself in conjunction with the words of divine institution.

"Tobit" replies‡ that "Stand Up" had yet to learn that a deposition takes away. He charges him with being high-church with a vengeance, because he makes the sacrament have not only a relative but also an intrinsic value. He asks of "Stand Up", "If you are not in the way to Rome, who is. You are arguing in a circle. You first take it for granted that the act of a deposed minister is a sacrament and then argue it has intrinsic value. You are going in a vicious circle."

Replying to the figure of the Word used by "Stand Up," he says, "If the Word had intrinsic value and a parent were taught to say the Word, would that compel us to recognize it as a ministerial act." He thus points out the fallacy of his figure, for parents can't exercise ministerial acts. If the sacraments have intrinsic value, everybody has the right to administer them and you must acknowledge them as valid. What, then, becomes of the ministry? Where is the force of ordination, if the acts of every one have intrinsic value and it does not depend on ordination. This leads to confusion worse confounded.

We might remark on this sharp controversy that the high-church brother "Stand Up" does not see that the higher he places the sacraments here, the more he really lowers the ministry by allowing the acts of a deposed minister to be valid. It is strange, with their high views of ordination, that they did not emphasize that side. But they had to take the choice between the two, with the result, as was said by Tobit, of "confusion worse confounded" and contradicting their own high-church positions on ordination.

**Messenger*, January 12.

†*Messenger*, January 26.

‡*Messenger*, February 9.

Leaving this controversy and returning to the liturgical controversy, we notice that Foulk* defends the liturgy, quoting Acts 4:26-30. Omega endorses Foulk, but says he is only a village pastor and his people are opposed to a liturgy even at communion. He gives several difficulties in the way of its use:

1. Our Church is imbued with a foreign spirit.
2. Our people fear to do it lest they lose ground in the estimation of the community.
3. There is a want of proper training for liturgical worship.

The very architecture, he says, is against it; for in many of our churches we have no altar upon which to lay the liturgy—not even an altar-place. Again, the people are not willing to buy a liturgy. In his congregation, though a copy was placed in the pulpit and it was recommended to the people, not a half dozen copies were circulated. Again, many choirs could not sing the Magnificat, Benedictus, Gloria in Excelsis and Nunc Dimittis as given in the liturgy.

SECTION 3. THE LITURGICAL EVENTS OF 1859.

During the winter of 1858-9, Dr. Harbaugh, at Lancaster, preached a series of sermons on "The Virgin Mary." And a rumor spread abroad that in them he was developing Romanizing tendencies. Afterward at the request of friends, he published them in a volume, "The True Glory of Woman." He speaks of Mary as a model virgin, wife, mother, disciple and saint. He opposes the worship of Mary as unscriptural, but holds to her ever-virginity.

At the beginning of 1859 two new features appear in the *Messenger* so as to educate its readers up to liturgical principles. The first is a series of articles by Foulk on the meaning of each Sabbath in the church year. He began (January 5) with Christmas, then Epiphany, etc. The other series consisted of articles on "Our Liturgy," designed to explain and defend it. It explained the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the Magnificat, Benedictus, Trisagion, Gloria Patri, etc. It finally takes up the Church Year, which says it is necessary to bring out the historical side of Christianity and also to develop our piety. He speaks† of the desirability of liturgical prayer as it avoids the miserable faults and failures sometimes, yes frequently, met with in free prayer.

**Messenger*, December 8.

†*Messenger*, March 2.

“Here,” he says, “is no metaphysical disquisition, no wearisome hortatory harangue, no intrusion and local references.” People will go to Church not to yawn and doze through every part of the sermon but to worship. They will go not with itching ears to come away criticising the sermon but to remember the confession of sin and the profession of their faith, in short, refreshed, invigorated, comforted.

Schaff, in the *Mercersburg Review*, said that the opposition to the liturgy came mainly from one minister, who wrote in the *Messenger* under three signatures, referring to S. R. Fisher. There had been friction between them before, because Schaff had ignored the publication-house of our Church (Kieffer & Co.), of which Fisher was a member, in the publication of his German hymn-book, by getting it published by a firm outside of the Church. There was also friction between them because the liturgical committee had also had the liturgy published by an outside party (Lindsay & Blakiston). All this Fisher claimed was contrary to the agreement that synod had made with his firm, namely, that all the Church publications should be published by them. Schaff now attacks Fisher* for attacking the liturgical committee. He reminds Fisher that he was a member of that committee, and that he had been appointed to it at Schaff’s own motion; so that he might assist not only in preparing the liturgy but also in its final publication. The synod would not have put him on the committee if it had foreseen his later hostility. Schaff also charges Fisher with having published his prayer-book, called “The Family Assistant” only a few months before the appearance of the liturgy, for the purpose of injuring the liturgy. Fisher replies to this, that his book had been published at the solicitation of friends and that he never dreamed of trespassing on the province of the liturgical committee. And, besides, it had been published two years before the liturgy appeared. All this discussion, however, revealed a good deal of feeling between the publishing house at Chambersburg and the leaders of the liturgical committee, which is a new element in the opposition to the liturgy.

Rev. Max Stern,† who might be called the father of the liturgical movement, for he it was who first proposed the action in East Pennsylvania classis in 1847 that led to all this controversy, writes an article against Omega. He expresses his opinion as to whether this liturgy fulfills his expectations when he first proposed the subject more than ten years before. He says he had examined a number of Reformed liturgies of different countries and ages and must pronounce it anti-Reformed in form, substance and spirit. He says the course of some brethren, who are trying to introduce it by stealth into their congregations, can but lead to schism; for the pastors, who will have nothing to do with it, will be driven to the opposite extreme. He tells Omega

**Messenger*, January 5.

†*Messenger*, January 19.

that his claim that our Church was a liturgical church is false, as is also his claim that the new liturgy was a repristination,—that is, a return to the old worship of our Church. The Reformed Church never was a liturgical Church like the Episcopalian, with your “solemn sing-song and kling-klang,” as Prof. Schenkel, the Reformed professor at Heidelberg University, Germany, humorously describes it. The Reformed always had free prayer and simplicity of worship. The success of our Church does not depend on book-worship, but on prayer in spirit and truth. Omega replied by saying the liturgy was not intended to be against free prayer, but that a combination of liturgy and free prayer was what was desired.

Some one published* a letter he had received from Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, Sr., the oldest minister of our Church, who approved of some things in the liturgy, but disapproved of others, especially of subscription to the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds at ordination, the use of the litany in the Lord’s day services, the many responses, its confession and absolution, singing and chanting the *Te Deum* or *Gloria*. As to communion, he liked the form in the Palatinate better because simpler. He objected to certain phrases in baptism, as “communication of such great grace.” He says the sacraments are for the confirmation of grace, not for its communication, as stated in the liturgy. Neither the sacrament or the inspired Word or an inspired apostle possessed in themselves divine efficacy. He objected to certain phrases in the confirmation service as high-church. Marriage was excellent, but visitation of the sick, too lengthy. As to ordination giving the Holy Spirit to the candidate as the liturgy stated, the candidate ought to have the Holy Spirit before ordination. He much prefers the Palatinate liturgy on baptism and ordination.

A minister of the Reformed Church, formerly “Seldom, Sr.,” charged† that the liturgy contained doctrines and usages in conflict with the constitution of the Church,—that it was irregular. He urged that it be sent down constitutionally to the classes for adoption and rejection. If the liturgy has few opponents, as has been said by its warmest friends, they need not fear for it, and this action would bring matters constitutionally to a close. All the while ministers, by stated lectures in favor of a liturgical service, are trying to educate the membership up to this innovation. He referred in this, not to the professors at Mercersburg, but to Harbaugh, who, at Lancaster, was giving such lectures to his Sunday school teachers and members on liturgical worship. He referred to the action of the recent synod, which made regular and valid the ministerial acts of a deposed minister and which justified the popish dictum of making valid the baptism of laymen, midwives and heretical ministers.‡

**Messenger*, February 9, 1859.

†*Messenger*, March 30, 1859.

‡See a later section on lay-baptism.

Piscator, in the same paper, says he can prove that not only the formula of baptism but other formulas are not Reformed. The whole book is not the legitimate child or product of true Evangelical Reformed life, spirit and genius. On special occasions, responses are in place, but not in the regular worship of the Sabbath.

Another line of argument for the liturgy was pursued by several writers, who made a historical argument from old Reformed liturgies that the Order was Reformed. They quote the Zurich and Hessian liturgies as being the models for it and as having responses, and claim that the Palatinate had confession and absolution like this liturgy.

We have thus tried to summarize the controversy in these two years as briefly as possible. It is very evident that the liturgy had already aroused great opposition and divided the Church. By April 27, 1859, the editor of the *Messenger* says that the large amount of matter on the liturgy in its columns has evoked a shower of complaints from the readers of the paper. Not a few of the friends of the liturgy, as well as its opponents are protesting against so much controversial matter. Some want it confined to the *Mercersburg Review*, others want it flung under the table. Yet some cry for more. Hereafter he would limit the number of pages given to the liturgical controversy to a few columns, thus hoping to please all best.

Wanner* says that the *Messenger* wanted variety and it has gotten it by all sorts of controversies. It is hard to determine, he says, whether the signatures of the writers or their arguments are the most unintelligible.

The pressure against such a superabundance of liturgical articles seems to have been so great that in the same issue Foulk announces that he has come to the conclusion to cease publishing his articles on the exposition of the pericopes and Sundays of the church-year. He retires so as to give room for Omega's articles, which he considers more important than his own, and because so many are protesting against the great amount of liturgical and controversial matter. He, however, gives a hit at Piscator (the editor of the *Messenger*), by saying that the latter's articles on baptism, etc., in the *Messenger*

**Messenger*, May 11.

of March 20 run from four to six columns each, thus hinting that the lack of room in the paper did not come from the liturgists alone but was caused by the longwindedness of the editor himself. N. (who seems to have been Nevin),* comes vigorously, as was needed, to the defense of the liturgy.

He first refers to the arguments against the use of a liturgy, that it is mechanical,—tends to formality,—fetter proper spirit of devotion,—interferes with the full use of ministerial gifts,—limits the range of prayer, making it general instead of allowing it to suit itself to all occasions. He says the opposition between forms of prayer and free prayer is a distinction without a difference. For even congregational worship is never a free act. Multitudes take such a free service as the very perfection and hold themselves never so free as when “dancing in such a style like the tail of a kite upon the erratic originalities of a gifted leader.” “Of all kinds of bondage in worship, this is the worst, whether it be Boston eloquence or Methodist rant.” All ministers fall into certain habits of prayer. This passes for free prayer but is really preconceived prayer and thus like a liturgy, only not printed in a book. In any general view, the presumption is in favor of the liturgy. He defends book-prayers because artistic. Liturgical prayers are more comprehensive. A liturgy gives ease to the voice of the reader. He questions whether in the present mode of mind in our Church a liturgy would be of any use and the true idea of a liturgy is far above this beggarly conception. A liturgy is not a book of forms (he probably refers here to a pulpit-liturgy), but it is a system of religious service based on the Lord’s Supper. In order to an effectual use of a liturgy, there must be (1) a liturgical spirit, which must be a sacramental spirit. This was the animating soul of the old liturgies and forms, the great power and peculiar characteristic of Patristic divinity.

(2) The second necessary constituent of the liturgical spirit, after the sacramental spirit, is the idea of an altar. He proves the use of the altar from Judaism and quotes, “We have an altar” (Heb. 13: 10) to favor it. (He forgets that the best exegetes, as Alford and Meyer, refer this to the cross and not to a church-altar.—A.) A church without an altar is not properly fitted to be a house of prayer. The pulpit is no place for liturgical services.

(3) He then gives the third great qualification for the liturgical spirit, namely the church year. The historical use of the liturgy and church year have always moved forward together.

His articles continue up to September 21, when he gives the last constituents of the liturgical spirit, as responses and chanting. The Mayer

**Messenger*, June 1.

or any merely pulpit-liturgy, he says, will not satisfy. The question of the liturgy is the liturgical-spirit.

While Nevin's articles were being published, an important controversy went on between a "Minister of the German Reformed Church" and "Omega."

The first* writes on the constitutional phase of the liturgy. He objects to the author of the articles on "Our Liturgy" when he says that "the constitution is not the norm for our catechism, hymn-book and liturgy but that these are the norm of it." He replied that the constitution is the norm and the liturgy must come under constitutional requirements. The author of those articles admits there is a difference between the constitution and the liturgy on the questions asked at baptism to adults, but he thinks that the questions in the liturgy are far superior to those in the constitution. He says it is best to let contradictions exist until prepared to decide between the two, the constitution and the liturgy. But while Omega argues thus, the "Minister of the Reformed Church" replies that this never was the custom of our Church. The Mayer liturgy was sent down constitutionally to the classes. Why does the liturgy suppress the second part of the first question in the constitution which makes the Bible the only rule of faith. This was the point in controversy between the Papacy and Protestants. It ought to be there against the high-church views on tradition of the liturgists.

Omega replies,† granting the difference between the constitution and the liturgy on the questions of adult baptism. But he tries to condone this, for he says ministers have been violating the constitution for many years. And synod avoided this inconsistency between constitution and liturgy by making it provisional only. (We might add that even synod has no right to make an unconstitutional thing even provisional.—A.) He places the questions on baptism in the constitution and liturgy side by side and then begins to argue against the constitution. The first question in the constitution is not sufficiently Catholic and is partisan because aimed at the error of Romanism and should not be used here. On the second question, the liturgy is better than the constitution, because, instead of requiring (personal—A.) confession of faith of the catechism, it requires only general confession of faith, as in the Apostles' Creed, and allows one to change one's views on the catechism and yet be orthodox. The last question in the constitution implies too much, as all in it is implied in the creed. "A Minister of the German Reformed Church" replies‡ to Omega, that not to ask the question of the

**Messenger*, June 8.

†*Messenger*, June 29.

‡*Messenger*, July 27.

constitution as Omega suggests is to encourage confusion in the Church instead of the very uniformity that the liturgy was supposed to produce. He attacks Omega's latitudinarianism for preferring the question in the liturgy to the first question in the constitution because the latter was partisan against Rome.

By July 6 the writer who wrote articles on "Our Liturgy" retires from the publication of these articles, because some of the readers of the *Messenger* want them discontinued. He refers to C. F. Hoffmeier, who proposes to speak for the people against so much liturgy in the Church papers.

During 1858 the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany spoke out against the new high-church customs being forced upon the Reformed in Germany by the Union with the Lutherans. It protested against changing the table into an altar (page 321). The Reformed, it says (page 373), tolerate in their churches no altar, no lights, no crucifix, no confessional bench, etc.,—all that is Lutheran. It had said in 1856 that the Reformed of Germany were low-church and not high-church as were the Lutherans. Thus though not referring to our liturgical men it opposed what they advocated.

But the most significant event in this year, which greatly alarmed the low-churchmen, was the action of Lancaster classis. Heretofore the controversy about the liturgy had been by individuals in the publications of the Church. But now it enters on a constitutional phase. The question was whether the minister himself had the right to introduce the liturgy or whether he had to get the consent of his consistory or congregation to do it. High-churchmen took the former view, because they held that the minister was a priest who had the charge of the worship of the sanctuary. The old Reformed, whether he had to get the consent of his consistory or congregation was necessary according to the constitution and custom of our Church. This was the beginning of the great constitutional battle that was to come later.

Dr. Harbaugh, pastor of the church at Lancaster, had introduced the liturgy. But it produced so much dissatisfaction and division in the Church that the consistory in the summer of 1859 passed an action against its use. The congregation, at

a meeting July 11, requested Harbaugh to resign, giving as one reason his disregard of the action of the consistory. As he kept on using it, the consistory locked the doors of the church on him, October 2, and the church remained closed, it is said, for about two months.* A high-church minority of the consistory, together with some of the congregation, brought charges against the majority of the consistory for this before classis at a meeting held October 28, 1859. The charges were conspiracy against the pastor, contentiousness and lawless violence. Classis approved the charges, deposed the majority of the consistory and suspended them from the Church. Many of them with their friends left the Church. Thus the classis appeared to the low-churchmen determined to keep the liturgy in the church service at all hazards and this unconstitutional decision greatly alarmed them. The action of the classis gave official sanction to the minister,—that he had the absolute right to use the liturgy and direct the worship as he willed. This was contrary to the early promises of the leaders of the liturgical party that no force would be used to introduce the liturgy and that the congregations must decide for themselves.

The synod of 1859 had a very difficult problem before it,—to harmonize the liturgy with the constitution and to do it in such a way as to harmonize the two parties in the Church. Elder Rudolph Kelker offered resolutions in regard to this inconsistency, asking synod to urge the ministry to strictly adhere to the constitution rather than to the liturgy and ordering the committee on the German translation of the liturgy to introduce the four questions in the constitution on adult baptism and confirmation into the German translation instead of the questions of the liturgy. After some discussion, the whole matter was referred to a committee consisting of Revs. Drs. Gerhart, S. R. Fisher, T. G. Apple, F. W. Kremer, Harbaugh and Elders Kelker and Knode to report at the next synod. Even if it did nothing else, the synod thus took official recognition of the want of harmony between the con-

*See *Evangelist*, December 7, 1858.

stitution and the liturgy. (?) The committee on the translation into German reported that it had done all except the family prayers, but desired to revise its work for its better adaptability to the Church. It desired the privilege of making a collection of family prayers from the German instead of translating them from the English. The committee received the thanks of the synod and was enlarged by four additional members. It was ordered to publish its work in provisional form by next meeting of synod and was given the privilege of adding family prayers originally German. Thus the synod did nothing but left open the provisional liturgy for another year.

COMPARISON OF THE LITURGY AND THE CONSTITUTION ON ADULT BAPTISM. *

CONSTITUTION.

Do you believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are divinely inspired Scriptures,—have divine authority and are the perfect and only rule of life?

Do you believe that the doctrine which is received and publicly professed in the German Reformed Church and embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism is truly the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures: and will you live agreeably to it, adorn it in all things and demean yourself as a true follower of Jesus Christ? Will you at all times submit to the rules of order and discipline in the German Reformed Church and confirm them by your obedience as is meet for a follower of Jesus Christ. True faith in the language of our Catechism is not only a certain knowledge, whereby we hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in his word but also an assured con-

LITURGY

Dost thou then renounce the devil with all his ways and works, the world with its vain pomp and glory and the flesh with all its sinful desires.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, etc.

Creed.

Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?

Do you promise to follow Jesus Christ and to keep his commandments all the days of thy life?

fidence which the Holy Ghost works by the Gospel in our hearts, that not only to others but to us also, forgiveness of sins everlasting righteousness and salvation are freely given by God merely of grace only for the sake of Christ's merits. Do you sincerely profess that all this is your faith?

It is very easy to see where the form in the Provisional liturgy comes from. We here give the questions in the Episcopal Prayer-Book. The resemblance is very evident:

"Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world with all covetous desires of the same and the sinful desires of the flesh so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?

Answer. I renounce them all; and by God's help, will endeavor not to follow nor be led by them.

Dost thou believe all the articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed? I do.

Wilt thou be baptized in this faith? That is my desire.

Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments and walk in the same all the days of thy life? I will by God's help."

No wonder the charge was made that the new liturgy would Episcopalize our Church.

SECTION 4. THE OFFICE OF BISHOP.

The *Mercersburg Review* of 1859 contained one article that led to considerable controversy. It was by Rev. Dr. Gans, entitled "The Office of Bishop." It was an attempt to develop the doctrine of the ministry in the direction of its objective, intrinsic power.

He begins by discussing the relation of the visible to the invisible Church, claiming that they are united and can never be sundered. On their union he emphasizes the visible because objective. Of Puritanism, which sunders the invisible from the visible, he has this severe passage: "Its ghastly visage can only frighten and repel. It can never draw men permanently to its cold heart or hold them in its skeleton arms." In thus making the union of the visible and invisible necessary, he seems to deny that the invisible can exist where there is no visible Church.

The office of bishop (by which he means the minister) is threefold, prophetic, priestly and kingly. He is not quite sure whether bishop and presbyter are always exactly the same, still he holds to the parity of the ministry. But he says the main question is not the parity of the ministry but in what this parity consists. Is there any reality in the office of the ministry. We must distinguish between man as a man and man as an officer. As an officer he does not lose his personality as a man. But the office gives him something more than the man. He stands in Christ's stead (2 Cor. 3: 20). Because of this special power given to him by the ministry, he becomes at baptism an organ through which God communicates the grace of regeneration peculiar to its official act. When Peter commanded the lame man to rise, he did it by his peculiar power as an officer of the Church. At ordination, by virtue of his office he conveys a gift of grace by laying his hands on the ordained (1 Tim. 4: 14 and 2 Tim. 1: 6). This comes not from the fingers of the presbyter but from Christ through them as the appointed channel. So at the benediction, Christ speaks through to him. He quotes, "Lo, I am with you always," etc., as a promise of this power and "He that heareth you heareth me" (Luke 10: 16). There is a perfect chain of authority extending from the Father through the Son to the ambassador he appoints.

He thus emphasizes the objective in the ministry as he had before emphasized it in all the offices in his article on the "Laying on of Hands." He even goes so far as to say that the effect of the sacrament is physical as well as moral. These high-church views ultimately had their fruitage (as his mind ran out logically to its end) by his finally going over to the Romish Church many years later.

His high-church views of the ministry were severely attacked by Piscator.*

He attacks Gans because he confounds the Church with the kingdom of God which is unbiblical. The kingdom of God refers to heaven except in two places (Matt. 16: 18 and Matt. 18: 17). If they mean the same thing he gives some illustrations to show the ridiculousness caused by substituting "church" for "kingdom of God" in some passages—"Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the—Church;" "Except ye become as a little child ye shall not see the—Church;" "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the—Church." Over against Gans' doctrine that baptism is the door of salvation, he quotes "he that believeth and is baptized," etc., which makes faith necessary and places it first and not baptism. How foolish Philip acted when he required faith of the eunuch if baptism saved him. How strange Paul does not remember

**Messenger* of February 9, 1859.

whether he baptized any others, if baptism were sufficient and faith of no use. Christ sent him not to baptize but to preach the gospel (1 Cor. 1:4-7). If baptism is planting into heavenly soil, if it is the new birth into the kingdom of God, every minister ought to baptize all he can lay hands on. Just as Gans had identified the church with the kingdom, so he had identified baptism with the means of it. Piscator says "I have often felt sorry of late to see the rapid advancement of extreme high-church notions as set forth in the *Review* and the *Messenger*. Scarcely a week passes but some new developments of high-churchism appears as in the institution of baptism or the Creed, making 'I believe in the holy Catholic Church' its centre, when this article is not in the most ancient of all the creeds." He calls attention to the confirmation service in the liturgy,* where the church in God's stead claims you for its services, thus putting the Church before and in place of Christ.

Piscator† again attacks the liturgy. The principal objection to the liturgy is its high-church doctrines. He compares the 54th answer of the catechism with the formula of confirmation. The catechism says "Christ gathers and builds his Church by imparting the Holy Spirit and the Word," but the liturgy says that the Church in God's stead imparts the Holy Spirit. Compare answers 72 and 73 of the catechism with the phrase "sanctified water to the mystical washing away of sin through the mystery of holy baptism" of the liturgy. Against Gans' attack on Puritanism he defends it. Its large institutions of learning, its great missionary work make Gans' "ghastly visage, cold heart and skeleton arms" only creatures of his imagination. Several Puritanic congregations contribute twice as much to the cause of missions as our whole Church. By their fruits ye shall know them. He ridicules Gans' statement that water and the Spirit constitute baptism. In baptism faith is as necessary as water and the Spirit. Hence we always confess faith before baptism and require parents to do so. So, too, the Lord's Supper is not merely the union of the visible sign with the invisible grace, but faith is also necessary. Gans makes the sacrament effectual for the body as well as for the soul. But if a crumb of bread should fall to the ground and be eaten by a church-mouse what would be the consequence?

Piscator‡ again attacks Gans. He says the three offices of prophet, priest and king do not apply to the ministry but to the members of the Church, for catechumens are taught that they are prophets, priests and kings.§ In order to exalt church officers, Gans deprives the members of their heaven-born privileges. The passage Luke 10:10 applies not to

*Page 217.

†*Messenger*, February 23.

‡*Messenger*, March 16.

§Answer 32 of the catechism.

the twelve apostles and their successors, but to all Christians. Gans exalts baptism unduly, saying that prayer and charities and zeal on the part of thousands are not equivalent to the single act of baptism by a regular ambassador of Christ. Gans' distinction between man as a man and man as an officer is not applicable to the Christian Church, for how much spiritual power do they have as officers that they do not have as men. According to the catechism (answers 53 and 52) all members partake of the life of Christ through the Spirit. As to Gans' baptismal regeneration, he asks how rationalistic ministers are channels of the regenerating power of baptism when they themselves have had no regeneration at baptism. Gans says a minister as an officer acts from and for Christ wholly. But are the Catholics, who denounce the Protestants and the Lutherans, who denounce the Reformed, acting from or for Christ wholly. The liturgy is not the legitimate child of true Evangelical Reformed life, spirit and genius. Its introduction will lead to great confusion. In Hesse, in Germany, where the Reformed congregations used the richest liturgy, congregation after congregation has passed over to the Lutheran Church. So it will be with us. On special occasions, responses are in place but in the regular Sabbath services they are superfluous and not in harmony with our services.

Again, Gans, by his unwarrantable distinction between office-bearer and church-members, ignores the Holy Spirit. The Church, her officers and sacraments are invested with saving power and there is nothing left for the free influence of the Holy Spirit because the gift of the Spirit comes by the laying on of hands. But all this is unbiblical and un-Reformed. When the gospel was preached to the heathen, it was not done by church officers (Acts 11: 19-21). Paul was not ordained by the officers of the Church. The apostles considered preaching more necessary than baptism or the Lord's Supper. When high-churchmen make ministers "official representatives of divine and heavenly powers," it is all pantheistic, for Stier says "It is a most pernicious error, which partaking of the pantheistic mystery of falsehood speaks of the continual incarnation of Christ in his Church."

Gans replied to these attacks of Fisher.* He says his object was to show:

1. The parity of the ministry.
2. The reality of the ministry.

He says he did not mean to make the Church and the kingdom of Christ identical, but only so as actually existing. He objects to faith as a necessary part of baptism. Did Christ, he asks, in instituting baptism, make faith objectively a part of it. If faith is a necessary part of baptism, then all, whether infidels, Turks or barbarians must

**Messenger*, April 13, 1859.

receive grace. Baptism as an objective institution is complete in itself. But faith is the necessary condition of the application of this grace. He denies that he made ministers alone prophets, priests and kings. The arguments of Piscator would teach that when a man becomes a Christian he becomes a minister also. He claims that the answers in the Heidelberg Catechism on the power of the keys prove his position.

Piscator replied,* How can baptism be complete in itself, independent of the transaction in which the subject and faith are necessarily applied. By leaving out such living realities, baptism becomes a naked, meaningless transaction. Faith and the subjective is not a mere condition of the sacrament as Gans has said, but a necessity to a true sacrament. As to Gans' using the answers of the Heidelberg Catechism on the power of the keys to prove his position, he replied, that the answers do not mention ministers at all, but only the preaching of the Word and Christian discipline as the keys. Where does the catechism say that ministers, independent of their congregations, are authorized to open and shut by means of discipline? Gans' statements about baptism are stronger than those of the Catholic Møhler in his Symbolics. This is his parting shot at Gans.

SECTION 5. LITURGICAL DISCUSSION AND EVENTS OF 1860.

The liturgical discussion continued revealing various phases and developments of the Mercersburg theology.

On January 4, Rev. Dr. Foulk begins a new series of articles in the *Messenger* on the minor festival days, beginning with John the Evangelist's Day. These were continued weekly until July 18, closing with St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day.

A new controversy begins in the *Messenger*† which reveals growing high-church views on a new subject, namely, burial. One who signs himself "A Believer," referring to the burial forms in the Provisional liturgy, asks, Has a minister a right to use any of the burial forms at the grave of an unbeliever?

He says that in many places an unbeliever has all the rites at burial of a believer. It is wrong to use the burial service over an unbeliever because of the great difference between believers and unbelievers. He mentions the case of a woman who had never been to the altar for confirmation or communion, yet was brought there dead for burial. Has the ritual service of the Church any meaning or is it meaningless, and so can be

**Messenger*, May 18.

†January 18.

performed over believer and unbeliever alike. He continues,* saying it is not consistent to bury unbelievers with the benediction of the Church. No lodge will bury one who is not a member, why should the Church? A refusal to bury unbelievers will lead to higher respect for the Church and her services. Let unbelievers be made to feel that they will be buried without the rites of religion. Ministers are not allowed to administer the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper to unbelievers, why give them burial? He then goes to a still higher position.† No longer is it unbelievers, whose burial he objects to, but now it is unbaptized infants, whom it is wrong to bury with the benediction of the Church. As they are not baptized, they are not members of the Church and should not receive the burial of members. He quotes for his position answer 74 in the catechism, where it says that baptized children are to be distinguished from the children of unbelievers. But do we distinguish them, he asks, if we bury them alike. To refuse to bury unbaptized infants would encourage greater respect for Christian baptism.

But Alpha‡ locks horns with him. He says it is true that the burial service of the Provisional Liturgy is suited only for believers, but this does not imply that the Christian minister should use no form for the burial of unbelievers. If asked why use any service, he replies, for the sake of humanity; for it seems inhuman to put their bodies under ground without any service. It ought also to be done for the sake of giving a warning to the living. If "Believer" held that all infants were saved, then they all needed Christian burial and it ought not to be denied to unbaptized infants. As to the 74th answer of the catechism, that could not be quoted here, for it referred to baptism, not to burial. "We should not put our churchly notions on stilts or run them into the ground," he says. He declares that if one of his children were to die, before baptism could be given him, he would bury him as one of God's children. "Believer's" arguments against the universal salvation of infants were very lame.

Believer replies to him.§ Alpha's distinction in the liturgy, that the first burial service was intended for believers and the second for unbelievers, is not true, for the second service is for Christians too. The second form agrees word for word with that of the Episcopal Prayer-book, and no Episcopalian minister is allowed to use that form over unbaptized infants. Alpha says it ought to be done for the sake of humanity; but, the Bible says, "Cast not your pearls before swine." With the same plea of humanity, he might ask for the liberation of prisoners. Alpha says it gives an opportunity to speak to the living;

**Messenger* of January 25.

†*Messenger* of February 1.

‡*Messenger*, February 29.

§*Messenger*, March 14.

but is the burial service intended for the living? If it be inhuman to bury them without a service, it is more inhuman for them to live without the Church. Alpha says their desire for a minister to perform the burial is a sign that they acknowledge the great truths of Christianity. He answers, not necessarily. Alpha has not touched the fundamental thing, namely, the great difference between believers and unbelievers,—the want of Church membership,—a proper regard for the Church and the sacredness of the ministerial office.

Further discussion of the liturgy and its theology ceased during the summer and fall of 1860, probably because the Church was waiting for the committee appointed by the synod of 1859 to make its report on the liturgy to the next synod. We note, however, the publication of a German sermon by J. S. Kessler on Liturgical Worship, which was favorable to the liturgy and whose evident aim was to influence to the Germans, who as yet had almost to a man been unfavorable to the liturgy.

The synod of 1860 had the same problem before it as the last synod, the inconsistency of the liturgy and the constitution.

Rev. Dr. Gerhart for the liturgical committee reported a meeting July 13, 1860, at Harrisburg. He reported that there were two methods of removing the discrepancy between the constitution and the liturgy. One was to so modify the liturgy as to make it conform to the constitution. The other was to amend the constitution so as to make it conform to the liturgy. Either method would be improper. Either the Church must tolerate these discrepancies as an evil incident to the liturgical movement, or the liturgy must be carefully revised and then submitted to the classes for adoption or rejection. The committee, therefore recommended that inasmuch as the Provisional liturgy had been in the hands of the ministers and laity for three years and it may be presumed that the Church is prepared to form a correct judgment concerning its merits and defects, that the synod commit the work to a committee for careful revision in order to adapt it fully to the practical wants of the German Reformed Church.

One of the committee, "K," wrote to the author of this book that at the committee meeting, Fisher, Kremer and him-

self were of one mind that the questions of the constitution should be inserted in the liturgy. But at the synod Dr. Gerhart, the chairman, came to him and said he had mislaid the report and that he would make up a report from memory, which he did. And it was received by the synod as above, but it was not really the original report of the committee, for it did not report the insertion of the questions of the constitution into the liturgy.

The report led to considerable discussion. In it, the member of the committee just referred to, says that Harbaugh opposed the insertion of the questions of the constitution into the liturgy. He ridiculed those questions and declared he always had felt it blasphemy to ask them. (This was pretty strong language from one who had signed the constitution and promised to uphold it. But those were the days of strong language.—A.) The following resolutions were then substituted in the place of the report of the committee, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Provisional Liturgy be submitted to the several classes of this synod for their examination, and that they report their views upon the same to the next meeting of synod.

Resolved, That, in the meantime, the attention of the ministers of this synod be directed to the constitutional requirements in the administration of baptism and confirmation.

The only proper thing was for the synod to live up to its constitution. The constitution and not the liturgy is the guide to the Church. The supreme court of our country, says the writer we have just quoted, would ridicule any other idea than living up to the constitution. It would decide that any one coming into the Reformed Church must come in according to the constitution or else remain outside, and that any one joining Church without answering the questions in the constitution, would have no Church or property rights and could never be disciplined simply because they were unconstitutionally admitted.

The committee on the German translation reported that the revision had not been fully completed, but submitted several of the forms for inspection. The firm of Kieffer & Co. would not publish it at their own risk, but would do so on reason-

able terms, or the firm of Lindsay & Blakeston would publish it if synod would do as had been done with the English liturgy, guarantee the sale of 3,000 copies. The synod ordered the committee to have it published and issued in provisional form, but would not be held responsible for the cost of the publication. The report of the sale of the English liturgy was also made,—that 3,000 copies had been sold, the committee receiving from Lindsay & Blakeston \$206.74 copy money, after deducting the cost of the correction of the plates. The whole expense of the committee to October, 1859, had been \$269.50, including \$60. voted to the chairman for the purchase of necessary liturgical works, which were afterwards deposited in the library of the seminary. The agreement with Lindsay & Blakeston was dated June 19, 1857, for ten years, and they promised the committee ten per cent.*

SECTION 6. THE LITURGICAL DISCUSSIONS AND EVENTS OF 1861.

In 1861 there was a thunderclap out of the sky in the West which heretofore had kept out of the controversy. Rev. Max Stern attacked the liturgy in the Western German church-paper,† *The Evangelist*,—

1. Because of its extrême tendencies.
2. Because of its ignorance of the rich liturgies of our Church. He wanted a genuine Reformed liturgy and until one was issued by the Church he proposed to use the Church-book prepared by Ebrard, which contained a great many Reformed forms. This attack of Stern ultimately carried with it almost all the Germans in the West against the liturgy.

However, by March, the controversy began in the East. This was due to the fact that the classes were to discuss the liturgy and at their meetings in the spring state criticisms of it.

*A curious incident of this synod was its confession that the last synod had erred. The last synod had adopted a German hymn-book without sending it down to the classes for adoption or rejection. This synod declared that act unconstitutional and ordered it sent down to the classes. This was entirely contrary to their later view that the voice of the Church (the synod) was the voice of God and could not err.

†See issue of January 23, 1861.

On March 27 a second thunderclap also came out of the sky in the East. A new writer rises to attack the liturgy, signing himself B. (Bomberger). Like Fisher, he had been a member of the liturgical committee, but by this time he felt the liturgy would not be adopted by the Church and he favored a revision. He afterwards said that he had become alarmed at the increasing attempts of the high-church party to liturgize the Church—that is to educate it up to a liturgy. The fact that Harbaugh had prepared a liturgical Sunday school hymn-book and published it early in 1861 seems especially to have alarmed him. He says of this hymn-book that it has a more extensive service than the Episcopal. Its aim was to train the children of our Sunday school, to be liturgical,—getting them accustomed early to a liturgical service.* Harbaugh's Sunday School hymn-book had been preceded by the publication by Harbaugh of the *Golden Censor*, December, 1860. Its object was to accustom the catechumens to a liturgical service. Its forms and teachings followed the new liturgy. Another effort made was the publication of a *Child's Catechism* in the spirit of the liturgical theology. The synod of 1859 had appointed a committee consisting of Harbaugh, Gans, T. G. Appel, Theodore Appel and two elders to draw up this catechism. It was referred back to the committee and finally, after several years' discussion, authorized by synod to be published in the *Messenger*, but it was never officially adopted by synod. It had in it the Mercersburg theology for the children.

All these things caused still greater alarm on the part of the opponents of the liturgy. So that some of its former friends now felt that matters had gone too far and that for the sake of the peace of the Church there should be a revision of it.

B.'s first article of the series "The Classes and the Liturgy," calls attention to the gravity of the situation and the responsibility of the classes. Something must be done, for the Church had been long enough unsettled by the liturgy. It needs revision, here a word, there a sen-

*Bomberger to offset this, later published a Sunday school hymn-book, entitled "Prayers and Hymns for Sunday Schools."

tence, etc. But the revision must go deeper than that. The liturgy was a compromise. There were some peculiar views privately entertained but not current in the Church which had gained admission into it. The question now is how to harmonize the Church, for all must be done in a catholic spirit. The high-churchman must abate his demands, the low-churchman must not insist on everything being leveled to his spiritualistic notions. Each must give up something. He describes* the merits and the defects of the liturgy. He grants that there are merits, but there must be defects in it, because after three years' trial it is not being used in the Church, even in the sacramental, confirmation and burial services, where it was most expected to be suitable. Its merits are its Scriptural basis, the prominence given to the primitive forms of the Church and its adherence to the Church year. He then mentions its defects.† They were

1. The prominence given to responsive worship in the first and second services of the Lord's day and the Lord's Supper services. Also its litanies were not after the custom of our Church. The Palatinate liturgy had but one response, which was in the preparatory service, where the Provisional liturgy omits it. Our Church never had a prayer broken by responses, as in the Provisional liturgy.

2. It produces greater diversities in worship than before. The aim of such a directory is to secure a certain measure of uniformity in worship among the churches. But instead of uniformity there was confusion. Some use the responses, some, not. With three to five exceptions, our congregations do not want responsive services. If the liturgy is to come into use they must be eliminated.

3. The great length of the services, their didactic character, especially in the preparatory service.

4. The intricacy of its services, especially at the Lord's Supper, to congregations not accustomed to its use.

5. It gives prominence to certain sacramental doctrines and high-church views. This shows itself in short sentences or single words, which on closer inspection, involve doctrines never adopted by the Reformed Church.

The Provisional liturgy has served a purpose in showing what the Church does not want and in training us to labors of this kind. The defects in it are not insuperable and the cost of removing them would not be more than fifty or a hundred dollars.

Although his articles were intended to be irenic and proposed a compromise yet by this time, however, he began to be

**Messenger*, April 3.

†*Messenger*, April 17.

attacked by four persons, by Star,* by Gerhart, by S. (Lewis Steiner) and Harbaugh.

Star† says the classes could do one of two things, send it back to the liturgical committee for revision, or make it provisional for ten years. He prefers the latter, because it ought to have more than three years' trial. If the liturgical committee spent seven years on it, three years is too short for a trial in order to test it. He is especially sore at B.'s remark that private views of individuals were introduced into the liturgy. This was not consistent with the unanimous report of the liturgical committee. The book is free from all such private views of ministers. He denies that it was a compromise liturgy and hopes it will be given more trial.

S.‡ also attacks B., saying his first attention to liturgical matters had been by an article by B. (Bomberger) in the *Mercersburg Review* on Liturgy. He asks what are the peculiar views in the liturgy not publicly entertained in the Church. Are they Biblical or prevalent in the Reformed Church of Germany. He could detect nothing in the liturgy not in harmony with the creed or the catechism. If it were not in harmony with the constitution, that was only a modern document compared with this. (He thus discredits the constitution.—A.)

Gerhart has an article§ saying that the action of synod in sending the liturgy down to the classes was not for its adoption or rejection by them, but in order to get the views of the Church in a tangible form about the primitive forms, the Church year and its relation to Reformed liturgies. The classes could also state what was superfluous or wanting or inconsistent. Having learned this from the classes, it is synod's desire to send it to the committee for revision; and the liturgy as revised could then be sent down to the classes for adoption or revision. He seems fearful that the classes might now vote on its adoption and reject it.

S. calls attention|| to B.'s article in the *Messenger* of November 18, 1857, where over the same signature as now, he had said that the Provisional liturgy would be what the framers of the Palatinate liturgy would have made it, if they had lived and labored in a period like ours. Yet now he attacks the Provisional liturgy. As to the liturgy producing diversity there had been diversity before in our services. Thus at communion some congregations sat, some stood. As to the objection that its forms were too lengthy, he replied that it is to be remembered that church services consisted of worship as well as preaching. Its forms were not long to those who loved such worship. As to the intricacy of

*Davis or Russell (?).

†*Messenger*, April 10.

‡*Messenger*, April 10.

§*Messenger*, April 17.

||*Messenger*, April 24.

the forms of the liturgy this would be soon cleared up by a little instruction.

B. replies to his critics,* stating the private un-Reformed views that had been incorporated into the liturgy. They were the use of responses, ministerial or sacerdotal absolution, baptismal regeneration and the nature of the questions before confirmation. His point was not whether these views were right or Biblical, but whether they were current in the Church. This he denied. The Church does not want absolution. It does not believe that regeneration is tied to the moment of baptism or necessarily connected with the sacrament. His opponents deny that the liturgy is a compromise. One needs but to look at it to see it is. Its different sorts of forms show it. He denounces the provisional use of it as simply an entering-wedge to win churches over to it. If the Church prefers it, let her say so; if not, no improper measures should be used to bring it about. His opponents had said that he used to write favorably to a liturgy; he replied that he still was favorable to a liturgy, but this one needed revision.

Star† answers B.,—the latter's objection that so few congregations are using it, he tries to parry by saying that people are generally averse to any change whether for bad or good. He then answers B.'s objection to responses, saying that the question is not "are they customary in our Church, but are they right according to the original genius of our Church?"

He answers‡ B.'s second objection that the liturgy produces diversity and confusion. He replies there is no more diversity than before. If all were taken out of the liturgy that B. desires, it would not be worth adopting; and this revised liturgy would not suit the Church any more than the Provisional does now. B. would not own it then, but would disown it as he is doing this one now. As to its being too doctrinal, it is less so than any other liturgy we have. And as to its being too long, he hits at B., who in his services insists in giving a half hour didactic or hortatory sermon,§ forgetting the other parts of the worship.

Harbaugh rises in defense of the liturgy by saying that a liturgy was not a new thing in the Reformed Church. He quotes Zwingli, Leo Juda and Bucer. He tries to prove from history that the liturgy was like the old Reformed liturgies. He says that the early Zurich liturgy was responsive and that Bucer, the Reformed reformer who went to England, rendered assistance on the Episcopalian prayer-book.||

**Messenger*, April 24.

†*Messenger*, May 1.

‡*Messenger*, May 8.

§Bomberger was fond, after the fashion of the older ministers, in connection with the reading of the Scriptures of giving a somewhat lengthy exposition.

||The answer to this will be given later, when Prof. J. H. Good, of Tiffin, controverts Harbaugh's statements as he discusses the relation of the Reformers to the prayer-book of England.

The editor of the *Messenger** announces a second time that the controversy about the liturgy in the *Messenger* must be closed because of its danger of climbing into huge proportions and because it has run into personalities.† Still he in that issue admits an article by B., on "Our Very Amiable Liturgical Antagonists," with whom he was then in sympathy.

B. says it looks as if they grasped at his person rather than at his facts:

(1) If he were inconsistent, Harbaugh was not the one to charge it. And if inconsistent, he was in the company of German Reformed ministers whom neither Harbaugh nor Star would like to despise.

(2) If he ever said anything in favor of responses, baptismal regeneration and sacerdotalism he did not mean to do so; and now formally recalled any such statements. He had always opposed them as contrary to the Reformed doctrines. He had done so in the liturgical committee, and was willing to let them go into the liturgy only because he felt sure they would be disowned by the Church at large. He had pleaded for a liturgy without responses, baptismal regeneration and priestly absolution. Whatever recommendation he had given was only provisional. Besides, he claimed the right to change his mind, if necessary, when new light comes. He says that in the four years only two congregations, Harbaugh's at Lebanon and the congregation at Norristown, used the liturgy in full.

The controversy now ceases until fall. During the spring the various classes acted on the liturgy. Just before the synod, however, the controversy broke out again.

L.‡ tries to prove that responses were used in the Reformed Church by quoting the early Zurich liturgy. Heidelberg replies§ that at the time of the Zurich liturgy (1525), the Reformed Church of Germany had no existence. This liturgy was based on Leo Juda's of 1523, which contained many Romish superstitions, as exorcism, putting salt on the child's mouth at baptism, moistening the nose and ear of the child and a special address to the devil. This was in the Zurich liturgy, too. Is L. willing, he asks, to introduce the above forms into our liturgy. The worship of our Church had not yet been defined then. But we are not of the Zurich liturgy but of the later Palatinate liturgy. Are there any responses in it?

**Messenger*, May 22.

†B. had called Star "Mars" and Star had made a personal thrust at B.'s preaching.

‡*Messenger*, September 25.

§October 2.

L. replies* that the Palatinate has three responses in the preparatory service. He also quotes the French Reformed liturgy of Charles-ton (which was the Neuchatel liturgy of 1713) as having responses. (He does not seem to know that this liturgy of Neuchatel was a departure from the earlier simple forms introduced into Neuchatel by Farel, and that this liturgy was due to influences that were tending toward rationalism. The same development of an enriched liturgy took place at Geneva, produced by the tendencies toward rationalism of the younger Turretin.—A.) He quotes 1 Cor. chapter 14 as favoring responses. Responses were also used in Joshua's time at Mt. Ebal and in 1 Chron. chapter 16.

Heidelberg replies† that the three responses in the Palatinate liturgy at the preparatory service do not properly fall under responses (any more than the response of the catechumen at his confirmation) as they were answers to questions and were vows. It was to responses in the regular Sunday service that he was opposed, and there the Palatinate liturgy had none. Over against the Neuchatel liturgy he quotes the Palatinate 1563, Zurich 1675, St. Gall 1738, Basle 1701, Biel 1752, Schaffhausen 1672, Nassau-Dillenburg 1732 and Bern 1581. None of these had responses. If responsive worship had been common in the Reformed Church, these would have shown it. He says, in closing, that the great issue before the Reformed Church is whether it shall hold to its prevailing mode of worship or depart from it and adopt another.

This controversy revealed the Church greatly divided. The high-churchmen wanted the Provisional liturgy to remain, the Old Reformed wanted its revision or no liturgical forms for the regular services on Sabbath.

The previous synod (1860) had had a difficult task before it, in trying to harmonize the liturgy and the constitution, the task of the synod of 1861 was even harder because of the lack of unanimity of the classes. New York classis expressed no opinion because it said it was a German classis and the controversy was about an English book. Five classes wanted it revised and referred back to the original committee, Maryland, Philadelphia, Mercersburg, East Susquehanna and Lancaster. Clarion and St. Paul's expressed a favorable opinion of it. West Susquehanna, East Pennsylvania and Goshenhoppen wanted it continued. Zion's wanted it continued but that each minister should be left free to use the liturgical or

**Messenger*, October 16.

†*Messenger*, October 30.

the constitutional questions at his discretion. Lebanon was willing to let it remain, but left everything to synod. Two classes, Virginia and North Carolina, made no report.

The synod, after discussing the matter for nearly two days, referred the liturgy back to the liturgical committee for revision by a vote of 33 to 16, ordering it to consider the suggestions of the classes, which they were to use in the revision of the work as far as its general unity would allow, and in a way not inconsistent with the established liturgical principles and usages or the devotional and doctrinal genius of the German Reformed Church. It requested the committee to report at the next meeting of synod so as to bring the liturgical work to a close during the tercentenary year of the Heidelberg Catechism (1863). Nevin asked synod to permit him to resign from the liturgical committee. He said of this later, "Many will remember how I tried to have my name dropped. I told the synod I had no faith in the undertaking,—that I did not think the Church was prepared to receive the liturgy in any form we could give it." Fisher later says he favored the acceptance of Nevin's resignation because Nevin said he had no heart in it. Appel* says this act is proof that Nevin was not (as his opponents later tried to show) trying to foist a liturgy on the Church that it did not want. We reply to Dr. Appel that this does not prove that. It is rather a proof of what Dr. Nevin so often said that the Church did not have such a liturgical spirit as would make a liturgy successful. It reveals that Nevin realized the very strong opposition there was to a liturgy in our Church. This was the reason why he had no faith in it. He himself was, as we have seen from the first, favorable to a liturgy. Dr. Schaff at this synod also wanted to resign from the liturgical committee after the synod was ended. The correspondent of the *Western Missionary*, our church-paper in Ohio, Rev. George Williard, who was present at the synod, reported in his paper, "there was a great diversity of opinion about the action on the liturgy. Some maintained there was as yet no fair trial on the part

*Life of Nevin, page 504.

of the Church and it was therefore not prepared to decide on its merits. They pled for an extension of time. Others argued that the Church was fully prepared to decide the question and wanted its provisional character brought to an end;—that the fact that only a very small number of pastors and congregations used it, was plain proof that it needed revision, and the longer synod delayed this the worse it would be for the Church and the liturgy.” The discussion, he said, lasted through four sessions and the vote was 33 to refer it to the original liturgical committee to 16 against. The synod was evidently more under the control of the Old Reformed party and decided on revision.

Nevin* grants that this synod wanted revision in order to leave out the ritualism. But he also says “there was no middle ground between the liturgies of the Reformation and those of ancient Christianity.” He claims that it could not be revised without destroying it. This was the claim of the high-churchmen. The revisionists, however, claimed that it could be revised without destroying its unity by leaving out objectionable clauses. Thus the Church divided again on the liturgical question.

SECTION 7. THE LITURGICAL DISCUSSIONS AND EVENTS OF 1862.

The liturgical controversy broke out again at the beginning of this year. Heidelberg† begins a series of articles on “Shall the Worship of the German Reformed Church be Radically Changed?”

“He denied the claim of the adherents of the liturgy that their views were a return to the old Reformed worship. He then goes on to show that no such mode of worship as the Provisional liturgy ever prevailed in this country in our Church. This is shown:

1. By the almost entire absence of liturgies. He had never heard of a single copy except in the library of a minister. The church-membership were not furnished with liturgies. This is the more remarkable because other devotional books were common, for there was no want of prayer-books as of Stark, Zollikoffer, etc.

*Liturgical Question, 1862.

†Who seems to be Bomberger, see the *Messenger*, January 1.

2. The liturgies used contained no responses by the people. None of the prayers were responsive. The change to non-responsive worship in our churches was not due to the change of language from German to English, as had been claimed. For the German churches did not have responsive worship.

3. Living testimony and the tradition in our Church proves it. S. Helffenstein, Sr., says that the responsive service is not desirable. He preferred the old form. Hoffeditz, who had visited Europe, said: "You desire to know my opinion respecting the new liturgy. I have nowhere, either in the Reformed Church in Germany or here, witnessed or heard of such regular kneeling or responses." "The venerable fathers of our Church, Wagner, the Pumps, the Helffensteins, the Beckers, the Fabers, Rahauser, Geistweit, Mayer, Reily, Hiester, Gloninger, Hendel, Beecher, Hoffmeier, Hoffeditz and many others had always used the simple free worship." He, too, wants to remain true to the old customs of the Reformed. The Provisional liturgy introduces changes that would revolutionize our worship. He closes by saying that he would be satisfied with a liturgy framed after the Reformed liturgies and suited to the Heidelberg Catechism.

Star begins a series of articles* in defense of the Provisional liturgy, especially against Heidelberg, which continued till the end of April. He tries to prove that the liturgy is a return to the old Reformed mode of worship. He does this by showing that it is like the old Reformed liturgies. Thus he compared it with the prayer-book of the Anglican Church. He says that the Provisional liturgy is not indebted to the prayer-book, for some have charged that it was an attempt to Episcopalianize our Church. But on the other hand the prayer-book was indebted to the Reformed liturgies of the continent, as extensive use was made of Bucer's and Melancthon's liturgy in the Prayer-book, especially in the baptismal service. The prayer-book was revised in 1552 through Reformed influences, that is by the help of Bucer and Peter Martyr. The collects of the Provisional liturgy are a thousand years older than the Episcopal liturgy and are taken from the original sources from which the prayer-book came. Our liturgy is not from the Episcopalian.

Heidelberg replies to this† that if the Reformed were acquainted with the Episcopalian prayer-book when the Palatinate liturgy was drawn up, why did they not adopt it, if they liked responses so much. There was a great variety in the Reformed liturgies, but on one point they all agree—in the absence of responses.

Star begins a series of articles‡ on "The Reformed Liturgies." He calls attention to the Zurich liturgy (1525) that it has elaborate responses, to which Heidelberg replied by saying that Ebrard in his

**Messenger*, January 15.

†*Messenger*, February 19.

‡*Messenger*, March 26.

“Church-book” calls attention to the fact that the Zurich liturgy was the only Reformed liturgy having responses and thus differing from all the rest. B. also replies to this* that the responses in the Zurich liturgy were in the Lord’s Supper service, whereas the contention of the opponents to the liturgy was against their use in the regular Lord’s day service. The responses in the Zurich liturgy were given up soon, as is shown by Zwingli’s works.† Finsler,‡ the historian of the Swiss Reformed Church and successor of Zwingli as antistes, said that the Zurich liturgy had no responses, no altar service or resemblance to the Episcopalian liturgy. The *Evangelist* says, “In 1531 the responses of the Zurich congregation stopped and the minister performed them alone or with an assistant, so that they were in use only six years. As to pericopes, Finsler says the Zurich Church gave them up, as the ministers were accustomed to preach homilies on whole books of the Bible at a time. Finsler says that the oldest liturgies had prayers only for Sunday services, baptism, the Lord’s Supper and marriage. As regards all else, the minister had perfect freedom. All festivals falling on weekdays were rejected by the Swiss. High-churchmen got over this, by saying that our Church did not have much to do with the Swiss because our’s was a German Church.

Star states that the Palatinate liturgy admitted no free prayer and, besides, it says that the congregations all joined audibly with the minister. And, again, the Palatinate had confession and absolution, against which so much affront had been taken.

B. replies that the summons of the Palatinate liturgy to the people to join audibly in the services was never carried out. Its simplicity is in contrast with the first forms of the Provisional liturgy. It does not have the many church festivals of the Provisional. It has no altar, only a table.

Star quotes the Hessian liturgy (1566) as having many of the saint’s days, as Epiphany, Annunciation, John the Baptist’s day, etc.

B. replies that the Hessian Church was only a small part of the Reformed Church and was the one most under Lutheran influences. Besides, in that Hessian liturgy, there were no responses. Star also quotes the Marburg hymn-book, published in this country by Saur, 1763, which had in it collects, pericopes, etc. This Marburg hymn-book was generally used by our Church in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Our Church, therefore, was high-church, he says, because its hymn-book had these forms.

B. replies§ that as to hymn-books the old ones were of the Psalms, as our early Reformed forefathers originally sang only Psalms. Of

**Messenger*, April 9.

†Schuler & Schulthess edition, Vol. IV, page 74.

‡*Kirche und Staat*, page 74.

§*Messenger*, April 9.

course these allowed no room for the church year. When hymns appeared they were put under doctrinal heads in the hymn-books rather than under the church year. And as to the Marburg hymn-book by Saur:

1. It had no ecclesiastical authority and does not claim it, for it was never adopted by our synod officially.*

2. It was superseded by a hymn-book of our own, which leaves out all these holy days, except those that refer to facts in Christ's life.

Star attacks the charge of his opponents, that the liturgy was an innovation.† He tries to show that the worship of the German Reformed Church was liturgical:

1. Free prayer was not used in the public services.

2. The confession of sin was followed by the absolution.

3. Other peculiarities of old Reformed worship are almost entirely wanting in our modern worship.

He sums it up by saying that the liturgy differed far less from the Reformed liturgies than does the modern mode of worship in our Church in this country.

He also defends himself from a new standpoint. He intimates that our Church had introduced a great many innovations, as she had been originally a liturgical church. He asks: Is omitting the service on festival days no innovation, or omitting the Lord's Supper at Easter? Is confirming females with bonnets on and taking the names of communicants, without reading the service, an innovation? Is sitting at communion no innovation? Is administering the elements without consecration, no innovation? Is baptism, without confession of faith as in the creed, no innovation? Is it no innovation to use a marriage service where parties virtually marry themselves, as in Mayer's liturgy. "It is expedient," etc. Is it only expediency or duty, only consent, for which they are pronounced husband and wife? Is it no innovation to make the sacrament nothing more than each one makes by his faith? Is it no innovation to lead our Sunday schools and congregations in the vain repetition of chorus singing? Is it no innovation to conduct the Lord's day service extemporaneously, when it was not so originally? Is it no innovation for the Mayer liturgy to have no forms for the Sunday service, to have no Lord's Prayer, creed or ten commandments in it, or any single office from any former liturgy, not a single prayer, rubric, paragraph or sentence? He said that his opponents were of the party bringing in innovations, not he. The Provisional liturgy differed from the original Reformed liturgies far less than does our modern order of worship.

In this description he is hitting at customs in our Church used by his opponents. In casting reflections against the

*Dubbs grants that the Marburg hymn-book was a private speculation of Saur. *Historic Manual*, page 257.

†*Messenger*, January 22.

Mayer liturgy he was simply putting an argument into the hands of his opponents: for they could reply that the Mayer liturgy had been officially adopted by the Church and, therefore, the Church endorsed its views and customs, whereas the Provisional liturgy had never yet been adopted by the Church officially, that is, had not been sent down to the classes for adoption as the constitution directed.

B. says in reply, that the Mayer liturgy, much as it is scorned by Star, was a pretty fair exponent of the churchism of its day. If that liturgy was too bald, let us see to it that the one the Church now adopts is not to be smothered by too much hair. B. says the Reformed liturgies are seldom called Agenda (things to be done) but legenda (directions). They were to serve only as guides and as directions. Star, quoting Klieforth (the high-church Lutheran of Germany), Daniel and Herzog, says that liturgical worship declined owing to the disheartening influence of rationalism, that free worship came in because of rationalism. Bomberger* calls attention to a new point of the greatest importance, that the liturgical question is becoming more and more a question of church constitution. He lays down the constitutional position that no pastor and no consistory has the power of introducing essential modifications in the form of worship without consulting with and being authorized to do so by, the congregation at a properly called meeting. This is over against the high-church view of the ministry which claimed that the minister as a priest could regulate the worship of the congregation himself. This constitutional point was a prophecy of the later controversy when the liturgical men in 1867 felt themselves strong enough to sometimes attempt to force the liturgy on the congregation without waiting for the consent of the congregation.

The editor of the *Messenger* says one thing is evident, the Reformed Church is liturgical: but in what sense, there is a great difference of opinion. The editor says the liturgical question is before the Church and as such should be ventilated. It is evident that it did not suffer for want of ventilation, for the controversy kept up all year (1862).

Such was the discussion about the liturgy. We desire to add something about the various liturgies referred to. The high-churchmen defended their position that the provisional liturgy was like the Reformed Church liturgies and that it was a return to the old worship of the Reformed Church.

**Messenger*, February 12.

The Old Reformed, however, claimed that the Provisional liturgy introduced something entirely different from the old Reformed worship. We feel like calling attention to the fact that the high-churchmen are guilty of quite a number of errors in their arguments. They refer sometimes to liturgies that never were Reformed, as the Hessian liturgy, 1566, in order to prove that pericopes were in use in the German Reformed Church. Now Hesse did not become Reformed until 1604 so that this is a Lutheran liturgy that they refer to. Again both Star and Harbaugh claim that the Episcopalians got their prayer-book from the German Reformed Church and that Bucer helped frame the prayer-book. This will come up later, when Prof. J. H. Good attacks it. Suffice it to say here that it is not true. The Zurich liturgy (1525) was frequently quoted because it had responses. But it is to be remembered that its responses were only in the form for the Lord's Supper, and were not in the regular Lord's day service. Besides, these responses were given up some years later. They are very fond of quoting the Marburg hymn-book, published in this country in the eighteenth century by Saur. But it is to be remembered that that book had no official recognition by our Church and was published by a private party. And it is also to be noted that when our synod published its own hymn-book in 1797, it left out all the high-church forms and festival days, showing that they had no use for them. The Palatinate liturgy was frequently quoted by them as giving authority for certain things, as, for instance, responses in worship. But the reply is that the Palatinate liturgy was not a responsive liturgy. It had no responses for the Lord's day service and has them only in the preparatory service and there they are only the answer "yes." There are no responsive "amens" in the prayers as in the Provisional liturgy. The editor of the *Messenger* claimed that the Palatinate had confession and absolution. This is not exactly true. The form in the Palatinate was not an absolution but "a declaration of comfort," as it was named by the Germans. Its form was very different from the absolution of the Provisional liturgy and later the Order of Worship. In the latter, the absolution

is based on the office of the ministry as priests, in the Palatinate it is based on the Word of God and was only declaratory, that is, declaring what the Bible promised about forgiveness. Again, the position in the service is different. In the Provisional liturgy it is in the first part of the service because the high-churchmen held that no person could properly worship until his sins had been pardoned by an official act of the Church through the minister declaring them pardoned. But in the Palatinate, the absolution comes after the sermon, near the end of the service, showing that they did not believe in any such high-churchism. The worshiper could come to God without waiting for the minister to absolve him from sin. Gradually it came about in the Palatinate that the confession and this declaration of comfort came to be used more seldom. They were left out of the Sunday services and only used in the preparatory service. This had been the custom when our German ancestors came to this country. All this showed that this form was less and less used by our fathers in Germany. The frequent argument of the liturgical party was that the tendency from liturgical to free worship was due to the coming in of rationalism. We reply that was not always true. In Switzerland as Geneva and Neuchatel, in the eighteenth century, it was the coming in of rationalism that led to the enlargement of the liturgies. Rationalism sometimes tries to make up for its lack of orthodoxy by an increase of forms. On the whole subject of liturgical worship, we take issue with the high-churchmen,—to their claim that our church was a liturgical church. Our Church in this country was never a liturgical Church. It was semi-liturgical. A liturgical Church is one where liturgical forms are always used at the service. But our Church always had the free mode of worship at its regular Lord's day services. It was, therefore, not liturgical because it did not always use a liturgy. It was semi-liturgical, that is, it sometimes used a liturgy as at sacraments, etc. It was hardly even semi-liturgical because these extra services where the liturgy was used were so rare compared with the ordinary free worship of the Sabbath.*

*See my History of the Reformed Church in the U. S., pages 678-682.

While these writers were discussing the controversy from the liturgical side, two writers appear to defend the doctrines underlying the liturgy. Krebs* writes a series of articles on "The Two Sides," the experimental and the sacramental, or the subjective and objective.

The experimental is the side of religion in which we are most active, the sacramental, that in which God is most active. In the one we give ourselves to God; in the other, he gives himself to us. Any system ignoring either side is one-sided and can not meet the wants of humanity. Most persons do not distinguish between them. A distinction does not mean a sundering of them. The sacramental is the ground of experimental religion, the experimental is conditioned on the sacrament. (We can not forbear to say we think it is the other way. The old Reformed view was that the efficacy of the sacrament depends primarily on our faith.—A.) The sacramental is what God does for us,† but all he does for us is not merely outward and formal but inward and real. After applying this to baptism and the Lord's Supper, he then turns from the sacramental to the experimental. The difference between the sacramental and the experimental is that in the former we feel something or experience it, while on the latter we feel nothing at all (for life can not be felt, he says), and we therefore require the outward seals of inward grace. The experimental is not possible without the sacramental:—feeling,—religion does not exist without life-religion. We can not rise to God until he descends to us. The sacramental comes first and then the experimental.

Beta‡ asks Krebs some questions:

1. If baptism inserts life, why does Christ say that some branches are dead.

2. If faith is lacking in the adult, is he regenerated, if baptized.

3. How can he reconcile all this with the Anxious Bench, where Nevin says regeneration takes place in infancy and in the womb instead of at baptism? If infants are regenerated in the womb, what would be the part that baptism would perform?

Krebs replies that the answer to the first two questions are in his articles. To the last three, he does not feel bound to answer, but says he goes by the Heidelberg Catechism as the rule of interpretation of Scripture.

*January 29 and ending April 30, in *Messenger*.

†In this distinction between the sacramental (what God does for us) and the sacrificial (what we do for God), he, like the Mercersburg school, is following Klieforth, the high-church German Lutheran of Germany. The Reformed of Germany never spoke of worship in that way.—A.)

‡*Messenger*, April 2.

It is very evident that when Krebs limits regeneration to the act of baptism, he narrows it too much. This is not Biblical nor is it Reformed. Still it is interesting to see how he veers from the philosophical position of Schelling, (which emphasized the objective, and which Nevin had emphasized and so came nearly going over to Rome,) to the Hegelian position which emphasizes the relation between the two extremes. Still he makes the objective in the sacraments the basis, but he allows more room for experience than has hitherto been done by their writers.

Another doctrinal development while this liturgical controversy was going on was made by T. G. Apple. He begins* by an article on Imputation and Justification. He denies forensic imputation, the old Reformed view that Christ's merits are charged over to our account and our sins charged over to Christ. Our sin was not merely reckoned against Christ as one foreign to us, but it was really laid on him, because in his incarnation he so identified himself with man that he occupied the sinner's place. Though personally free from sin, yet he assumed human nature with all its burdens. Having attempted to show how our sins are imputed to Christ, he then goes on to show how Christ's righteousness is imputed to the believer. It is not done so forensically, that is charged over to his account, but is effected by the union of the believer with Christ,—by becoming one with Christ. Justification is making the sinner righteous, not merely calling him righteous. (This view of Mercersburg Theology is against the old Reformed doctrine of justification as it is found underlying the Heidelberg Catechism. Nowhere is there a clearer statement of forensic justification than in answer 60.—A.)

Apple† writes on baptismal regeneration: Baptism means the implanting in the soul of a germ of new life—engrafting into Christ—the commencement of a new life. If it means these, there is baptismal regeneration. If children who die are regenerated in order to be saved, why may not children who live? If regeneration is not to be ingrafted into Christ and to receive the Holy Ghost, what is it. Because the Heidelberg Catechism does not have a separate answer for regeneration he infers it is included in baptism. (This is rather a high jump in logic.—A.)

The Western part of our Church now begins to declare itself in regard to this liturgical question, which is so distracting the East. Williard, the editor of the *Western Missionary*, in the spring of this year, says:

“Thus far we have kept aloof from the controversy, but the West is not uninterested. Some have honestly tried to introduce the liturgy, but the general result is adverse to it in the present form. Not a single

**Messenger*, February 26.

†*Messenger*, March 12.

congregation in the West uses it in full. It is evident that the Church does not want it in its present form. That our Church, though a liturgical church, has never been so to the extent proposed by the Provisional liturgy, is the testimony of our older ministers and also of the German part of our Church with whom this liturgy finds no special favor. It is clear it needs a thorough and important revision.' He does not believe that this liturgy is at all suited to the people in the West.

The Ohio synod (1861) elected Prof. J. H. Ebrard, of Erlangen, Germany, as professor of theology at Tiffin. He, however, declined and Prof. J. H. Good was elected. This placed in this leading position, an outspoken opponent of Mercersburg instead of a sympathizer with it, as Prof. M. Kieffer had been.

Another significant event was the suspension of the publication of the *Mercersburg Review*. It began in 1849 and continued with a circulation of 200 for ten years. In 1857, it was hopelessly insolvent and the next year Rev. G. Russell took it, and by 1862 it had paid its debts. It was suspended in 1862, the reason given being the Civil War and high prices. But the low-churchmen declared it was because of lack of support for Mercersburg Theology. It was revived in 1867 and later changed into the *Reformed Church Review*.

SECTION 8. THE SYNOD OF 1862 AND ITS ANTECEDENTS.

Schaff, as chairman of the liturgical committee, issued* a statement. He says that the committee had a meeting in January, at which Bomberger wanted a pulpit-liturgy, the others an altar-liturgy. The discussion lasted three days. It had a second meeting in April, which closed its labors until synod. The committee unanimously agreed, he said, on the necessity of a liturgy—that it should be substantially like the Provisional liturgy—that the Provisional needed revision. They differed

1. As to the nature and character of that revision: The majority present (6) wanted it revised on its own basis and in its own order and spirit. The minority (1) (Bomberger) wanted it revised in such a way as would alter its distinctive character.

**Messenger*, May 14.

2. They differed in regard to the responses, the minority wanting them left out.

3. They differed, whether it should be a pulpit-liturgy like Mayer's or an altar-liturgy.*

4. They differed as to the instructions given to the committee by the Synod of 1852, the minority declaring that the instruction was that the liturgy was to be according to the Reformed model, the majority claiming that that synod's instructions gave them liberty to make the liturgies of the early Church the model.

The majority might go on with the work and revise the liturgy. But they preferred to suspend work until instructed by synod. He said no member of the liturgical committee had any idea of forcing the Provisional liturgy on the congregations. Such an attempt would be wrong and unwise. Nor is it the idea of the committee to have it exclusively used, so as to do away with free prayer. His own opinion was that our Church would settle down to a compromise between both parties. Dubbs later says, "The majority of the committee were convinced that the times demanded worship that was more thoroughly liturgical than anything with which the Church had been familiar, while the minority desired to adhere closely to the precedents afforded by the early liturgies of the Reformed Church."

But the bombshell that created the greatest sensation since⁷ the days of "Early Christianity" and "Cyprian" ten years before, was the publication about the first of June of a pamphlet, entitled "The Liturgical Question," by Dr. Nevin. In the preface, he gives the action of the liturgical committee ordering him to set forth a clear idea of both schemes of worship advocated in the liturgical committee, so that synod might be able to understand the real question at issue. He says he reported it to the committee and it was adopted and ordered to be published for the consideration of the Church.

He first describes both schemes of liturgy,—the pulpit-liturgy and the altar-liturgy. First, he states objections to liturgical worship and also the arguments for it. Here, however, it is very clear, that his sympathies are for the latter. At the close of this description of pulpit-liturgies, he launches out into a severe tirade against free prayer, calling it "jejune, confused, prosy, not sapid, not satisfying, nor nourishing to the soul," etc.† He then proceeds to describe an altar-liturgy. The

*A pulpit-liturgy omitted responses and consisted mainly of forms for special occasions, as the sacraments, marriage, etc. It centered in the pulpit and in preaching. An altar-liturgy had many responses and elaborate forms. It centered about the altar.

†Page 21.

pulpit-liturgy is one whose forms are thrown together in an outward and prevailingly independent way. The altar-liturgy is one whose parts are inwardly bound together by having a common relation to the idea of a Christian altar and referring to the mystical presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist:

(1) Its conception must be ruled by the sense of the sacramental in religion just as the early liturgies of the Church centered around the Lord's Supper.

(2) The liturgy must bear a certain priestly character, for the unpriestly in worship leads to free worship. The New Testament declaration "we have an altar" must not be stultified to mean "we have a table and nothing more." The full conception of a liturgy requires an altar service like that of the Jews. "Without this, worship ceases to be distinctively Christian."*

(3) Again, it must be ruled by the church year.

He then goes on to state the advantages and the disadvantages of free worship. Liturgical worship gives the congregation a chance for active co-operation in worship. He rails against free worship, speaking of the licentiousness of free worship, because it is purely inward and spiritual,—it carries in it the nature of mockery.† Free prayer is spoken of as "an irregular, desultory effusion entitled to little regard on the score of pity or sense, making people hang on the mouth of the minister." He calls it "extemporized turns and starts,—ranting expectoration,—sentimental harangues,—an outrage upon the true spirit of Christian worship."‡ He says, "Let the inward and outward go together. Let there be risings and bowings in token of adoration,§—say Amen repeatedly, as helpful to the officiating minister and themselves. There must be gestures and postures significant of faith in what the service thus means,—acts of bodily worship fitly suited to corresponding acts of the spirit, responses of the tongue to seal and confirm the silent responses of the heart.|| Outward actings are not only to be tolerated, they are to be enjoined as the necessary condition of worship in a truly spiritual form." Having described the altar-liturgy, he declares that the Provisionary liturgy is a book of that sort. He boldly asserts that the Provisional liturgy was a new sort of liturgy,¶—that it is more than the old Palatinate liturgy of our Church, because its authors went back to the early liturgies before the reformation. He calls Reformation liturgies (Lutheran and Reformed) "frigid formal-

*Page 28.

†Page 34.

‡Pages 8-9.

§Page 35.

||Page 33.

¶Pages 62 and 77.

ties.* He even attacks the Palatinate, because the Reformed, he says, were not favorable to the production of good liturgies. Though they produced many liturgies, they were supremely unliturgical. Their productions have all been more mechanical than organic, pulpit-liturgies rather than altar-liturgies. In thus going back earlier than the Palatinate, he claims the committee were but following the instructions given them by the Synod of 1852. He then argues that our Church wants more than a Reformation liturgy, because it has permitted the Provisional to be used and this liturgy rests on the sacramental principle and breathes a sacrificial spirit. The action of the classes meant that there should be a conservative revision, not a radical one. It meant an altar-liturgy. The minority in the committee wanted a pulpit-liturgy, with no responses or strong sacramental tone or altar pattern. He then declares that it was not possible to revise the liturgy by revising individual parts and phrases, as Bomberger desired, because the liturgy was an organic whole. He calls such a revision "murderous." If revised in that manner, it never would be fully used. He says, "We can never be satisfied with the old Palatinate liturgy or any of the Helvetic liturgies used in the sixteenth century or since, and still less with any of the jejune formularies used by our ministerial fathers of the last century here in America."† He thus condemned the old Reformed idea of liturgy as pseudo-liturgical. While thus condemning the Palatinate liturgy, he commends especially the Episcopalian prayer-book.‡ He is therefore Episcopalian rather than Reformed in his tendencies and sympathies. "Directories were pseudo-liturgies, bastard conceptions of what a liturgy is," he says.

Dr. Nevin throws himself open to criticism in this tract. If, as he says, he was instructed to propose a report giving the views of both sides in the committee, he has not obeyed instructions. His tract is a defense of the one side,—of liturgical worship, with a severe tirade against his opponents. It does not represent both sides of the committee, but is intensely partisan. And his extreme positions, in attacking the old Reformed liturgies and also so severely criticising free prayer raised a storm. One of his opponents sarcastically says, "According to this tract, our fathers never worshiped at all."

This tract marked a great change in the claims of the liturgical party. Before this

(1) They had declared that the liturgy was not to interfere with free prayer; now Nevin declaims against free prayer most bitterly.

(2) Before this they had been claiming that the liturgy was a return to the old Reformed method of worship; now Nevin claims the liturgy is something new and not according to the customs of our fathers; he

*Page 43.

†Page 71.

‡Pages 44 and 60.

even speaks slightly of the Palatinate and Mayer liturgies of our Church.

Why the liturgical party changed front at this time is an interesting question. Perhaps because they now felt strong enough to defeat their opponents as during all these years they had been graduating adherents from the seminary. Another reason may have been that they themselves were growing more and more liturgical by the logic of their views. Their doctrine of historical development was revealing itself in themselves.

This pamphlet reveals a great change in Nevin's views, for in his "Anxious Bench," published in 1843, he attacks "genuflexions and prostrations in the Church, the effort to produce effect by mere outward postures and dress till in the end amid the solemn mummerly, no room has been left for genuine penitence."* Here he approves of risings and bowings and gestures and postures significant of faith. His philosophy so emphasized the objective not only in his doctrine of the Church, but also in her worship that our inward aspirations must be expressed outwardly.

It was not very long after the publication of this pamphlet before criticisms on it were heard. Elder Rudolph Kelker† calls attention to Nevin's statements that the Provisional liturgy was not according to the way in which our forefathers worshiped in this country. This, he says, was different from their old claim that the Provisional liturgy was a return to the custom of our forefathers. It is used in only three out of 600 congregations and in some others as a pulpit-liturgy. If this shows a felt want of the Church for an altar-liturgy he was much mistaken. They also attempted, he says, to educate the Church up to a liturgical service by

1. The Golden Censor, with its daily prayers copied from the liturgy.
2. The Child's Catechism, with doctrines too strong for the synod's approval and, therefore, its adoption was postponed, but nevertheless it was printed and circulated.
3. The Hymns and Chants for the Sunday School, with its collects and pericopes verbatim from the liturgy.

The last two books were circulated, he said, forgetful of the provision of the constitution, which requires synod to sanction books of instruction.

*Anxious Bench, 28 and 39.

†Messenger, July 2.

All these were used to bring our Church back to the customs of our forefathers, which now, according to Nevin, never existed. What becomes of the historical reputation of some brethren. (We might add to Kelker's point, what becomes of the arguments that Davis, Harbaugh and others used in their attack on Bomberger, where they try so hard to futilely prove that the liturgy was a return to the old system of worship of our Reformed forefathers.—*A.*) He urges all to read Nevin's pamphlet and realize what the high-churchmen are doing to swing our denomination out of the old faith into the wake of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches.

D. H.* writes against the change of worship, saying that Daniel in the lion's den and Jonah in the whale's belly had no prayer-book, or the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace or the thief on the cross. As a member of the German Reformed Church for 40 years, he never saw the older brethren use a prayer-book in the pulpit or speak of the necessity of one.

Nevin† finds a defender in Candor, who tries to defend him by toning down his positions and saying that the liturgy is both old and new. It is amusing, he says, to see what delight the anti-liturgical men take in a remark or two of Nevin's, but they forget his unanswerable argument. The fact that the liturgy is in many respects a new book, does not make it unhistorical. Who will say that the German Reformed Church has no altar, no priestly function of minister, is not sacramental and has no Church festivals? As she has these, she has the basis of the proposed liturgy and the liturgy is no new scheme. She has never yet succeeded in giving the Church's liturgical life a fair, objective form. Extreme Puritanic worship was always unnatural to her. She found some rest in different liturgies, prepared for her. But one after another they have proved unworthy of her, because pulpit-liturgies. This is due to the fact that she carries a life older than the reformation,—for the Church of the third and fourth centuries forms the deepest element of her life. The demands of this element must be met by any liturgy that would satisfy her. He grants that our forefathers in this country never used such a form, but that does not make it unhistorical. We must complete the defects of our fathers.

Fidelity‡ replies to Candor. Candor is a good thing, but not so good as logic. Candor is evidently a convert to ritualism. Candor is not candid and his logic is not logical. He calls his enemies anti-liturgical, when they are really not hostile to a liturgy—only hostile to a liturgy like the Provisional liturgy. He calls them Puritanic because they don't agree with him, and yet they do not want Puritanic worship. Why does Nevin attack, as jejune, the liturgies used by our fathers, when they had

**Messenger*, July 9.

†*Messenger*, July 16.

‡*Messenger*, July 30.

confession, the "declaration of comfort" (not absolution), the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Nevin's report does not attack Puritanism, but it does attack the old Reformed worship. Candor is not candid but biased for ritualism.

But the most marked immediate effect of Nevin's pamphlet was in the western part of our Church. This had as yet taken little part in the controversy. But now it becomes thoroughly alarmed and aroused. The pamphlet appeared just before the meeting of the Ohio synod. That synod at once unanimously decided against a liturgy and requested the General Synod, soon to be formed, to modify the Provisional liturgy. It decided against an altar-liturgy as set forth in Nevin's tract. It wanted the responses and the doctrinal phrases in the Provisional liturgy omitted as contrary to Reformed doctrine. Indiana classis unanimously declared (Sept. 28) that it wanted a genuine Reformed liturgy,—the old Palatinate. It opposed pericopes as Roman Catholic, said the prayer-book was of the synagogue and not of the Church. It asked synod to consider the subject so as to stop this Babylonish confusion. Sheboygan classis went so far as to appoint a committee to prepare its own liturgy.

Star* tries to explain away the objection to baptismal regeneration based on the argument of the thief on the cross, who was saved though not baptized. He says it is to be remembered:

1. That the thief was a Jew because he feared God. As a Jew he was already in the covenant with God by circumcision.

2. That this covenant of circumcision was in force is shown by the fact, that the new covenant of baptism had not yet come into force, for baptism was not instituted till after Christ's resurrection.

3. Why did Christ not baptize. Because he is the absolute sacrament. Being the source, he needs no mediatory sacrament between himself and the penitent.

4. The thief's case is an extraordinary one and not a precedent for us. It has already done untold injury to those who procrastinate their salvation.

The synod of 1862 met under peculiar circumstances. Only eight days before the meeting the rebels visited Chambersburg, where it was to meet. The Civil War was a type of the

**Messenger*, October 1.

ecclesiastical conflict there and in our Church at large. At it, two reports came from the liturgical committee, a majority and a minority report. The former had been printed in Nevin's pamphlet. The minority report dissented from that of the majority, declaring:

1. That its action was a virtual evasion of the duty assigned to the committee by the last synod and a frustration of the wishes of the Church. The synod had ordered the revision of the liturgy to be made according to the suggestions of the classes. Their suggestions called for such modifications as to make the liturgy consistent with the principles and usages of the Reformed Church. This the committee has not done. They have also frustrated the wishes of the Church, which was opposed to any radical changes in our mode of worship.

2. The report was not such a paper as was called for by the action of the committee itself at its meeting at Lancaster. The resolution of the committee called for an impartial report, setting forth the merits of both schemes of worship impartially. This their report did not do, for Nevin's report was wholly on the side of ritualism. Had it been known that Nevin would make such a report, the resolution for him to do so would not have been unanimously adopted.

3. It attempts to perform a service antagonistic to the purpose and wishes of the synod and Church. The action of the Synod of 1852 was, that while the committee was permitted to go back to the early liturgies and appropriate suitable material, yet they were to have a ruling regard for the old Palatinate and other Reformed liturgies of the sixteenth century. And now this report ridicules and condemns the system sanctioned by the German Reformed Church for more than three hundred years. But the report goes farther. The Provisional liturgy tolerates free prayer and some degree of liberty in the devotional services of the sanctuary. But this report would have free prayer excluded and makes all forms to be prescribed. The report, if adopted, will commit the synod against free prayer. If the synod adopts it, it commits the Church to a mode of worship which tolerates none but responsive and liturgical services.

4. Their report assumes, that the changes demanded, would destroy the integrity and unity of the Provisional liturgy and mar its liturgical excellence. The minority replies that the liturgy was constructed with this end in view, that it might possibly, yes, probably, be revised. Why was it made a provisional liturgy, he asks, if not that it might be revised? Yet now the majority refuse to revise it by saying that its integrity would be destroyed. The report is not therefore consistent. They refuse to let a liturgy, which is only provisional, be revised according to the instruction of the synod and of the Church. The changes suggested by the minority are such as that the Lord's Supper service

of the Palatinate liturgy be substituted for that in the Provisional,—that in the preparatory service the questions and answers of the older service be restored, because the preparatory and communion service of the Provisional liturgy is not suitable to the communion service of the Palatinate. They suggest that a number of expressions in the forms for confession, absolution, baptism, ordination and confirmation be so modified as to make them more in accordance with the established doctrines of the Church. All the minority desired was that the instructions of the last synod be carried out, which they believed they were doing by this report. The report was signed by three members of the liturgical committee, Bomberger, Heiner and S. R. Fisher.

Both the majority and minority reports were read and neither was adopted. The discussion on them lasted three days, the synod resolving itself into a committee of the whole to do this. The majority of the liturgical committee (Nevin, Gerhart, Schaff and Harbaugh) wanted no change whatever made in the Provisional liturgy. The synod permitted the minority to read parts of the modified service they had prepared. Bomberger read some revised forms to show that revision was possible by leaving out objectionable forms and phrases, but it met with no favor and was criticised by Nevin afterward as a “piebald affair.” During the discussion, Elder William Heyser brought forward the argument against revision that the contract made with the publishers of the liturgy, Lindsay & Blakeston, was for ten years, and if the liturgy were revised it might involve the synod in severe pecuniary loss, as the publishers might claim damages. This argument influenced a number in voting, Kremer saying afterward that he found six who confessed that it had won them. The action of the synod was that the optional use of the liturgy be allowed as heretofore among our churches, that it be suffered to continue till the end of ten years from the time of its first publication, and that the whole question of its revision be indefinitely postponed. The vote was 43 to 13.* This final decision was hastened by the weariness of the synod with the long discussion and their anxiety for adjournment. The liturgical party gained their point and the decision on the

*F. W. Kremer, J. E. Hiester, P. Schafer, Bomberger, C. Waunmacher, S. R. Fisher, Schneck, Rebaugh, Besore, Lohr, Welker, Meyer and Rust voting against it.

liturgy was now delayed for years. The whole matter thus came to be left for the General Synod to dispose of in some way, and in the meanwhile the liturgical party gained another year for its provisional use.

The discussion on the liturgy now ceased. Two reasons probably caused the lull. One was the hope that the General Synod soon to be organized might find some way out of the difficulty. The other was that the observance of the Tercenary of the Heidelberg Catechism overtopped everything else during the year 1863.

CHAPTER III.

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE TERCENTENARY OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1863).

SECTION 1. THE PREPARATION FOR THE TERCENTENARY.

The movement towards the observance of the Tercentenary of the Heidelberg Catechism was first suggested by S. Miller, editor of the *Kirchenzeitung*, in 1856, and by Harbaugh, in his "Lives of the Fathers of the Reformed Church," in 1857. It was not, however, until two years later that the movement was officially begun by any of the classes. The classis of Mercersburg in May, 1859, adopted a motion proposed by Prof. Schaff, requesting synod to take suitable steps toward observing the Tercentenary. It suggested to synod the preparation of a critical standard edition of the catechism, together with a revised English translation, and also the preparation of the digest of the minutes of the synod, which would present a complete constitutional history of the Church from its origin in 1746 to that time; together with an alphabetical index of persons and things. The synod of 1859 accepted the suggestion of Mercersburg classis. It appointed

(1) A committee of arrangements for it (Harbaugh, Nevin, Gans, Apple and Elder Griffeth).

(2) A committee to prepare a standard edition of the Heidelberg Catechism with revised English translation (Gerhart, Nevin, Harbaugh, Kessler, Zacharias and Elders Heyser and Kelker).

(3) A committee to prepare a digest (S. R. Fisher, Harbaugh, Bausman, J. H. Derr, Appel and Elders Heyser and Rodenmeyer).

At the synod of 1860 the committee on the catechism made a report which was accepted and L. H. Steiner added to the committee. It continued its work and produced the Tereen-

tenary Edition of the Catechism. This was a polyglot (old German, Latin, modern German and English). This work revealed careful and scholarly examination of authorities, but its value was somewhat vitiated later by the discovery in 1864 of the first edition of the catechism by Prof. Schaff at Bremen, their text having been based on the third edition, the earliest then known. Since then the second edition has also turned up.* The discovery of these earlier editions would now to some extent make it necessary that the work of the Tercentenary edition be done over again. The translation into English is carefully done from a literary standpoint, but it is somewhat marred by divergence from the original text, so as to favor the peculiar views of the Mercersburg theology; as the translation of the German word for "gives" by "impart" in answer 56, and also in answer 60 the word "gives" by "grants"; both divergences made so as to deny the doctrine of forensic imputation of Christ's merits to us, which the catechism plainly teaches, but which was denied by the Mercersburg theology. They also translated the German word "gemeinde" (congregation) in answer 54 and answer 74 by "people." This was wrong, because it translates the same word in the catechism by different words and gives the answers a different meaning. They did this so as to avoid the doctrine of the invisible Church (which Mercersburg theology minimized until it amounted to nothing), and also to deny the covenant view of baptism, which holds that children of Christian parents are in the covenant by birth and before baptism. Mercersburg held that it was baptism that put them into the covenant. They ignore the Scriptural proof of the covenant relation of children (1 Corinthians 7:14). But the catechism teaches both the invisible Church and the covenant view of baptism. This edition, however, was never officially adopted by the synod or the Church, and has come into only partial use in the Church, the older English translation of Laidlie being the one in common use.

*A copy of this edition is in the hands of the author of this work. Both first and second editions can be found in the library of the University of Utrecht, in Holland.

The committee on digest never completed its work. Indeed, the material for the digest was not then sufficiently complete, as the early minutes of our Church were then unknown, but have recently been found (1896) in Holland by the author. Recently a digest has been published, but it is only of General Synod's minutes from 1863.

The committee on arrangements reported to the synod of 1860 a programme,—that a convention be held January 19, 1863, at which memorials and essays should be read, and that the event be signalized by a thank-offering of the Church before October, 1863, when these could be reported to synod,—that the synod of 1863 be a general synod of the whole Church, (that is not a synod composed of delegates from the classes but of all the ministers and an elder from each charge.) It suggested a number of topics in connection with the catechism and also asked that European Reformed professors be requested to prepare papers. It also proposed a union of the Eastern and Ohio synods into a General Synod. The synod of 1861 reported progress in the programme and that Professors Hundeshagen and Ebrard, of Germany, had already accepted appointments to send papers.

The final report of the committee was made to the synod of 1862,—that the programme was completed for the anniversary to be held in Philadelphia, January 17, 1863. It further proposed that each classis hold a special meeting before the convention and provide for a representation from each charge and arrange for a Tercentenary collection in each charge on Trinity Sunday, May 31, 1863, as a free-will offering, if possible, from every man, woman and child. It ordered thirty thousand copies of the report of this committee to be printed in tract form for distribution, of which 10,000 were to be in German, and instructed each minister to read the report from his pulpit. The endowment of Franklin and Marshall College was made a special feature in the Tercentenary offerings. The synod also ordered that the memorials and papers read at the convention and all its actions be published in a Tercentenary volume, which was done.

SECTION 2. THE TERCENTENARY CONVENTION (1863).

This convention opened in the First Church, Philadelphia, on Saturday evening, January 17. The church was beautifully decorated with laurel. On one side of the pulpit was a laurel wreath with the date, 1563; on the other, another, with the date 1863. Five hundred delegates from thirteen classes of the Eastern synod and twenty-six delegates from the Ohio synod were present, of whom 168 were ministers. There were also seventeen Presbyterians, six Lutherans, three Dutch Reformed, two United Presbyterians, four Methodists, two Protestant Episcopalians (one, Bishop Potter) and one Moravian also in attendance.

The convention was opened by a sermon by S. R. Fisher, D.D., on "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation" (Heb. 2:3). At the same hour, at Salem's Reformed Church the opening sermon was preached in German by Prof. Schaff, on Hebrews 13:7 and 8, "Remember them which have the rule over you." The next morning (Sunday) there was a communion service in the First Church, at which Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., preached the sermon on "Jesus Christ the same yesterday," etc. All the sessions were held in the First Church unless otherwise stated in our narrative. On Sunday evening a paper on "The Organism of the Heidelberg Catechism" was read by Rev. T. G. Appel.

Monday, the convention proceeded to a permanent organization. Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., was elected president, with seventeen vice presidents, headed by Rev. S. Helffenstein, Sr., two recording secretaries, S. R. Fisher and L. H. Steiner; treasurer, Elder Griffeth, and two corresponding secretaries, Revs. P. C. Prugh and W. F. Colliflower. After this preliminary business the essay of Prof. Hundeshagen, of Heidelberg University, on "The City and University of Heidelberg, with special reference to the Reformation period and the time of the formation of the Heidelberg Catechism," was read. Prof. Schaff later called him the proper successor of Olevianus at Heidelberg. It was followed by an essay on "Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate," by Rev. B. S.

Schneck, D.D. In the evening, an essay on "Melancthon and the Melancthonian tendency and its relation to the German Reformed Church," by Prof. Ebrard, of Erlangen, Germany, was read.

Tuesday, at the morning session, an essay was read, entitled "The Swiss Reformers," by Prof. Dr. Herzog, of Erlangen. It was followed by an address on "The Authors of the Heidelberg Catechism, Ursinus and Olevianus," by Rev. T. C. Porter. In the afternoon an essay was read, prepared by Rev. Dr. Ullman, of Carlsruhe, Germany, entitled "Sketches of the History of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Land of Its Birth." It was followed by an essay on "The Heidelberg Catechism in Holland and the United States," written by Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., of the Dutch Reformed Church of America. There was no evening session, as the convention attended a sacred concert at Handel and Hadyn Hall, by Christ Reformed Sunday school.

Wednesday, at the morning session, Dr. Nevin read a part of his introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism prepared for the Tercentenary edition of the catechism. In the afternoon, "Creed and Cultus with Special Reference to the Relation of the Catechism to the Palatinate Liturgy" was read by Rev. H. Harbaugh, D.D. On the same evening a German meeting was held at Salem's Reformed Church, where Dr. Schaff made an address on the Tercentenary celebration, and Hundeshagen's essay was read.

Thursday, at the morning session, "The Genius and Mission of the German Reformed Church in Relation to the Lutheran Church and those Branches of the Reformed Church which are not German" was read by Prof. Theodore Appel. Prof. Schaff made some remarks on "The Mission and Significance of the German Reformed Church in America," which were published in the German volume of the Tercentenary volume. "The Relation of the Heidelberg Catechism to the Various Confessions" was read by Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D. On Thursday evening, a paper on "The Theological Seminary" was read by Rev. B. C. Wolff, D.D., and one on "The Authority of the Heidelberg Catechism," by Rev. G. B. Rus-

sell. A German service was also held in Zion's Reformed Church, when Prof. Schaff read an essay on "The Heidelberg Catechism, its name, origin, authors, adoption, history, theology, value and use."

Friday, at the morning session an essay was read by Prof. M. Kieffer, D.D., on "The Theological System on which the Heidelberg Catechism rests, the Kind of religious Life it cultivates and the Theory of practical Religion it assumes." A delegate, Rev. Dr. Baird, from the Presbyterian Historical Society, was heard. At the afternoon session, Rev. D. Gans, D.D., read a paper on "The Educational System underlying the Heidelberg Catechism." In the evening a German session was held at Bethlehem Reformed Church, at which Dr. Ullman's essay was read. At the First Church, Rev. B. Bausman read an essay on "Catechetics and Catechetical Instruction,"* and Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., an essay on "The Fortunes of the Heidelberg Catechism in the U. S." At 9 P. M., the closing session of the convention was held.

SECTION 3. THE ADDRESSES AT THE TERCENTENARY.

A.—*The Foreign Papers.*

These were five: "The City and University of Heidelberg," by Hundeshagen; "The Swiss Reformers," by Herzog; "Melancthon and the Melancthonian Tendency," by Ebrard; "Sketches from the History of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Land of its Birth," by Ullman;† "Brief History of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Netherlands," by Prof. Schotel. The last needs no special mention, as it does not immediately concern our Church. It was an able, scholarly paper by Prof. Schotel, of Leyden. Of the rest, we will notice Herzog's paper on "The Swiss Reformers" first. The three others can then be examined together, as they all relate to Germany.

Prof. Herzog's paper on "The Swiss Reformers" was a very able one and shed much new light on the relation of the Swiss Reformers to the Reformation at Heidelberg.

*This address was published in German in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1864.

†Also published in German in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1863.

After briefly describing the birth of the Reformation in Switzerland under Zwingli and Ecolampadius, he discusses first their use of the formal principle of Protestantism—the Bible; and then their use of the material principle, justification by faith. Both Zwingli and Ecolampadius laid down the proposition that the Word of God can be understood and explained only through the same Spirit by whom it was dictated. Calvin developed this in his doctrine of the “Testimony of the Holy Spirit to Scripture.” This Swiss doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit was not taken up by the Lutheran theologians till later. But Zwingli did not hold slavishly to the Word of God but to the spirit rather than to the letter. And the distinction, that Zwingli regarded the Scriptures as positively regulating, while Luther as negatively regulating was not true; for Zwingli allowed certain adiaphora to one’s own choice, as fasting. As to justification by faith, both taught it. It is true that Luther attacked the Judaism of the Catholic Church by his emphasis on justification by faith against justification by works, and Zwingli took his ground against the paganism of Catholicism,—its idolatry,—the Catholic deification of the creature. But Zwingli put the question thus: Who saves man, God or creature; Luther, What saves man, faith or works? Zwingli was a strict predestinarian, stronger on supralapsarianism than Calvin, though Ecolampadius was milder. His predestination was theological, resting on God, but not pantheizing, as Picus of Mirandula. Zwingli and Ecolampadius held to the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper not merely in the memorial sense but as a means of grace. As to the relation of the Church and state, Zwingli knew no separation, but left the Church disappear in the state. Ecolampadius, however, set forth the independency of the Church, at least theoretically and in part practically in the discipline. Herzog closes with a brief tribute to Zwingli and Ecolampadius as proper instruments of God for their work in their respective cities, as were also Calvin and Farel.

“The Relation of Germany to the Heidelberg Catechism was discussed by Hundeshagen, Ebrard and Ullman. Hundeshagen’s is a very interesting summary of the influences at Heidelberg to prepare the Elector Frederick III to issue the Heidelberg Catechism, especially his calling of so many foreigners to professorships, some of whom were inclined to the Reformed rather than the Lutheran faith. It described the relation of Frederick III to the catechism. Frederick aimed at unity of faith and harmony of doctrine in ordering its composition. Frederick, in his Church Order ordered it to be read in sections before the congregation and to be placed in connection with preaching on the answers of the catechism on Sunday afternoons; so that it be gone over once every year. Ursinus lectured on the catechism in Latin to the candidates for the ministry for fourteen years. He then discusses the 80th answer, saying that its last clause was too polemic, and that Frederick made it

himself as a reply to the Council of Trent. The 80th answer was a stumbling-block to the use of the Catechism under Catholic Electors after 1685. Elector Charles Philip in 1719 determined to suppress it altogether, because of this answer. The Reformed defended it, saying that the answer was directed not against persons but only against doctrines, and that the adoration of the host was idolatry. The catechism was finally again permitted to be used, but without the Elector's coat-of-arms on its title page as before. He then describes the downfall of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Palatinate through rationalism and through the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in the Palatinate, in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The Essay by Ebrard on "Melancthon and Melancthonianism" was of more importance. On the doctrine of the Lord's Supper he, like Herzog, says that Zwingli is falsely charged with holding the memorial view. Zwingli's method of viewing the contents of faith was an objective one,—that is, he did not make our faith in Christ's work the doctrinal centre as much as the historical work of Christ himself. He makes Melancthon, after Zwingli and Calvin the third reformer of the German Reformed Church. But Zwingli emphasized the fact that in the Lord's Supper we are concerned with the crucified body of Christ and not so much with our life-union with the glorified body, which he held took place in the act of faith and was presupposed* before the Lord's Supper. The reference of the Lord's Supper to the glorified body, rather than to the crucified body, was Lutheran and not Reformed.† Melancthon held that the glorified body in the Lord's Supper was a sign of grace. Melancthon, after receiving Ecolampadius' "Dialogue," held that the union was no longer the union of Christ's body with the bread, etc., but the internal union with the psychical centre of man. This was sanctioned by the altered Augsburg Confession, but was not the original Lutheran doctrine, as Heppe asserts. This doctrine passed over into the Reformed more fully and was better developed by Calvin.

The testimony of these foreign theologians is important on the question, whether the Reformed Church of Germany was Melancthonian (as Mercersburg held) or not. For one of the secondary objects of this Tercentenary celebration was the boosting of Mercersburg theology whenever possible. The adherents of this theology were determined to make all out of this Tercentenary for their peculiar positions that they could. A writer in the *Messenger*‡ said the Tercentenary owed its inspiration to the Mercersburg Theology. They had been particular to ask Ebrard to take this subject in the hope that he would aid their cause. He claims that the German Reformed Church was Melancthonian on the Lord's Supper, but

*Page 92.

†Page 93.

‡March 25, 1874.

grants* that it imbibed the rigid predestinarian principles, a fact that Mercersburg denied. Ullman, too, calls attention to the fact that the Melancthonians at Wittenberg put forth a decidedly unfavorable judgment of the Heidelberg Catechism, "a fact," he says, "which goes against the idea that the catechism was only a transcript of the Melancthonian scheme of doctrine."† This was also against the Mercersburg view that the catechism was Melancthonian. Thus, both Ebrard and Ullman deny the Mercersburg positions that the Reformed Church of Germany was not predestinarian and that the catechism was Melancthonian. The Mercersburg men got rather cold comfort here.

B.—The Papers of the American Writers.

Of these there were thirteen. The paper of Dr. DeWitt we take up first, as it does not directly refer to our Church. It was an able production on "The Heidelberg Catechism in Holland and America." Dr. Schneck's paper on "Frederick III" was purely historical. Dr. Bausman's paper of the "Catechism and Catechization" was practical and excellent especially in his description of its methods, as follows:

1. The Socratic method,—education,—to draw out the ideas of the pupils and assist them. Questioning is a large part of this method, so as to find out what was in the mind of the pupil.

2. Acroamatic method. This held that the pupil was passive. The catechism aimed to pour truth into the mind of the catechumen.

3. Erotematic,—instruction. A method uniting the two, giving truth to the catechumen and calling it forth from him, both by questioning him and lecturing to him.

Bomberger's paper, too, was valuable but it was merely a historical list of the editions of the Heidelberg catechism in the United States, of which quite a number have been discovered since.

But the others aimed to glorify Mercersburg Theology. They may have done it unconsciously because they knew no other as Reformed, but they did it all the same. And it harmonized somewhat awkwardly, as we have seen, with some statements made by the papers from Germany. They evidently intended to make as much out of the Tercentenary for

*Page 112.

†Page 135.

Mercersburg theology as possible. While glorifying the catechism, they were not forgetting themselves. Their leaders had all the doctrinal subjects and in them they tried to maintain the position that the German Reformed Church was Melanethonian. Any opponents or lukewarm adherents as Bomberger (and S. R. Fisher at that time) and Schneck, were given the practical subjects. The Melanethonian view found a place in different papers and by different writers again and again, as by Porter,* Harbaugh,† Kieffer,‡ Gerhart§ and Wolff.|| The only voice that was lifted up against Melanethonianism was by Bomberger in a discussion, when he said that the influence of Melanethon on the theology of the Palatinate Reformed Church was being somewhat exaggerated. And Ullman admitted as much, for he says, "The Melanethonian divines at Wittenberg put forth a decidedly unfavorable judgment,"—a fact which goes against the idea that the catechism was a transcript of Melanethonian's scheme of doctrine.¶

One of the most important and comprehensive papers was on "Creed and Cultus," by Harbaugh. He takes up especially the Palatinate liturgy and in this respect his paper to some extent parallels Ullman's. But while Ullman praises the Palatinate liturgy, Harbaugh depreciates it.

Because it was so largely compiled by Olevianus from the Dutch liturgy, it was, he says, heavy, stiff, didactic and deficient in liturgical glow and devotional warmth and stands in marked contrast with the Heidelberg Catechism, with its free, warm, practical, devotional fervor. Hence, he says, even in the Palatinate it has long since gone out of use as having the radical defect which characterizes all liturgies produced from the standpoint of the old Calvinism. But though disparaging it thus he is careful to note in it any facts favorable to the Order of Worship, as it says that a read prayer shall be used, that confession and absolution were used and that the congregation is ordered to join with the minister in the confession of sin. (He fails to state that this has

*Page 219.

†Pages 285-6.

‡Page 371.

§Page 405.

||Pages 58, 563.

¶Page 135.

never been customary among the Reformed of Germany where they never join with the minister audibly.—A.) He quotes the baptismal prayer of the Palatinate to prove that baptism means baptismal grace, but he forgets to notice that it does not say “is” but “may be so.” It nowhere says that regeneration is limited to the moment of baptism, which is the Mercersburg position. He claims that the baptismal prayer proves that the child has received forgiveness of sin; but the prayer speaks of baptism only as confirmatory of the covenant. On the Lord’s Supper, he claims it holds to spiritual real presence of Christ, but its words do not do so necessarily. He grants that the liturgy called for the observance of only four of the church festivals (Christmas, Ascension, Easter and Whitsuntide together with New Year), but he consoles himself by quoting over against this true Reformed liturgy the Hessian liturgy of 1526, which calls for the observance of Epiphany and circumcision. (He does not seem to know that that was a Lutheran liturgy, for Hesse did not become Reformed till 1604. In the same ignorance he also quotes against the Palatinate, the Hessian liturgy of 1566, which for the same reason was also Lutheran.—A.) He also refers to the Reformed hymn-book from the Hessian and Hanau district, which was indeed a Reformed book, but he was ignorant that it was constructed to suit both Lutherans and Reformed of that land like their liturgy. As it was afterward published by Saur in this country and was extensively used in our Church, he concludes it was Reformed. But its publication by Saur, as we have seen, was entirely unofficial.

In his closing remarks he makes a distinction between cultus and worship,—the former what we receive from God, the latter what we give to him. Cultus goes before worship. He makes the sacraments central in cultus and the priestly office central in the ministry. This is contrary to the old Reformed ideas which made the Word central in worship and the prophetic office, the most important office. He says there are two principles at work powerfully in the Reformed Church for the reduction of cultus, one began its work early in the reformation, the second came later as a reaction from the first. They were Calvinism (which moulds all cultus according to the form of rational intellectualism) and Arminianism (which moulds it according to natural emotionalism). He attacks Calvinism because it makes the Church the result of the elective decree and not its medium. The elect by it are the invisible Church, the visible church being only the realized decree. And by it the visible church is a hiding of the decree,—a kind of deceptive revelation. In the intellectualism of Calvin, which puts the prophetic office first, the priestly element disappeared and with it the altar service and holy-days. Calvin’s life rendered him unapt for a churchly cultus. His sudden transition from Romanism (This suddenness of Calvin’s conversion is against the later but best life of Calvin by Doumergue, who makes it gradual.—A.) made Calvin surrender the idea of a historical churchly

mediation and priestly office. The prayers of Calvinism are intellectual rather than devotional and the Palatinate liturgy reveals this. Calvinism tends to subjectivism. At the other extreme was Arminianism, as revealed in Wesleyan Methodism, like it unchurchly. He says the German Reformed Church never surrendered itself to the logical tendencies of Calvinism either in doctrine or cultus,—that before the synod of Dort predestination did not reign in more than one-third of the Continental Reformed Church. It was virtually defeated in that synod and declined more and more. (In saying this he evidently confuses Calvinism with supralapsarianism.—*A.*) He then declared that rationalism and pietism also interfered with cultus because too subjective. He quotes the Palatinate liturgy as against free prayer, because it has not a single illusion to it. Free prayer was not officially endorsed till the Synod of Cleve, 1677. (He does not know that free prayer was authorized by the Synods of Wesel (1568) and Emden (1571).—*A.*) He says free prayer was due to Labadie, a separatist who introduced it into the Reformed Church of Germany. We reply that the Pietism of the Reformed Church of Germany did not come from Labadie but from the Dutch Reformed Church, from Lodenstein.* Harbaugh accepts Klieforth, the high-Lutheran of Germany as his authority on worship and follows his distinction between the sacramental and the sacrificial, the former being God's approach to man, the latter our approach to God, the first being high and more controlling, and also coming first in time. "Such a cultus must have objective powers, must allow objective force to the sacrament, must include in it a real mediation."† "In the organism of the catechism the Holy Eucharist is central," he says. (If all this is not outspoken Mercersburg doctrine then nothing is.—*A.*)

As to doctrine, T. Appel attempts to show that the Reformed differed from the Lutheran in the relative position of reason in interpreting the Bible. Both agree on the supremacy of Scripture but arrived at different results. Luther emphasized the mystical and claimed the Reformed made too free a use of Scripture. While the Reformed emphasized the rational and claimed the Lutherans gave too much latitude to mystery as it was employed in the ancient Church.

2. On Tradition, which had more acceptance with the Lutherans than with the Reformed.

3. On the Church. The Lutherans were more churchly than the Reformed, emphasizing the sacraments and the official acts of the ministry. The Reformed emphasized the priesthood of all, there was no difference between the priesthood of people and minister,—and the Church had no such immediate power over the individual believer.

*See my History of the Reformed Church of Germany, pages 323-5.

†Page 291.

4. They placed a different emphasis on grace and law, Luther emphasizing the former, the Reformed the latter. The former was mystical in its piety, the latter, moral and active in type.*

"Predestination never had any symbolical authority and was handed over to the schools and scientific theology. After Dort it was regarded with favor but qualified of its objectionable features.†

Gerhart had a paper on the Relation of the Heidelberg Catechism to other Confessions.

The central, vital force of the catechism was the creed. It is, therefore, Christological. It is not purely subjective—does not turn on faith as a pivot as does the Lutheran, or grow out of feeling of dependence, as Schleiermacher holds. These two, the subjective and objective, are united in a third—a reciprocal relation. The principle is not Christ as he is in himself, but the internal relation of Christ and the believer expressed by faith. In the clause of the creed "I believe in Christ," Christ is the object, I, the subject. The word "believe" expresses the relation of the individual believer to Christ. The catechism is an organicism about the creed but not perfect. It has deficiencies, as in the 44th answer. The catechism accords with the Ecumenical creeds and opposes the Tridentine decree. On the Lord's Supper it completes the Lutheran doctrines which omits its commemorative idea. But no previous Reformed confession was an organic whole, developed from the creed as its formative principle. It belongs neither to Calvinism or Arminianism in metaphysical theorizing.

On the catechism itself there were four essays. T. G. Apple writes on its organic structure.

It was not, he says, a full scientific church-confession or a compiled catechism, but between them. The comfort of the first answer is the objective gracious gift bestowed by baptism, appropriated by subjective experience. Its central principle is union with Christ, —Jesus Christ in vital union with the baptized member of the Church. Question 20 gives organic redemption made in human nature and not merely for individual men. The Apostles' Creed is central, the sacrament flows forth in its subjective character and objective contents. He grants that the catechism does not say much of the Church, yet he comforts himself by saying it assumes it. In speaking of the third

*Other differences are given by Schaff, as that the polar points of the two systems are the finite and infinite, God and man, grace and human will, and on the formal side, divine truth and human reason. Again, the Reformed opposed the paganism of Rome, Lutherans the Judaism of Rome. The Reformed emphasized the transcendence of God, the Lutherans the immanence.

†Pages 327-8.

part of the catechism, he says repentance comes after regeneration as its effect. Regeneration is the implantation of the germ,—incorporation into Christ. God is alone active; man, passive. Repentance comes after and is man's work not by his own strength but by the Holy Spirit. The third part of the catechism also emphasizes the law as the rule of life.

Kieffer has a paper on "The Theological System of the Catechism." It was Melanethonian in doctrine, he says. On the sacraments it gives the objective meaning of seal, but the communication is not orally but by faith. The Church is defined as a collective body of believers (which is against the Mercersburg view which makes it organic.—A.)

Russell spoke on "The Authority of the Catechism." It rests on the Bible as interpreted by the Church in the creed. It rests on the fact that it embodies the true life of the Catholic Church, but is not a collection of subjective judgments aggregated by common consent.

Gans read a paper on "The Educational System of Religion in the Catechism." He says:

There are four Christological systems: Ebionism, Gnosticism, Eutychianism and Nestorianism corresponding with the four systems of philosophy: Realism, Idealism, Absolutism and Dualism. Its true conception is that the Church is the body of Christ resulting immediately and personally from the mystery of the incarnation under the Holy Spirit. In a secondary sense the Church takes up organically the individuals of the race as members of the body. He then goes on to speak of the covenant and those in the Covenant. The covenant is ruled by the Christological mystery. The covenant is not something we do to God or a mutual contract between God and man. This does not sound the depths of the covenant or apprehend its full objective grace and glory. In its inward nature and moulding power, man has but to accept or reject it. In itself, it is what God creates for, and the incarnation brings to, man. This covenant may be contemplated in two general aspects, (1) in the light of the family (2) in the light of baptism. Children inherit to some extent the gracious nature of the parents and thus belong to the covenant. Christ's incarnation was for nature. Grace enters organically into the natural organism of the covenant family.* This spiritual relation is through birth. Baptism not only confirms this covenant but imparts a positive grace. (This is an attempt to add their sacramentarian view of baptism to the covenant view.—A.) In this baptism God breathes into the lower covenanted being the breath of life

*Pages 456-7.

and the new spiritual creature is formed.* As the sun symbolizes and gives light, so baptism symbolizes and gives grace. This regenerating grace is clearly recognized in the Palatinate liturgy where it says "sealed" (but it also says it confirms —A.). The catechism emphasizes the figures of planting and grafting. The grace that the covenant child receives at baptism is that which gives it a living relation to Christ, the Church, and the Holy Spirit. To illustrate, there is a parallel between incarnation and regeneration. In Christ the union is real and organic, so in baptism. He then goes on to show how this baptismal grace develops in the family, the Church, the parochial school and the Sunday school. Religion is education: first the blade, then the ear, etc. He sneers at all sudden conversions and at the doctrine of assurance of forgiveness of sins. He says they are taught by quack apostles "who beat waves upon the emotional nature." Educational religion has no spasms in the normal evolution of grace. This Christian nurture completes itself at confirmation. He closes by turning to Calvinism and Arminianism. It is Calvinism, "not in an abstract decree of election or making the incarnation an afterthought and outward expedient, but it views the will of God as embodying itself concretely in the person of Christ who is the source and not simply the means of salvation." The person of Christ himself is the origin of the decree for man. All the purposes of Christ actualize themselves in, and do not stand in front of, Christ. In Christ lies the decree of God and in the Church it unfolds its power and grace. A rejection of what is offered in these divine institutions is our reprobation." The Catechism does not endorse, in a high Calvinistic sense, reprobation. The catechism is Arminian.† It grants gracious ability, but falling back on Christ who is the redeeming life of the world. It also differs from Arminianism in making Christ the principle and not merely the means of salvation.

Wolff closes the volume with a paper on the History of the Theological seminary, giving the facts of its history from a largely biased Mercersburg view, granting, however, that the professors at Mercersburg were in advance of the catechism and other standard writings of the Reformed Church on particular points, but in no respect at variance with them. He thus tries to cover up the departures of Mercersburg Theology from old Reformed doctrine.

SECTION 4. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

Ever since the last triennial convention between the Eastern and Ohio synod, the subject of a union had been mooted and was finally approved by the two synods (Eastern and

*Page 458.

†Against this view see my History of the Reformed Church of Germany, pages 589, 623.

Ohio). In 1862, two-thirds of the classes decided for a general synod. This union-feeling had grown as the Tercentenary approached. The union was consummated by the formation of a General Synod at Pittsburg, November 18, 1863. The body contained 94 ministers, 56 from the East and 38 from the West. Dr. Nevin was elected president and Rev. I. H. Reiter stated clerk, Revs. Zacharias and Kieffer vice-presidents, Dr. Rutenick German Secretary, and John Wiest treasurer. After adopting an order of business for synod, committees were appointed on Religious Exercises, Minutes of Synods, Overtures, Correspondence, State of the Church, Missions and Finance. It appointed a Board of Orphans' Homes, a Board of Domestic Missions and also of Foreign Missions, and gave expression of its high appreciation of Dr. Schneider, the missionary in Turkey. An overture had come to it from Eastern synod, asking it to consider the advisability of consolidating the theological seminaries at Mercersburg and Tiffin into one, and with it the endowment of two additional theological professorships. This the general synod did not deem advisable. In regard to the liturgy, an overture came in from the Ohio synod.* The Indiana classis (1863) had requested the Ohio synod of 1863 to provide the Church with a liturgy that will meet with more favor than any now in use. The Ohio synod had taken the following action:

1. That it felt the need of a liturgy.
2. That it is opposed to the continued use of the Provisional liturgy and requested General Synod to so modify it so it can be introduced into the congregations.
3. If the Provisional liturgy does not admit of such modifications, that General Synod take steps to provide a liturgy adapted to the wants of the Church.
4. If General Synod is not prepared to act, that it grant the Ohio Synod permission to provide a liturgy adapted to the wants of our

*Opposition to the Provisional liturgy in the West showed itself openly at first as early as 1859, when at a pastoral conference, Max Stern read a paper against Mercersburg theology. These German conferences began in 1857 at Fort Wayne, and were continued annually up to 1866, when the last one was held at Cleveland. Out of them grew the establishment of the German Mission House at Franklin, Wis., and the German Publishing House at Cleveland.

Church, and that a committee of five be appointed to go forward. The committee was: Rust, E. Keller, Bossard, H. Williard and J. H. Kline.

It had been adopted by a vote of 43 to 16. Some voted against it, because it forbids entirely the use of the Provisional liturgy. This action of the Ohio synod was caused by the publication of Nevin's tract, "The Liturgical Question," in 1862.

General Synod referred this item to a committee consisting of Williard, Bossard, Apple, Russell and Elders S. B. Kieffer and T. W. Chapman. The committee reported that the request of the Ohio synod be granted and that it be allowed to prepare a liturgy better suited to the wants of the Church. Reid offered a substitute that a committee of Eastern synod be appointed to revise the Provisional liturgy. After a discussion of a half a day, McConnell offered an amendment to Reid's substitute, instructing this committee to revise the Provisional liturgy on the basis of the instructions repeatedly given by Eastern synod. After another half-day's discussion, McConnell's amendment was adopted, the friends of the Provisional liturgy generally voting for it and the anti-liturgical men voting against it. Nevin opposed Reid's amendment, saying it was discourteous to the Eastern synod to take the revision of the Provisional liturgy in hand at its first meeting without being requested to do so by the Eastern synod. So the General Synod ordered, what the Eastern synod had thus far refused to do, the revision of the Provisional liturgy.

SECTION 5. THE CLOSING CONVENTION OF THE TERCENTENARY AT READING (1864).

This convention met at Reading, May 21. The opening sermon was preached by Rev. D. Zacharias, D.D., on Psalm 146:1. Dr. Gerhart was made president, Revs. S. G. Wagner and G. B. Russell secretaries, Revs. Foulk and Bausman corresponding secretaries, and D. W. Gross treasurer.

Four committees were appointed:

1. On the Census of the Church, Beck, chairman.
2. On the Tercentenary Offering, Foulk, chairman.

3. On Unappropriated Funds, T. G. Apple, chairman.

4. To prepare a paper on the best methods of continuing and developing the spirit of liberality manifested in the Church during the past year, Harbaugh, chairman.

Reports were then received of the Tercentenary operations in each classis. A committee was appointed to report on the theological and religious aspect of the church in the Tercentenary year, Porter, chairman. Another committee was appointed to consider the propriety of founding a third professorship in the seminary, Schaff, chairman. Harbaugh was inaugurated professor of theology during its sessions.

The Committee on Census found itself unable to report on account of imperfect data and was continued. The Committee on the theological and religious aspects of the Tercentenary reported that it had awakened the Church to greater historic consciousness, that the Heidelberg Catechism had been clothed with new honor and authority, that the Apostles' Creed was the basis and ruling power of the catechism. It had produced two important works, the Triglott edition of the Catechism and the Tercentenary Monument, also enlarged endowment funds of literary and theological institutions and it had increased their efficiency and brought the Church to a clearer consciousness of her mission. The committee on Tercentenary contributions reported that as far as reported there were \$103,018.43,* but this would yet be considerably increased. The committee reported favorably on a third professorship in the seminary, to be known as the Tercentenary professorship, and it was ordered that undesignated funds be appropriated to that object. The treasurer of Franklin and Marshall College reported at the end of the year the receipt of \$36,596 from the Tercentenary offerings.

A number of subjects, however, were left unfinished, and were turned over to the next synod to complete such as the census, the Tercentenary professorship, etc. The convention set September 15, 1864, as the time for the closing of the receipts for the Tercentenary fund. It also passed a vote of

**Messenger*, June 1, 1864.

sympathy for the Reformed Church in Austria, which, for the first time in three centuries, was allowed to hold a synod. It also noted the 300th anniversary of Calvin (1564).

At this conference, advantage was again taken of the Tercentenary to aid the Mercersburg theology as much as possible. A series of resolutions was passed. They are as follows:

“Our Tercentenary jubilee has served a wholesome purpose in renewing for our ecclesiastical consciousness, a proper sense of what is comprehended in our confessional title “Reformed,” as related originally to Lutheranism in one direction and to the Catholic Church of the olden time in the other.

2. It is an argument of sound and right historical feeling in this case that the beginnings of our Church life are referred not simply to the epoch and crisis of the Reformation but through that also to the original form of Christianity as it existed in the first ages.

3. The true genius and spirit of our Church in this respect, as shown by the plan which is assigned to the Apostles’ Creed in the Heidelberg Catechism, where it is plainly assumed that the creed in its proper historical sense is to be considered of fundamental authority for the Reformed faith.

4. It is a matter for congratulation that our growing sympathy with the Apostles’ Creed is attended with a growing power of appreciation among us also of that Christological way of looking at the doctrines of Christianity, which has come to characterize all the Evangelical theology of Germany in our time; and by which only it would seem the objective and subjective (in other words the churchly and experimental) sides of the Gospel can be brought into true harmony with each other.”

These articles thus drawn up and adopted were referred to the next synod. The synod of 1864 adopted them and, as Apple says of it in the *Messenger*, February 20, 1867, “Thus the Church unanimously endorsed at the close of the Tercentenary year jubilee the theology which is taught in the Church.” What he means by this is explained by a previous paragraph in the same article which said that Mercersburg theology is the only theology that has been taught in the Church since the removal of our institutions to Mercersburg some thirty years ago. He therefore argues that the Church adopted and endorsed officially the Mercersburg theology. We have called attention previously to the falsity of this statement of Apple. Mercersburg Theology was not taught since the removal

of the institutions to Mercersburg. Neither Rauch or even Nevin in his first years at Mercersburg taught the Mercersburg theology, as it did not develop until Schaff came (1844). Apple is also wrong in claiming that this action of the synod of 1864 committed the Church officially to Mercersburg theology. These resolutions are a very vague statement and show no endorsement of anything but "Christocentric theology," which is not by any means the peculiarity of Mercersburg theology, but of much theology that never knew Mercersburg. That Christocentric view was first emphasized by Sehliermacher, whose theology differed widely from Nevinism. Those resolutions describe rather a general theological movement than that of a particular school like Mercersburg. So these resolutions can not be taken as an endorsement of Mercersburg theology because they do not state the peculiar doctrines of that theology. Yet this was the nearest the synod ever got to officially adopting Mercersburg teachings. The truth was that at that time a large part of the synod had not yet accepted Mercersburg views and never did accept them. And the Mercersburg men were later willing to make the assertion that the Reformed Church never adopted Mercersburg theology officially. Certain it is that whatever the action of the Eastern synod of 1864 meant, Mercersburg theology never was officially adopted by the General Synod of our Church when it came into being later. So that it can not be claimed that Mercersburg theology is the theology of the Reformed Church. At the present time, many of the graduates of Mercersburg and Lancaster, who no longer subscribe to the Mercersburg shibboleth of Nevinism, can rejoice with us, that it never was made the official theology of the German Reformed Church.

BOOK III.

The Second Liturgical Controversy (The Controversy About the Order of Worship).

CHAPTER I.

THE NEW "ORDER OF WORSHIP."

SECTION 1. THE PREPARATION OF THE NEW LITURGY.

The Eastern synod of 1864 accepted the instructions of the General Synod and appointed a committee to revise the Provisional liturgy. It, however, appointed the old liturgical committee, merely filling the vacancies caused by death. Thus Heiner's place was filled by T. G. Apple, and Elder William Heyser's by Elder L. H. Steiner. The synod also elected Gans a professor of Biblical exegesis on the Terecentenary Fund, but he was to take his place only when the sufficient funds had been collected. He, however, never entered on the office, as sufficient funds were never gathered. And when the next effort was made for an addition to the seminary faculty it was by an addition of a Hebrew tutor.

The liturgical committee had repeated meetings. The completed liturgy was presented to the Eastern synod of 1866. Bomberger, as a minority member of the committee, presented a paper to the synod on the subject of the liturgy. But he later withdrew it, when synod agreed to have it stated in the minutes that such a paper had been presented. The committee of the synod on the liturgy submitted four resolutions, the first expressing thanks to God, the second thanks to the committee. The third was the one omitted in the final action, namely, that we approve of the revised liturgy and recommend it to General Synod." This was amended into the action that the revised liturgy be referred to the General Synod for action and that in the meantime the optional use

of the Revised liturgy be authorized instead of the Provisional within the bounds of the Eastern synod until the question be finally settled by the classes and the General Synod, according to the constitution. The vote was 53 for this action to 14 against. The liturgical committee was then discharged. The opponents of the liturgy strongly opposed this action as giving some sort of approval of the liturgy, and as prejudging the case before the General Synod had acted on it. But it was explicitly stated that the permission to optional use should have no such construction. And yet Nevin, at the next General Synod, claimed that the synod had endorsed the committee and accepted in full its action.

The debate on the liturgy was very heated. Bomberger, says an eye witness (K.), was frequently interrupted by a number of his opponents and the president of the synod gave him no protection against them. At one time he fairly reeled in the chancel and placing his hands on his forehead as if in extreme pain, he besought the brethren to give him a fair chance to speak. Elder Rudolph Kelker, when he arose to speak in behalf of the elders against the new liturgy, suffered all sorts of indignities from his opponents. (Although Dr. Nevin came to him afterward and congratulated him on his remarks.) The interruptions were so great when he began his remarks that he said quietly "that if the seminary created the spirit manifested on this occasion, then it was a golden age of the Church when we had no seminary." In his remarks, he turned to Dr. Schaff, who sat near him and asked him whether or not the Reformed Church of Switzerland and Germany had such a responsive service as the Order of Worship. Dr. Schaff replied emphatically that there was no such liturgy in the Reformed Churches of Europe and added with deep emotion, laying his hand on his breast as he did it, "Who does not know that the warm outgushing of the heart is better than any form of prayer prepared by another." (Dr. Schaff seems to have forgotten for the moment his high-churchism as his memory went back to his early Reformed home and simple Reformed worship beyond the sea at Chur in Switzerland.

SECTION 2. "THE REVISED LITURGY" BY BOMBERGER.



REV. PRES. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D. D.

About six weeks after the meeting of the Eastern synod in 1866 and before the session of the General Synod, Bomberger published this pamphlet. It was written, he says, at the request of a number of elders present at the Eastern synod of 1866.*

He charged the Revised liturgy (Order of Worship) with being a liturgical revolution. He does not, he says, charge an ecclesiastical conspiracy to foist a liturgy on the Church, but the effect of such a movement may be felt even with no antecedent purpose to produce it. He described the Reformed Church in this country as having been moderately but decidedly Calvinistic. It observed five of the Church festivals only. It used free prayer at the Lord's day services and liturgical forms only for the sacraments, etc. This had been the custom from 1730 on. He then gives an excellent history of the liturgical movement since 1847. Speaking of the liturgical committee when it met in 1861 to revise the Provisional liturgy, he says it was found that there were two parties, one wanting a pulpit-liturgy, the other an altar-liturgy, the first believing that the Provisional liturgy could be altered by taking out the objectionable parts, the other claiming it was such an organic unity

*The first edition was exhausted in four days.

that this could not be done. To cap the climax Nevin published in 1862, as the report of the committee to the synod his pamphlet, "The Liturgical Question," which was:

1. A violent and wholesale assault on free prayer.
2. A contemptuous condemnation of the Palatinate and other Reformed liturgies.
3. A eulogistic vindication of an extremely responsive order of ritualism. Pulpit liturgies were called pseudo-liturgies (false liturgies), etc.

Bomberger's charges against the liturgical committee were:

1. That it violated the instructions given to it, in the external structure and form of its leading services, (a) in the multiplication of responses. While the synod of 1852 enlarged the liberty of the committee, yet its work was to have special reference to the Palatinate and other Reformed liturgies which were not responsive. Thus, in the regular service of the Lord's day in the Order of Worship there are eighteen responses, beside the confession of sin, Creed, Gloria and Lord's Prayer. In the evening service there are seventeen responses and the Creed and Lord's Prayer. In the preparatory services there were thirty responses, including the litany; at the Lord's Supper, twenty-nine, without counting the Nicene Creed, Gloria in Excelsis, Seraphic hymn and Te Deum or Ambrosian hymn, which last contains fifteen long responses. It has more responses than the Episcopalian liturgy. (b) It violates the instructions of the synod of 1852 by not allowing room for free prayer.

2. He then passes over to an examination of its internal structure or ruling spirit and genius. The instructions of the synod of 1852 were that it should be essentially and generically Reformed. He quotes the Church-historians, Hase, Kurtz, Hagenbach and Nitzsch, to prove that the Reformed worship was simple and without responses or altar. He also quotes the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany, the official paper of our Church there, which in November, 1859, declared that our Reformed worship was without responses and special altar service. The Order, he says, cast out the "table" from the Reformed liturgies and put the altar in. The "declaration of pardon" in the Palatinate liturgy was to weak penitents who were already pardoned, and was usually called in Germany "the assurance of comfort," but it was not intended to convey pardon as does the Order of Worship. Instead of making the Lord's Supper a memorial as in the Palatinate liturgy, the Order makes it the offering up of a sacrifice in which they present an offering to God. As Nevin says, the new liturgy is not patterned after any in use in the Reformed Church in the United States or elsewhere.

Its doctrinal points were as objectionable as its liturgical, as

1. Its teaching of the relation of Christ's glorified body to the believer.

2. That the sacraments work regenerating grace through the Holy Spirit, whereas the catechism says it is by the Word.

The effects of the introduction of this liturgy will be a radical change: (1) in worship, (2) in the conceptions of Christianity and the Church, (3) in the fundamental doctrines of the Church, (4) the substitution of the altar and the priesthood and the subordination of preaching in our services, (5) greater diversity in worship, (6) discord in the Church, (7) decay of the Church. The remedy is a revision, which will take out all objectionable forms and phrases. These changes would not exceed twenty pages.

Comparing it with the Provisional liturgy which had preceded it, it was even more ritualistic. That was a double liturgy, containing both an altar- and a pulpit-liturgy. Of the 31 forms, 27 were cast after the model of the Reformed Church. In the Order, every vestige of these 27 forms were eliminated; and the four, most at variance with the Reformed liturgies were retained. On the other hand, its objectionable features were intensified. The committee did what they had before said could not be done. They tore the Provisional liturgy to pieces and changed its parts. The two liturgies—the Provisional and the Order—differ both in inward and outward arrangement.

SECTION 3. THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1866.

The General Synod met at Dayton.* Rev. Dr. Zacharias was elected president. He had always been considered as belonging to the Old Reformed party, but here he gave the control of the synod to the Mercersburg men. It received the reports of both synods on the liturgy. The Ohio synod, having received permission of the previous General Synod to prepare a liturgy, did so and now reported that it was busy at work but had not yet completed it. The Eastern synod presented the Order of Worship. Both reports were referred to a special committee. This committee could not agree and so brought in a majority and minority report. The majority recommended that the Order of Worship be handed down to the Church for optional use. The minority opposed this, because the Order, they said, made essential changes in worship and doctrine and it was, therefore, unsafe and unwise to do this even for optional use. The minority report also stated

*In the Lutheran Church, as the Reformed Church was not yet finished.

fifteen objections to the Order, which were summed up by Prof. J. H. Good,* its leader.

A long discussion followed, which lasted two days.† In it, in reply to a charge made that the high-churchmen had gotten so high as already to have bishops, J. H. Wagner tried to explain away the charge by J. H. Good that the Order led to episcopacy because Westmoreland classis already had a bishop. The name of superintendent was first proposed, but it was not considered churchly enough, as we have superintendents of oil companies. But bishop is Scriptural and was, therefore, used. The ministers are all bishops and the missionary bishop (such as they have in Westmoreland classis) is not above the rest of the clergy. In the discussion, Dr. Fisher also explained ✓ why he had opposed the Provisional liturgy but now endorsed the Order; for he says he had been charged with being a traitor. The Provisional liturgy, he said, had no unity in it. This is a unit,—one system—one order of worship. It is far better than the Provisional and is the result of a compromise.

Apple said, "It is for them (the churches) to determine whether they will accept it or not and use it." Gans said, "We owe it to the people to say whether they want it." Gerhart declared "It must be submitted to the people." Russell said, "Let the liturgy go to the churches for optional use and trial." All these leaders of the high-church party thus granted at that time that the use of the liturgy must be decided by the congregation. We shall see how by and by they later advanced beyond this position.

When the vote was taken, the majority report had seven majority (64-57). A change of four votes would have changed the result. Rust says‡ "that one large classis in the West was

*The J. H. Good so often mentioned in this book is not the author of this book, but his uncle. The initials of their names are so alike that they are often confused with each other. The writer was then only a young man, not in the ministry yet. He refers to this because he does not want to seem to be quoting himself so often, as would appear to any one who confuses his uncle's name with himself.

†For this discussion, see the *Messenger* and *Christian World*, 1866-7.

‡*Christian World*, February 28, 1867.

not represented at all and several by only one pastor. If the western delegation had been full, the old Reformed party would have had 12-15 more votes.”

The action was as follows:

“*Resolved*, That the Western synod, in conformity with its own request, be authorized to continue its labors in preparing a liturgy,—

That the Revised liturgy reported to this synod by the Eastern synod, according to the direction of the General Synod at Pittsburg, entitled ‘An Order of Worship for the Reformed Church,’ be and is hereby allowed as an order of worship proper to be used in the congregations and families of the Reformed Church,—

That this action is not designed to interfere in any way with that freedom which is now enjoyed in regard to liturgy by all such ministers and congregations as may not be prepared to introduce it in whole or in part.”

The *Messenger*, in an editorial* says “The report of the committee is a compromise measure, allowing the use of the Order, yet giving the Western committee time to complete its work. There is no disposition to force this or any other liturgy on the Church. The genius of the Reformed Church will never admit of anything of the kind. No attempt should be made by any of its friends to introduce its use in advance of, or in opposition to, public sentiment nor should undue measure be resorted to for the purpose of manufacturing sentiment.

The phrase in the synod’s action “as an order of worship proper to be used” was afterward made use of to show that it was approved by this General Synod. This was done to get it introduced into the congregations. But this action of the General Synod was not an approval, only a permission.

Right on the heels of this General Synod came the news of the defection of one of the Mercersburg graduates to Rome, Rev. Moses A. Stewart, of Burkittville, which made quite a sensation. At this General Synod a resolution containing the word “Evangelical” in it happened to be offered. Immediately a Nevinite moved to strike out the word. After some debate the motion to strike out the word was lost by only a few votes. Some of the Nevinists not only rejected the word but ridiculed its use by others.

*December 19.

SECTION 4. "VINDICATION OF THE REVISED LITURGY," BY NEVIN, AND "REFORMED NOT RITUALISTIC," BY BOMBERGER.

Early in 1867, Dr. Nevin published this tract in reply to Bomberger's tract, "The Revised Liturgy." He says:

Bomberger's tract will do harm by charging the liturgy as a great fraud, palmed off on the Church by the liturgical committee. Bomberger's tract had been published just before the General Synod so as to influence its members against the Order of Worship. Dr. Nevin then tries to answer, what he calls Bomberger's charge of conspiracy, that the friends of the liturgy and the liturgical committee had all along been trying to palm off a liturgy on the Church and thus make the Church liturgical,—that the liturgical committee continually went contrary to the wish of the synod. He divided his tract into two parts: 1. Historical Vindication; 2. Theological Vindication. In the first he denied that the liturgical committee had gone ahead of or against the wishes of, the synod. He claimed that the synod of 1852 gave authority to the liturgical committee to go back of the Reformation to the early liturgies. Bomberger had charged them with asking for the provisional use of this liturgy, because they felt the liturgy would be too extreme. He claimed over against Bomberger that the liturgical committee had merely fulfilled the wishes of synod by following the ancient creeds and by its provisional introduction. He gives the history of its inception: "We started in 1849, the committee and synod having in mind at that time almost entirely the notion simply of a book of forms for the pulpit. But we were gradually carried beyond this to a liturgy belonging to the altar. The pulpit-liturgy gradually, by plastic force of sentiment, ran into an altar-liturgy." He differed from Bomberger by claiming that the Provisional liturgy was prevailingly an altar-liturgy and not a pulpit-liturgy. Instead of the synod being out of sympathy with the liturgical committee, the synod showed its confidence in the liturgical committee by re-appointing it twice to do the work (in 1861 and again in 1864), and finally fully approved its last work. After such an effort to prepare a liturgy lasting seventeen years, the effort of the minority at the General Synod of 1866 to set it aside was absurd and monstrous. He charges that it was an attempt of the West to rule the East. He then attacks the liturgical material prepared by the West as "botched stuff," and ridicules the report of its committee. Bomberger's tract failed to have any effect, he said, on the eastern delegates at the General Synod, as they all favored the Order except Bomberger and his colleagues, two of whom were from North Carolina. He called these North Carolinians "ciphers" (a charge which Dr. Welker never forgot.—A.) The vote of the General Synod was not

intended as an endorsement, but only so that the Order might have fair-play.

In the Theological Vindication, he says that in the discussion at General Synod, he was surprised that so little stress was laid on points of ritual, as the responses, and that the discussion related mainly to the theological character of the Order of Worship. The reigning theology of the liturgy was:

1. Christological or Christocentric.
2. It moved in the bosom of the Apostles' Creed.
3. It was objective and historical.

Such a Churchly theology is always sacramental. He then attacks his anti-liturgical opponents, as he calls them, and calls them rationalizing, subjective and making the doctrine of assurance out of their own fancy. As to ordination, the choice is between a theory that ordination is nothing and one that holds it carries force. Transmission flows through ordination,—actual investiture of office,—the sacramental seal of the heavenly commission.

As to confession and absolution, are they nothing but declarations of what is plainly true. The objection to this is due to the rationalizing spirit of his opponents. As to baptism, he was surprised at the statement of Rust, a professor of theology, which was blank Pelagianism, because he could not go with the statement of the liturgy that children were under the power of the devil. As to its teaching baptismal regeneration, the liturgy avoids the phrase because it is ambiguous; but it teaches the reality of sacramental grace. It does not mean that baptism converts the baptized by magic but that it imparts grace. As to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that it taught a real union of Christ with the elements, all he had to say was that that doctrine was Reformed and Calvinistic.

Nevin's "Vindication of the Liturgy" was reviewed by Williard in the *Western Missionary*. He says it is not a vindication, but a vindictive assault on Nevin's opponents. The Order had been described as an innocent little infant. But lo, within three months after General Synod, it had risen up brandishing its sword. He utterly denied the charge of Nevin that Bomberger and the eastern opponents of the liturgy had formed a conspiracy with the West to win a political game at the last General Synod. Nevin speaks very disrespectfully of the liturgical work of the Western synod when he calls it "botched stuff." He insulted the North Carolina delegates by representing them as "ciphers."

Bomberger replied, in May by his tract "Reformed not Ritualistic," written at the request of a number of laymen, who declared that Nevin had grossly and personally abused him.

He has a brief introduction in which he says that Nevin at the General Synod had utilized the occasion for a personal attack on him. He also refers to Nevin's attack on the Western delegates in his *Vindication* and to Harbaugh's holding up the Palatinate liturgy to public ridicule in its absolutism, or, as it was properly called, formula "for comforting penitents." After this introduction, he replies:

(1) To Nevin, denying that he had ever charged the liturgical committee with a conspiracy and referred to his tract, "The Revised Liturgy" (page 9) as disclaiming it. But he granted that he had charged three things:

A. Disobedience of the committee to the Eastern synod's instructions.

B. Persevering attempts to introduce ritualism.

C. Desire to secure delay.

The synods of 1849, 1852 and 1861 had enjoined at least equal regard for Reformed liturgies of the sixteenth century to which the committee paid no regard.

(2) To Nevin's attack on him for his inconsistency (that he had approved of Nevinism in 1853 and the Provisional liturgy in 1857, and yet attacked it in 1862. He says that in his first article in the *Mercersburg Review* (1853), he had already expressed decided dissent on some points with Nevin. He had early objected to certain forms in the Provisional liturgy, but had been answered that they could be omitted. He then turns on Nevin, saying that he too was quite inconsistent.

1. In 1840-7 he was quite favorable to the spirit of the Reformation, but in 1862-3 unfavorable to the Reformation and inclined to go back to the early Church. In 1844 he was against the Christianity of the second century and in 1866-7 decidedly for it.

2. In 1844 he was against genuflections and prostrations and ritual, and in 1862-3 very much in favor of them.

Yet Nevin said at the General Synod at Dayton, "I stand where I did while professor at Mercersburg."

3. Nevin's third attack on him had been for factiousness. Nevin had spoken of Bomberger and his friends as a miserable faction of the Eastern synod. This he denies. His party was not a faction, for the Order had not yet been endorsed at all. At the Eastern synod of 1866 the synod had been careful to say that its action was not an endorsement; and at General Synod, Gans said in the discussion, "We want no authority to go with the book. No endorsement is sought. We are not yet prepared for that point." The phrase of General Synod's action, "an order of worship proper to be used," does not therefore carry with it any endorsement. Yet Nevin quotes it as endorsed. How could his party be factious against the Order when the Order was not yet officially endorsed by the Church.

He then takes up again the history of the liturgical movement. He claimed that on five points, the liturgical committee violated the instructions of the synod of 1852 and gives facts to prove it. He closes by stating the differences between the two systems of liturgy.

1. The Order is responsive. These are said to be unimportant, but it is a scheme to sever our Church from its historic past.

2. The Order destroys the personal relation of the believer to Christ. This is taken away by its teaching of the priesthood of the ministry, which was the Jewish idea, not Christian.

3. The Order is ritualistic. The difference between liturgical and ritualistic is that the former refers to the use of suitable forms and uses only those as are indispensable, the latter invests these forms with extra drapery and ceremonies, "risings and bowings," as Nevin said; "also turning of all faces toward the altar as the shekinah forth from which must radiate continually the glory of God's house."*

4. The Order lays emphasis on the objective and outward in worship to the disparagement of the subjective and experimental. By exalting the sacraments, it lowers the authority of the Word of God.

5. The Order excludes free prayer.

He concludes by replying to Nevin's Theological Vindication of the Order, where he made God in Christ central. This is no peculiarity of Mercersburg theology. This was firmly taught by the Reformed Church long before Nevin came into our Church. In reply to Nevin's statement that this Christocentric theology is founded on the Creed, he answers by attacking Nevin's view of the organic unity of the Creed. Nevin had declared that the clauses of the Creed were organically arranged, gradually rising through the Father, Son and Spirit to the Church—that it was significant that the clause about the Church came before that of forgiveness of sin, thus showing that forgiveness of sin comes through the Church. Bomberger shows that the clauses came into it at different intervals and some as late as the eighth century. The clause "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" left off "Catholic" until 400 to 500 B. C. And that article, instead of being placed after I believe in Christ and also the Holy Ghost (of which Nevin makes so much) was often placed last in the Creed. The forgiveness of sins often preceded the article on the Church.

As to Nevin's third characteristic of the Order that it made religion objective and historical, he replies that our catechism emphasized the subjective. (Answer 20, "receive all these benefits by a true faith.") Before closing, he defends Rust from Nevin's charge of being a Pelagian. Rust did not deny original sin, as did the Pelagians. But he was opposing the view of the Order that the children of believers are as much under the power of the devil as those of unbelievers. Their high view of baptism tends to exorcism. He quotes from a leading

*Liturgical Question, page 29.

Mercersburg writer: "A sinner may be penitent for his sins, but until he has received baptism as God's act of remission for him he has no assurance of remission. And when after baptism he sins through infirmity, he can not be sure of pardon till his absolution is spoken, sealed and signed by Christ by means of a divine act through the Church. "How different this from the 56th answer of the catechism.

The ordination service of the Order is to be considered as the minister's actual investiture with the very power of the office itself, the sacramental seal of their heavenly commission—appointed to offer up before Him the prayers of the people—charged with the government of the Church and the proper use of it—discipline in the way of censure and absolution according to Matthew 16: 18. At the question of ordination, he receives, through the laying on of hands, the gift and grace of the Holy Spirit. The Baptismal formula says: "You present this child and do seek the new spiritual life of the Holy Ghost through the sacrament of baptism which Christ hath established *for the communication of such great grace.*" In the Lord's Supper, the well-known phrases are not found as "his broken body" and "shed blood." The memorial aspect of the Lord's Supper is left out or minimized.

CHAPTER II.

THE ACTION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1869 ON BOTH LITURGIES.

SECTION 1. LITURGICAL EVENTS IN THE EAST (1866-9).

In 1866 appeared the first compendium of Mercersburg Theology. Nevin had developed its doctrines on the Lord's Supper and the Church. Gradually other doctrines had been developed, as baptism. But there was no book that comprehended them all in a system. As a good deal of their theology was speculative, it was all the more important that some authoritative work on it should be published. This, "Mercersburg and Modern Theology Contrasted," by Rev. Samuel Miller, aimed to do. It was a compend of considerable value. Miller was a man of some ability and aimed at profundity. He had been a minister of the Evangelical Association, but had been greatly impressed by Schaff's inaugural address, "The Principle of Protestantism." Captivated by the new ideas of historical development, he entered the ministry of our Church and was made one of the editors of the Church papers in the East, the *Messenger* and *Kirchenzeitung*. His book is a fair summary of Mercersburg theology, but he fearfully misstates the positions of Evangelical theology, which he here calls Modern Theology. He believes the latter to be rationalizing.

And yet his book was not accepted by the Mercersburg theologians. On the contrary, it was quite severely criticised by the *Mercersburg Review* in 1867. It says, "Miller had not properly mastered the Mercersburg theology, as on the doctrine of the new creation, faith and the evidence of Christianity. In his doctrine of the trinity he imported views from somewhere else than Mercersburg. It calls Miller's idea of the trinity and his trinitarian views of the Church fanciful.

Rev. G. R. Russell later (1869), in his "Creeds and Customs," gave a brief epitome of Mercersburg theology which was more satisfactory to them.

On January 14, the consistory of St. Paul's congregation at Lancaster took action against the Order of Worship, declaring that as it would produce a radical change in the doctrine and genius of the Reformed Church, it ordered that when a liturgy was used it should be the Palatinate. This action led to the resignation of their pastor (Rev. H. Mosser), who publicly, in the *Messenger*, declared that this action was taken in his absence and met with his disapproval.

Rev. Mr. Heilman introduced the liturgy into the Jonestown congregation, claiming that in doing so he was carrying out the wishes of the General Synod. Yet the action of the General Synod as interpreted by the liturgical leaders at that synod, was one of permission and not of adoption.

Rev. T. J. Johnson says the liturgy should be left to the people to express their opinion. S. W. later asks where can the people meet to express their opinion. Classis and consistory and congregation, the liturgists say, have no jurisdiction, for they declare that the General Synod alone has jurisdiction.

In February, 1867, there was a conference of the old Reformed or low-church party, held at the house of Emanuel Kelker at Harrisburg, says Helffrich.* It was there decided:

1. To call a general conference of those opposed to the liturgy.
2. To found a college. (This was necessary, as the Order of Worship had been introduced at the College at Lancaster.)
3. To start a monthly to defend their principles. As a result, the *Reformed Church Monthly* began in 1868.

The constitutional question about the liturgy was now coming to the front more and more,—how the liturgy was to be introduced; whether by the pastor alone or also by the consent of the consistory and congregation. The former was the practice of the high-churchmen, the latter the claim of the low-churchmen. The plan of the Old Reformed now was to get the classes to adopt an action requiring the consistory and

*Autobiography, page 377.

congregation to decide whether the Order should be introduced. We will see how they acted on it.

On May 10, Zion's classis took action on the introduction of the liturgy. It forbade it to be introduced into any of its congregations without first obtaining the consent of the majority of the members of the consistory and of the congregation. It declared that it looked with regret on its exclusive use in the Theological seminary at Mercersburg and the college at Lancaster, contrary to the wishes of a large part of the ministry. It asked synod to take action to secure their rights in these institutions. It expressed itself strongly against the *Messenger* for its partisan advocacy of the liturgical movement and also against the *Mercersburg Review* for the same reason.

Philadelphia classis took the same action as Zion's about the introduction of the liturgy into the congregations. These two classes seem to have been under the control of the Old Reformed party.

But these efforts of the anti-liturgical men to get these actions taken by the classes produced a reaction and led some of the other classes to take action very favorable to the introduction of the Order of Worship. Before East Pennsylvania classis met, a conference was held at Allentown with Rev. Mr. Phillips, where Bomberger brought the action of the Philadelphia and North Carolina classes against the liturgy. This classis did not follow this low-church action but approved of General Synod making the use of the Order optional and requested pastors to circulate it among their members so as to afford them an opportunity to become acquainted with the work. It asked that the Order be translated into German for use in their Pennsylvania-German congregations.

Mercersburg classis (May 17) took favorable action on the Order, that it was eminently adapted to the wants of the Church. It rejoiced at the favor with which it was being received and recommended it to the people.

Lancaster classis (June 27) took favorable action on it. It directed pastors and consistories to adopt proper measures to bring the Order to the knowledge of their congregations. It

approved of the efforts of the pastors to try it in the full worship of the sanctuary as an act of respect to the synod and an act of justice to the people. But it said it had no idea of forcing it on the people.

Gans has an article* defending the action of these classes. He says:

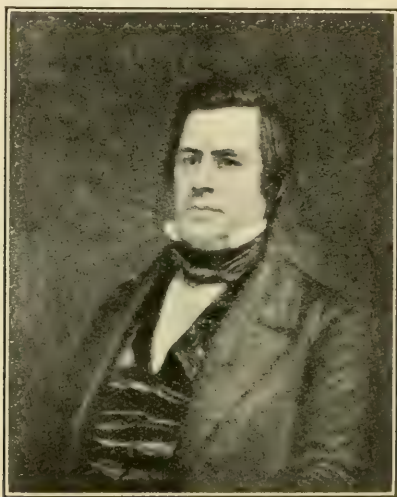
“The General Synod allowed the Order to go down to the Churches as ‘an order of worship proper to be used in the congregation and families of the Reformed Church.’ General Synod felt itself incompetent to send it down for trial directly to the people. Some say the majority of the consistory and of the congregation must agree to its use before it can be introduced. This, he says, is a false application of the majority rule. If this rule applies, it follows that synod has no legitimate power to recommend anything for trial directly to the congregation except as each congregation by a majority vote shall agree to the trial. Is not this preposterous, he asks, to the last degree. No such majority either of consistory or congregation is required to carry out any experimental design of the synod. Is it fair, honorable and manly to kill the liturgy by requiring a majority rule to apply to it, even before a trial is made of its merits in the congregation. (This is the opposite of what he had said before that General Synod. But in it all, we see the high-church views of Church-law coming out more and more.—A.) ‘Lex and Law’ says, in the *Messenger*, ‘To force the Order into use or out of use is against the wish of General Synod. The congregation and consistory could not prevent its optional use, if the pastor were in favor of it and they opposed; but a prudent man would not use it. He denounced the efforts made to raise prejudice against it. He claimed that the constitution does not plainly in Article 80 give the order by which any ordinances as the liturgy is to be adopted. There is not a word about the necessity of submitting it to classis. There is nothing in the constitution to prevent the General Synod making it optional for twenty years if it sees fit.

By June, the editor of the *Messenger*, fearing the result of further discussion on the liturgy, closed his columns to it. Perhaps this was due to the attack made on him by Zion’s classis for so strongly advocating the liturgy.

On December 18, 1867, Rev. Prof. H. Harbaugh, D.D., died at Mercersburg. His death was a severe loss to the liturgical party. In many respects he was the leading mind of the Mercersburg theologians. Dr. Nevin founded the theology,

**Messenger*, June 19.

but he never systematized it. This Harbaugh did in a masterly way in his lectures on theology. Were these published, they would give the best summary of Mercersburg theology. A criticism has been passed on his theological work—the same as was made on the German theologian Lange, by whom he was greatly influenced,—that he was too much of a poet to be a theologian and too much of a theologian to be a poet.



REV. PROF. H. HARBAUGH, D. D.

Harbaugh added to the dogmatic mind a remarkable æsthetic taste as is shown by his poems and hymns, especially his immortal hymn, "Jesus, I live to Thee," which was written especially to embody the idea of Christ's life as revealed in the Mercersburg doctrine of the theanthropic life. This æsthetic taste led him to formulate the worship and architecture of the Mercersburg movement. The introduction of the high-altar into our churches, thus setting the pulpit (which was always the main object in the Reformed Church) to the side, and the early Christmas (liturgical) service are illustrations of this. He, too, it was who led in the new ideas of Church government with the high synodical authority

("the voice of the Church is the voice of God"). This can all be traced to an article of his in the *Mercersburg Review* of 1860 on "Reformed Synods." He thus represents all the phases of the Mercersburg Movement, dogmatic, liturgical and constitutional, all of which reveal his eminent ability and versatility of mind.

Gans wrote in 1868 on "Troublers in the Church," saying that the Church was tired of controversy, charging that those opposed to the Order were the troublers in Israel and threatening them with the exercise of Church authority.

Williard replies that the Mercersburg men were the real troublers because they brought in a liturgy that was not Reformed and was something new and this Nevin himself admits in "The Liturgical Question." Besides, General Synod gave no sanction to the Order of Worship. Has Gans forgotten what he said at the General Synod of 1866, "We owe it to the people to say what they mean."

In the *Review* of July, 1868, Russell had an article on "The Faith of Christ," in which he tried to objectify faith just as Mercersburg Theology had been doing with the Church and the sacraments. Faith is a difficult thing to objectify because it is so subjective and personal, or at least that is the Old Reformed view of it. But Russell claimed that the faith of Christ was the living active principle that controlled his being. This faith of Christ comes before our faith *in* Christ. We must be partakers of the faith *of* Christ before we can have faith *in* him. This faith of the Son of God is made over to us through his divine-human life. This article was severely attacked in the *Reformed Church Monthly* by Bomberger, who said that the Reformed view was that faith was a personal act of ours, (Answer 21 of the catechism—"an assured confidence"—"in my heart") and that faith was not transferable because a personal thing. This view of Russell's, like the rest of Mercersburg, tended to make salvation an outward process by the Church and sacraments through which the faith of Christ was made over to us.

West Susquehanna classis passed five resolutions against the Old Reformed party in 1869. These resolutions reflect unbounded confidence in Dr. Nevin, declare that the doctrines of the Order was orthodox and Reformed and recommend it for general use. They request the Eastern synod to call the opposers of the Order of Worship to account, if they do not cease their activity.

Gans published (1869) "Gospel Lessons according to the Church Year"—a question book for higher classes in the Sunday school,—a stepping stone to the Church. This was intended, like the child's catechism, the Golden Censor, the Sunday school prayer-book and hymn-book of Harbaugh before it, to aid in making our young people liturgical. In 1870 he published another volume, "Epistle Lessons," with the same end in view. But both books had a very limited circulation.

Whitmer began a series of articles on the liturgy in 1869 in which he tried to show where it came from. He tried to make out that it was Reformed. He compared it with the Palatinate. Prof. J. H. Good replied that the synod of Wesel, 1568, ordered free prayer. Free prayer did not come from the separatist Labadie as the liturgists had claimed. Calvin had all prayers free but one.

SECTION 2. LAY-BAPTISM (1866-70).

During this controversy an interesting development of Mercersburg theology began to appear. We have noted how that theology began with the Lord's Supper and only later began to develop its views about baptism, by applying the objective to it as it had to the Lord's Supper. By this time their view of the outward form has become so high that they were led into collision with the old Reformed view about lay baptism.

It came up in this way. East Pennsylvania classis sent up an overture to the synod of 1866 for a decision in the case of lay-baptism. Rev. Mr. Loos, of Bethlehem, stated that a lady of his Church was baptized by her mother when a babe because supposed to be in danger of death, as no minister could be procured. When, as a young lady, she came to be confirmed, Loos wanted to re-baptize her, but the parents (the father being a Lutheran), refused. So he only confirmed her. But he brought the subject before the East Pennsylvania classis for a decision. Its vote stood 6 to 6. So the subject was sent up to synod for a judgment. Synod (1866) referred it to a committee to report at the next synod.

At the synod of 1867 the committee presented a majority and a minority report. No unanimity could be reached by the synod, so both

of their reports were laid on the table till the next synod. The synod of 1868 again deferred action another year. The truth was that the synod was evidently afraid to meet the issue. There was apparently a great difference of opinion. The high-churchmen favored the validity of lay-baptism, because they held that the sacrament had in itself objective and intrinsic power regardless of the ecclesiastical character of the person baptizing. The Old Reformed party were against it, because they declared that lay-baptism had never been used or recognized by the Reformed Church. But in spite of these repeated postponements, the subject would not down. In 1869, East Pennsylvania classis, which had originally brought the matter before synod, overtured for a decision. The subject was referred to a new committee, consisting of Nevin, Gerhart and Callender. The committee avoided giving a direct judgment, but said that without considering it necessary to give judgment on lay-baptism, it gave its judgment in this particular case. It declared the baptism to be valid because it had been performed in the name of the trinity and therefore needed no repetition. When the report was received there was a good deal of discussion in synod. Synod did not accept the judgment of the committee and evidently the majority were not in sympathy with it (for it expressed the high-church view). It postponed the case again until next year. The synod of 1870 declined to pronounce any general judgment on lay-baptism. It declared, however, that when a minister stands in doubt as in the case reported, he should have recourse for the relief of all to hypothetical or conditional baptism.

This action closed the case, which had been pending for five synods. Why did synod have so much difficulty? Because it had always been the custom of the Reformed from the beginning to refuse to recognize the validity of lay-baptism. Yet the logic of the Mercersburg theology, which laid so much stress on the objective, made it necessary to give validity to it, because the water had been sprinkled in the name of the Trinity,—the outward act had been performed and the element been joined to the Words of institution. So there was a clash between the Old Reformed and this new view. The Mercersburg men for years were afraid to meet the logical issue of their views in lay-baptism. The synod refused to accede to the report of a high-church committee at the synod of 1869. The final action was really an interjection of a new element into the case, namely, hypothetical baptism. Hypothetical baptism is baptism where one is not sure of having been baptized and so is baptized over again. This diverted attention

from the real issue and the committee's report was finally adopted so as to bring the long-drawn-out case to an end. But this did not answer the case before the synod. In the case presented by Loos there was no hypothetical baptism, for parents and child knew she was baptized and there was no doubt about it. Although the action was said not to favor lay-baptism, yet the effect of such an action was in its favor. Still it showed that the Eastern synod never officially adopted lay-baptism.

There is another curious phase of the case. The Mercersburg men were really in a quandary. As they placed such a high estimate on the objective, they voted for lay-baptism. Yet, on the other hand, by permitting lay-baptism they tended to lower the distinctive office of the ministry over against the laity. It is a wonder that their high-views of the ministry did not lead them to see that lay-baptism was lowering the ministry. Here, strange to say, the low-churchmen were higher on the ministry than the high-churchmen, for they claimed that baptism was the peculiar right of the ministry and should not be performed by laymen.*

SECTION 2. THE LITURGICAL EVENTS OF 1866-1867 IN THE WEST.

The opposition to the liturgy continued to grow rapidly in the West. The Ohio synod of 1866 passed an action about the consolidation of the theological seminaries at Mercersburg and Tiffin and overtured the General Synod at its next meeting to take such steps as would most effectually and speedily accomplish this. The *Messenger* favored the union and in the *Western Missionary* Rev. P. Prugh wrote several articles favoring it, beginning September 20, 1866. He said:

1. It would lead to an increase of endowment.
2. By uniting the two faculties, the seminary would be better equipped, as each seminary was undermanned at present.
3. It would increase the library of the institution.

*This new development of Mercersburg theology is parallel to their views on the validity of the acts of a deposed minister, of which we have previously spoken.

is that it would separate the seminary from the college. He thus answers Prugh's arguments and especially lays stress on the fact that vested funds could not be thus diverted according to the law of Ohio.

Z., of Lancaster, Pa., gives* the eastern view against consolidation,—that the Church was large enough to maintain two seminaries. If we consolidated we but narrow the foundation on which we build.

Nothing seems to have come of this effort to unite the two seminaries. Dr. Prugh, who favored the Mercersburg party, probably found that the Old Reformed sentiment in the West was too strong for any union with Mercersburg.

In 1867 the *Western Missionary* comes out in strong articles against the liturgy, written especially by Revs. J. H. Good and Williard. On January 10, Prof. Good begins a long series of articles against the Order of Worship. For clearness of statement and trenchant argument they are among the best attacks on the new liturgy. They continued to appear weekly until the middle of July of that year. His object, he says, was to acquaint the Western Church with the important issues at stake. He first gives several reasons why the Order of Worship be sent down to the classes:

The intention of the General Synod of 1863, which said that both liturgies were to come before the General Synod of 1866, "with a view to final action on the subject." The constitution (article 80) required its submission by General Synod to the classes for adoption or rejection.

He then takes up and supports the fifteen objections made by the minority in their report at the General Synod of 1866 to prove the Order unsuited to the Church:

1. It involved a fundamental change in our Order of Worship. Over against what our constitution requires in article 138, as the elements of worship, this proposes an Episcopalian mode of worship.

2. It is against the genius and character of our Church. It proposes an altar service. The original object of the liturgical movement in 1847 was the restoration of the Palatinate liturgy. Not that the Palatinate was perfect, but it should be made the basis of our liturgy. The Order is not in harmony with the Reformed liturgies of the sixteenth century, because it is an altar-liturgy while the Palatinate was a pulpit-liturgy.

3. It is not in accord with the history and traditions of our Church in this country. There have been three developments of our worship: 1, prayer meetings; 2, Sunday schools; 3, free prayer. The Church has

* *Western Missionary*, October 25.

developed from liturgy into free prayer. But the Order is against free prayer.

4. It is not in accord with the present needs or circumstances of our Church. (At the General Synod he had said our needs are very diversified and can be satisfied by no one type of worship.) The desire of the Church was for a liturgy like the Palatinate and not for an Episcopal liturgy. To change the various kinds of worship in use in our Church into the one like the Order of Worship is the height of folly. The Order is not suited for three reasons:

(a) No congregation has expressed a desire for such a book.

(b) The impulse to prepare it, sprang not from the Church, but from individuals.

(c) The Provisional liturgy, the parent of the Order, was before our Church for nine years and though great influence was brought to bear on the congregations to adopt it, only three or four did so and one of them was ruined by it.

5. There is little prospect of its introduction and it is likely to be a failure in the end.

6. It will be the cause of loss, strife and division in our congregations.

7. Its tendencies are to merge our Church into another denomination—the Episcopalian.

8. It will unsettle the foundations of our Church government, which is Presbyterian. He charged that the Episcopal form of government had been advocated at Mercersburg for several years. Nevin, in his advocacy of the Church of the third and fourth centuries, urged it. The Westmoreland classis already had a bishop.* There was no liturgy like this one except where Episcopacy prevailed.

9. It will tend to unsettle our established doctrines. The same force that has made a change in the liturgy has made a change in doctrine. At synod it was boldly proclaimed that our catechism was to be interpreted by the Creed. But the Reformed Church never took this ground. On the contrary, the catechism includes the Creed and interprets it to us. The catechism explains the Creed; not the Creed, the catechism. If we must adopt primitive Christianity, as Nevin says, we must adopt it all,—purgatory, intercession of saints, miracles performed by relics, etc., because all belong to the same system.

He says that Gerhart at General Synod said “the opponents of the Order were compelled to choose between an alternative that the committee was either not competent (not able to distinguish between truth

*Westmoreland classis in 1866 elected a missionary bishop, choosing Rev. G. H. Johnson to that office. Thus Mercersburg theology (by historical development) developed a new order in our Church—bishops. This office was continued by that classis for a number of years, Levan being also missionary bishop after Johnson.

and heresy) or dishonest and unfaithful to their obligations and that they must take either horn of the dilemma. As no one was prepared to take either of these alternatives, the conclusions were that the teachings of the Order were correct. Dr. Gerhart as a teacher of logic should be more careful in the practice of it. Years ago, Prof. Lewis Mayer was charged with erroneous teaching and Dr. Gerhart, then one of his students, was one who made the charges before the board of visitors. Dr. Mayer could have proposed the same dilemma, that according to their charges he was either incompetent (could not tell the difference between truth and error) or he was dishonest. Is Dr. Gerhart willing to take either horn of the dilemma? Yet no one ever pretended that such positions were true of Dr. Mayer. Neither are they true now. Dr. Gerhart's logic would say that if the Order teaches erroneous doctrine, then its authors were either knaves or fools. Neither of these alternatives can be maintained. Hence the Order does not teach errors. But this dilemma violates one of Gerhart's own rules,*—"in order to the correctness of a dilemma all the disjunctive members must be stated in the major proposition;" and he adds, "If these rules are disregarded, the dilemma can be easily abused and instead of exposing error subserve the purpose of a delusive sophistry." The truth here is that all the disjunctive members are not contained in the major proposition. The point at issue does not involve a dilemma or a trilemma or a tetralemma. It is possible to give a dozen solutions as to the mode in which the committee were led to embody errors in the Order. But, after all, the question is not one of logic, as Gerhart makes it, but one of fact and we need not be troubled about the explanation of the fact. It must be done by comparison with the Bible and our catechism. Gerhart's statement was nothing more than the "delusive sophistry" of which he speaks.

11. It will ultimately infringe on the liberties of minister and people. It will limit them in free prayer. Everywhere the language is "shall," precisely like the *Episcopalian Prayer-book*, which allows no changes. Nevin is against free prayer in his tract, "*The Liturgical Question*." Harbaugh says, "It is not proposed to exclude free prayer at once from public worship." Here the inference is that it is its aim to do so ultimately. Let us stand fast in the liberty wherewith in which we are free.

13. It does not pay due respect to the German Reformed Church, the mother of us all.

14. Its system, beautiful in itself, is totally unsuited to the great body of plain people who compose our congregations.

15. The influence of the liturgy will be of doubtful benefit. In our missions, now numbering 71, not a single one will succeed, if built up on the liturgy, especially among the Germans, who have the simple worship

*See his *Philosophy and Logic*, page 290.

of the Fatherland. Few of our Germans will enter the ministry and some of our graduates will go to the Catholic and Episcopalian Churches.

Prof. M. Kieffer, of Tiffin, replied* for the Mercersburg side. He said "every question has two sides." "Prof. Good has failed to apprehend the essential nature of the question and hence his misgivings." Kieffer writes in order "to unfold truth and dissipate fears." He says that the Order represented the real old Reformed worship, but the low-church worship did not. He objects to Good's statement that the Reformed had no altar. A service, he says, that ignores the altar is defective,—that an altar-service grows out of the doctrine of the priesthood of the ministry.

Good replied that the Reformed had always protested against a local altar in the Church. If the Church ought to have an altar so as to fit the priestly office of the ministry, as Kieffer suggests, then it ought to have a throne for the minister in his kingly office, with swaying of scepter and wearing of mitre. Kieffer had charged him with Gnosticism. He reminded Kieffer that the Gnostics were more like the high-churchmen than he, for they multiplied symbols and liked pompous worship and this Gnostic worship would suit Dr. Kieffer's taste very well. He reminded Kieffer that it was suspicious for them that the first to charge Protestantism with Gnosticism was Möhler, a Catholic.

Against Prof. Good's charge that the Order was not suitable to the Church, Kieffer placed the action of the General Synod that "it was an order of worship proper to be used in the Church. "He denied that the Order was not Reformed, but claimed it was fully Reformed and praised the Reformers." Good replied, "Then why not stick to the Reformers and their Palatinate liturgy, why go back to the early Church? If Nevin said it was a new scheme, how could Kieffer make out that it was Reformed?"

On May 24 the Carrollton, O., charge took strong action against the Order, refusing to give any money to missions or to professorships or to endowments. It requested its classis to forbid its use within its bounds. Its refusal to give money led Callender, of Greencastle, to say that this is a new principle to be applied and hints that the Eastern Church might apply it in missions to its benefit against the low-churchmen of the West.

Tiffin classis took action against the Order, requesting General Synod to send it down to the classes, so that it might be accepted or rejected according to the constitution. This ac-

**Western Missionary*, February 7 and later.

tion was followed in October by both Lancaster, O., Miami and Sandusky classes.

Another controversy came up between Revs. Drs. Swander and Good, the former defending the absolution in the Order of Worship. Good replied, calling his attention to the fact

that "the declaration of pardon" in the old Palatinate liturgy was in the regular Lord's day service and also in the communion service. Later liturgies in the Palatinate however limit it only to the Lord's Supper service. Swander and his school had charged that this abbreviation of the liturgy came through rationalism. Good reminded him that this omission of the "declaration of pardon" from the regular service of the Lord's day took place long before rationalism came in. He calls Swander's attention to the difference between the absolution in the Order and the "declaration of pardon" in the Palatinate. They were not alike, as Mercersburg claimed, but quite different. Thus, in the Palatinate the penitents are regarded as believing that they are fully pardoned through the merits of Christ and then by way of confession of faith the minister announces such remission. They were pardoned before the minister's announcement of it and not after his declaration of their pardon in the absolution and because of it as the Order of Worship, its theology and adherents hold. In the Palatinate liturgy it is a declaration not to pardon (as by a priest) as in the Order, but to confirm pardon already given by Christ, because the Christian has already had direct access to the mercy-seat. But in the Order there is no recognition that the sinner is already pardoned. For it intimates that he will not be pardoned until the process is complete by the act of the minister as priest announcing the words of forgiveness. Thus this form of absolution like ordination is elevated by the Order into a sacrament. The Order is more high-church than the Episcopalian prayer-book. The Episcopal liturgy is more like the Palatinate than like the Order.

Good begins* a new series of articles on the relation of the Reformed reformers in England to the composition of the Episcopalian Prayer-book.

The Mercersburg men had been quoting the fact that the Reformed reformers, as Bucer and Peter Martyr, had aided in the formation of that prayer-book and had approved it; hence our Reformed Church of the Reformation was liturgical. His articles are headed, "Did the Reformed theologians of Germany approve of the Anglican prayer-book." He quotes Lasco's action in framing a liturgy of his own for

**Western Missionary*, October 24.

his congregation in London. Why did he do this if he had been satisfied with the Anglican prayer-book?

West attacks Good, saying that Lasco was not Reformed and Good ought not thus to quote him. Good replies that Lasco had always been rated as Reformed and not Lutheran. Even Harbaugh, a high-churchman, in his "Fathers of the Reformed Church," makes him to be Reformed. The Reformed abroad considered him Reformed, as they placed him among the "Fathers of the Reformed Church" in their recent series of biographies. Lasco founded the coetus of East Friesland, which is still Reformed. Lasco was therefore Reformed and his use of another liturgy shows he did not approve of the prayer-book of the Anglicans. The authors of our Palatinate liturgy in composing it, passed by the Anglican prayer-book and made extensive use of Lasco's liturgy. Why did they do this if they favored the prayer-book of the Episcopalians?

Prof. Good also brings out another historical fact. Calvin has said that in the prayer-book were found many "tolerable fooleries" and that he "could not understand persons who discovered such fondness for popish dregs." Hence the German Reformed did not approve of an Episcopalian liturgy like the Order. Rev. T. G. Apple had tried to evade this by making a distinction between the Palatinate and the Calvinistic liturgies. The latter ran into rationalism, while the catechism was irenic. But all this was speculative, Good said, for:

1. The Palatinate liturgy had the same doctrine as the Heidelberg Catechism.

2. The same men prepared both works, and they prepared the liturgy to be the companion of the catechism.

Prof. Higbee tries to parry Good's arguments by showing there was a difference between the Reformers and the nineteenth century and, therefore, the liturgies should be different. For, he says, the Reformers antagonized Rome, which is now unnecessary, while we now antagonize the opposite, the Pelagian and rationalistic view. And, too, he adds, the Church has developed since the sixteenth century. Evidently the force of Dr. Good's arguments had gone home, for before this, his opponents had claimed that the Order of Worship was Reformed,—now they are being driven to grant that it is something new, something better suited to the nineteenth century than the Palatinate.

West tries unavailingly to answer Good's arguments, saying that Lasco's congregation did not use a liturgy because they did not expect to remain in England, and that the patent to Lasco says nothing of a liturgy, only that they were allowed to have their own peculiar discipline. (Both of these statements are not historically true. But they show to what extremity the highchurchmen were driven in history.—A.)

Rev. Dr. Klein read an essay before the Northwest synod in 1868, "What kind of a liturgy does our Church need?" He answered it by

saying, one that agrees with the faith of our forefathers,—that holds to the atonement and that Christ communicates the benefits of redemption through the Holy Spirit, or, as the catechism says, “the Holy Spirit works faith by the preaching of the Gospel and confirms it by the use of the sacraments.” The liturgy should be no altar-liturgy and should have no priestly absolution. The synod ordered the publication of this essay.

D. L., of Constantine, tries to minimize this action of the Northwestern synod. He says that there were only 28 ministers present, less than one-third of the synod,—that not all the members present agreed with it, that it dishonored the Eastern synod by saying that all who held different views were not Reformed. The editor of the *Messenger* says that this action of the Northwestern synod was plainly unconstitutional and would doubtless receive proper attention at the hands of the next General Synod. This was one of the many threats impliedly made by the high-churchmen up to the General Synod of 1872, so as to intimidate their opponents. It was based on their high views of the Church and its power to discipline.

SECTION 4. THE MYERSTOWN CONVENTION (1867).

The Myerstown convention marks an epoch in the history of our Church. The old Reformed having been defeated in the classes (except Philadelphia and Zion's) in their attempt to get a vote of the consistory and congregation before the Order could be introduced, determined on another step. They would hold a convention to protest against the Order, and it was held at Myerstown. Appel* depreciates its influence, saying that it was a harmless affair. That is not true, for it led to the founding of another college and theological seminary and made permanent the previous division existing in the Church on account of the liturgy.

During the winter of 1866-7 there had been a conference at Harrisburg where plans were laid to get the different classes to take action against the improper introduction of the Order of Worship without the permission of the consistory or the congregation. Only two classes, as we have seen, Philadelphia and Zion, adopted such resolutions. But as the others did not take such action or took action against such proceedings, it was felt that the time had come that something

*Life of Nevin, page 50.

must be done to check any further progress of the liturgical party. At the commencement of Franklin and Marshall college whisperings of some meeting soon to be held began to be heard. A few of the old Reformed came together at Myerstown, and soon after a member of Lebanon classis, Rev. F. W. Kremer, visited the Cumberland Valley on this subject, so as to get signatures of members in the congregations (who were friendly to the old Reformed) to the call for the convention. On July 22-3, a committee of ministers and elders at Myerstown unanimously resolved to hold a convention.* This convention was to be held so as to protest against the liturgy and the unwarranted attempts to introduce it into congregations without constitutionally gaining the consent of the congregations. A circular was sent out, signed by Rev. F. W. Kremer, pastor at Lebanon, calling for a convention to meet September 24, 1867.



REV. F. W. KREMER, D. D.

The circular stated that an extreme liturgical movement at variance with the practice, historical character and established constitution of the German Reformed Church is in progress; and changes are proposed,

*As they felt that they could get no help from the high-church classes or synods in the East because these turned them down continually; they therefore had recourse to a convention as a last resort.

which would effect a pernicious revolution in our worship and life and cause diversities and dissensions. As efforts were being made to introduce the Order of Worship without the consent of the congregations and thus contrary to our constitution, therefore this convention was called in order to protest against it.*

By August 14 articles began to appear in the *Messenger* against this convention as a movement toward schism,—as directed against the General Synod, which had declared the Order to be a book “suitable to be used by the people.” It was styled a private conspiracy to overawe the Eastern synod. It was compared to the rebellion in the South, which led to the civil war. The *Messenger* did not believe that forty ministers and forty elders could be found to go to the convention, as the circular hoped.

Rev. F. W. Kremer published an article† explaining the movement, stating that the convention was not designed either to be unconstitutional, as had been charged by the Mercersburg men, or was it designed to be a secret meeting. His hope was that if a large number of the ministers and laymen were to unite in a memorial to synod it would serve a good purpose. The *Messenger* replied that no minister had a right to do as Kremer had done,—go into the bounds of another minister’s congregation and tamper with his members. Such action was irregular and unconstitutional. It urged that everything be done according to the constitution, that if the liturgy were forcibly introduced into any congregation, complaint should be made about it to the proper Church court.

The convention met at Myerstown, September 24, 1867. The opening sermon was preached by Rev. D. Ziegler, of York, Pa. Rev. W. A. Good was made the English secretary and Rev. N. Gehr the German secretary, and Elder John Wiest the treasurer. On the calls for the convention there were 337 names from Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. There were 190 delegates present, of whom 36 were ministers. They passed twenty-five resolutions.

These first of all claimed their right to hold such a convention, and declared that there was nothing contrary to it in the constitution. They then declared their unfaltering fidelity to the German Reformed Church, to its constitution and the enactments of synods when constitutionally expressed and in accordance to the Word of God. Then they took up the Order of Worship. They said that it was an innovation and quoted

*For full text of the call, see the *Messenger*, August 14, 1867.

†*Messenger*, September 11.

Nevin as saying so,—that it contained doctrinal statements and proposed a sacramental theory at variance with the Heidelberg Catechism and the Bible,—that the use of the liturgy at present was unconstitutional,—that it was entirely unconstitutional to introduce it in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the congregation,—that this was a violation of promises made about it at synods and in the Church papers and that it was improper to introduce it into the seminary and college when contrary to the wishes of so many parents and students.

The resolutions favored a good Reformed liturgy after the old Reformed type,—held to the importance of free prayer. They stated that this liturgical controversy had given rise to unfavorable agitation and bitter feeling between ministers and that the continued introduction of the Order of Worship would only produce greater diversity in the Church and lead many opposed to it to leave the Church, while it would train up others for the Episcopalian Church. One prominent object of the convention was to prevent schism by removing the cause of it, namely, the forcible and unconstitutional use and introduction of the Order of Worship into the congregations by the minister without their consent.

In the discussion on these resolutions, Rust made some remarks against the doctrine of baptism in the Order, for which he was afterwards attacked by Nevin and others. Vaughn also delivered a lengthy address on the theology of Mercersburg. Kremer called attention to the difference between the questions of the liturgy at confirmation and those in the constitution. Kelker told how the effort was made at Harrisburg early in 1866 to introduce it forcibly on the congregation. The pastor had done it by a vote of the consistory at a special meeting called for another purpose, when a number of the consistory were absent. The congregation was never asked about it. Sheats said the liturgy was forced on the congregation at Pittsburg with less ceremony than at Harrisburg. There the minister introduced it without even asking the consistory. Rupley called attention to the men who had gone over to the Catholic Church from Mercersburg.

Helfrich* desired that at this convention the cultus should be put into the foreground rather than doctrine; for he believed that if the cultus were purified, the doctrine would take care of itself. But against his wishes, doctrine was made prominent, the doctrines of the Order rather than its litur-

*Autobiography, page 386.

gical forms being discussed. He says he was not satisfied with this Puritanic decision and quietly took no part in the rest of the convention. Leberman and several Lancaster men attended the convention as spectators. They saw his dissatisfaction and tried to get him back to the Lancaster side, but in vain. Later, when he saw how severely handled the Old Reformed were at the next Eastern synod, he threw in his sympathies entirely with them, although always feeling that the liturgical aspect of the controversy was more important than the doctrinal.

The convention appointed a committee of nine to lay its resolutions before the Eastern synod. And it appointed a business committee of eleven. Rupley, Vaughn, Bomberger and George Wolff, together with seven elders, to look after the interests of the Reformed Church as represented in this convention. This committee led to the founding of the *Reformed Church Monthly* in 1868 as the organ of the old Reformed party. Later, in January, 1869, the next step was taken by them in the purchase of Freeland seminary, Collegeville, Pa., where Ursinus college was opened in September, 1870. While the old Reformed were thus caring for their interests, their opponents attacked the Myerstown convention in the *Messenger*, denouncing it as a "rebellion."

SECTION 5. THE EASTERN SYNOD OF 1867.

This synod was looked forward to with great anxiety because of the friction in the Church and the importance of handling delicately the subjects at issue. The resolutions of the Myerstown convention were brought before the synod by the committee appointed at that convention. The synod appointed a committee, of which Rev. T. G. Apple was chairman, to inquire into the nature of the Myerstown convention and of the documents presented by that convention,—to ascertain whether it was proper to receive such documents. The Lebanon classis, in whose territory the convention had been held, sent a request to the synod not to entertain any memorial coming from that convention.

The committee of the synod reported that the Myerstown convention was a body not recognized by the constitution of the Church,—that that convention had aimed to bring a new power to bear against the decisions of the General Synod,—that it had assailed the character of the Eastern synod and made provision for a permanent existence, if its resolutions were not granted. The report declared that it could not, with any sense of dignity and self-respect, recognize the convention or receive its papers; but, in so doing, did not wish to shut out the right of complaint or petition in the constitutional form.* It appointed a committee to prepare a pastoral letter, giving to the congregations counsel in regard to this Myerstown convention. It pronounced the convention irregular and schismatic and it earnestly enjoined all its members to abstain from such meetings as calculated to interfere with the peace and prosperity of the Church. Revs. T. G. Appel, J. W. Nevin and A. H. Kremer were appointed a committee to prepare the pastoral letter of the synod. John Wiest and Andrew Myers gave notice of complaint to General Synod. The president of synod refused the appeal to General Synod because, as the *Messenger* afterward said, the appellants were not on trial before the synod. But he told them that they had the right to complain, of which they then availed themselves. (This distinction between an appeal and a complaint was a new one in the custom of the Church.) Their grounds of complaint were:

1. That Synod, by condemning the Myerstown convention and forbidding, with threat of censure, attendance on similar conventions, denied a constitutional right, thus arbitrarily interfering with the rights of ministers and elders.

2. That this condemnation of the convention was based on a false charge, namely, that the convention had arrayed itself against the liturgy. It was held in order to show the General Synod that the statement that all wanted a liturgy was false. It was held in accord-

*Appel (Life of Nevin, page 510) says that synod told the Myerstown convention to bring up their complaints through the regular judicatories of the Church which were constituted for that purpose. But the Old Reformed had the old democratic spirit of our early Reformed Church and could not be bound by such limitation of mere churchliness, which was as yet new in the Church.

ance with General Synod's instructions because it aimed to declare the mind of the Church.''

3. While the convention was ignored, yet such action was taken by the synod as would stigmatize it and excite suspicion against it.

4. By commanding the pastoral letter to be read, the synod inflicts a wrong on innocent parties.

5. The right of appeal is arbitrarily and unconstitutionally denied.

The committee appointed by the synod prepared the pastoral letter to be read to the churches. That letter started out on this basis, that the General Synod of 1866 had declared the Order to be a "book proper to be used in the churches and families of the Reformed Church." All churches were, therefore, bound to give due respect to the Order. Its opponents have denounced the Order as a great evil and held a convention at Myerstown, September 24. They there denounced the Order as heretical, adopted a series of resolutions in direct and flagrant opposition to the action of General Synod. The synod refused to recognize the Myerstown convention. It regarded it as having entered on an unwise, dangerous and schismatic course. The synod therefore enjoined the members of the Churches from assembling in such conventions, which were calculated to disturb the peace of the Church. This pastoral letter was read only in a part of the churches; many pastors, even those who sympathized with Nevinism, not deeming such an extreme procedure to be wise and did not therefore read it. In the case of Rev. Mr. Giesy, who read it in Christ Reformed Church, Philadelphia, in December, 1867, its reading led to a schism in his congregation.

But although the synod did not formally recognize the Myerstown convention and officially ignored its proceedings, it did virtually recognize it, for it ordered an investigation into the orthodoxy of one of the ministers, Rev. A. S. Vaughn, for views uttered at that convention and printed in its minutes. While it did not recognize the standing of the convention as ecclesiastical, it yet recognized it as a fact. It ordered Lebanon classis, to which Vaughn belonged, to make an investigation into the matter. Dr. Nevin denounced Vaughn's views before the synod as damnable heresy. He besought synod to

call him to account and moved that Lebanon classis inquire into the matter.

Lebanon classis met November 21. Its committee reported that in Vaughn's address at the Myerstown convention, there were views expressed contrary to the Heidelberg Catechism. Their charges were that:

1. In regard to human depravity, he held,
 - (a) That, by virtue of the incarnation, infants were not under the guilt and curse of sin.
 - (b) Generic grace entered the womb and delivered them from guilt.
2. In regard to baptism he taught,
 - (a) That no external and spiritual washing takes place at baptism.
 - (b) He rejects the sacramental theory of the Reformed Church.
 - (c) There is no spiritual washing at baptism, because there is no faith.

The committee recommended that classis ask Vaughn:

1. Whether he believes that according to the Heidelberg Catechism, we are so guilty that we must be washed by the blood and spirit of Christ.
2. Whether he believes that at baptism there is a double washing of water and of the spirit.

Vaughn answered in the affirmative and his answer was accepted by the classis.

This action of the classis occurred at a very awkward time for Vaughn, for he was about changing from Lebanon classis to Zion's, where he had a call to York. Classis refused to dismiss him while charges were pending; but after all was settled, it granted him his dismissal, although some time had elapsed.

Another matter of great significance was synod's decision on the appeal of Rev. S. R. Fisher against Philadelphia classis. Philadelphia classis, in accordance with the plan of the Old Reformed, had passed an action forbidding any minister to use the Order of Worship without first having obtained the consent of his consistory and congregation. It happened that S. R. Fisher was president of the classis at this meeting, and as a high-churchman he ruled the motion out of order, because a motion in a prohibitive form is legislative and assumes a prerogative which he claimed belonged only to General Synod. The classis decided against him and he ap-

pealed to synod. Synod now sustained him by a vote of 54 to 18. Philadelphia classis then gave notice of an appeal to General Synod.

An attempt was made at the synod to get it to pass the action taken by Philadelphia and Zion's classes forbidding the use of the Order unless by consent of the consistory and congregation. But after several substitutes were offered for it, it was laid on the table and no action taken. In acting thus, it is our opinion that synod was clearly partisan and unconstitutional, for the constitution never gave to the minister alone the right to regulate the worship without the consent of the consistory or congregation.

The synod also took action against the *American Church Missionary Register* of February, 1867, for its severe strictures on Mercersburg theology by one who signed himself "An Eminent Clergyman of the German Reformed Church." It appointed a committee to ascertain from the editor who the author of that article was and also censured the paper for its breach of courtesy. The editor refused, however, to reveal the name of the Reformed minister and the matter was, therefore, dropped at the next synod. But the action helped stir up the bitterness still more and was a forerunner of later drastic actions of the synod leveled especially at Dr. Bomberger, who was supposed to be the author.

At this synod the view was openly propounded that "the voice of the synod was the voice of God" and its authority must be obeyed.

This synod by four actions made the breach greater between the two parties:

1. Its refusal to receive the memorial of the Myerstown convention. Even had that convention been unecclesiastical, it would have been wiser for the synod to have respected the feelings of so large a minority. But its action in calling it schismatic and rebellious against the General Synod angered the Old Reformed party. Indeed its action on the Myerstown convention was quite contradictory. It refused to receive its memorial and yet recognized enough of it to find ground to proceed against Vaughn.

2. Its pastoral letter greatly angered the Old Reformed by its denunciations of their course.

3. Its arbitrary course in singling out Vaughn as the scape-goat for its wrath. This looked as if it was intended as a warning against others for being so outspoken, and an effort to silence the opposition as had been done with Heiner and Zacharias in 1853. But by this time the disaffected party had become too strong to be silenced.

4. Its action in upholding Dr. Fisher against Philadelphia classis was virtually a refusal of the synod to endorse the constitutional position of that classis, that no minister had the right to introduce the Order without the consent of the consistory or congregation. It thus gave its moral support to any minister who felt like using the Order if he pleased. More and more the actions of the synod were become partisan and favored only the high-churchmen. Dr. Bomberger says later that the course of the Nevinites at this synod was the immediate cause of the founding of the *Reformed Church Monthly*. He says, "The cause of the uprising against the liturgy was due to the continued attempts to introduce the liturgy into congregations in obedience to the rule of the synod" (that is without the consent of the congregation),

After the synod was over, there was quite a controversy between the *Messenger* and the *Reformed Church Monthly* about its action. Nevin* attacked the Myerstown convention very severely as schismatical and irregular, saying the synod issued a kind pastoral letter. He granted that the synod was inconsistent in disowning the convention and yet recognizing it by issuing a pastoral letter. His attack led to the publication of a "Defense of the Convention" (Dec. 11) signed by 43 of its members. They claimed synod was not infallible and that it erred here because misled. It declared that as the president at synod had refused them the right of appeal according to article 29, this convention was the only method of defense, left. It denied the charges of the Nevinist party, denying

(1) That it was held because of a bad spirit of discontent and in a secret way.

(2) That it was irregular and unconstitutional, because not assembled by the permission and authority of the synod. For the Tercentenary Convention was not recognized by the constitution, yet that did not

**Messenger*, November 6, 1867.

make it unlawful. The boards of the Church are the results of antecedent conventions but they were not unlawful. The Germans of the East in 1865 held a convention at Philadelphia to promote the use of the German language in our institutions, yet synod did not denounce it or call it unlawful. It is true the constitution does not use the name "convention." But if that were an objection, the constitution also did not recognize congregational meetings or Sunday schools or weekly lectures or prayer-meetings—all of which would be outlawed by their line of argument.

3. That the convention sat in judgment on the decisions of synod. But no synod had ever adopted the Order of Worship and therefore what they said against it, was not against the synod. But even if the book had been adopted, there was nothing to prevent dissatisfied members from using every method to have it set aside. The decisions of the synods are not, like those of the Medes and Persians, irrevocable. How often does one synod undo what a previous synod has done.

4. That it was schismatical. On the contrary it was to avoid schism that it was held. They declare they came respectfully to synod, having confidence in it that it would hear them. They came with the hitherto acknowledged right of petition. Their petition was respectful and reasonable and just. Synod placed arbitrary hindrances in the way of their undoubted right of petition and they felt themselves aggrieved by it.

The *Messenger* replied to the Vindication of the Convention, saying it grossly insulted the synod. It denied undue severity by the synod, as it had not pronounced any formal sentence against any one. It tried to get over the argument for the right of holding conventions in our Church, and it denied that the Myerstown convention was as legitimate as the Tercenary and as the German convention of 1865. The petition from the latter came from the German ministers and elders as *individuals* and not as a conference as at Myerstown. (This argument that the petition of the German conference came as from a convention as a whole, was very lame. The petition from the Myerstown convention came just as much from individuals. Both came in the same way. The one was respectfully received, the other disrespectfully turned down by the synod. —A.) Then, too, the Myerstown convention was composed of partisans, composed of persons of one kind only, which was not true of the other conventions.

Vaughn having at last gotten free from the unsympathetic atmosphere of Lebanon classis, now turned on Nevin and bitterly attacked his theology. He published in 1868 a parody on Nevin's *Anxious Bench*, entitled "The New Altar," in which he assailed the extravagances of the Mercersburg theology and the liturgy just as Nevin had assailed those of the anxious bench. It was an *argumentum ad hominem*. He also in his articles charges Nevin with being a follower of Schelling on creation,—that Nevin's philosophy was neither logical nor Christian but a medley, and that he was Romanizing.

The synod, to offset the movement of the Old Reformed party to found a college, passed the dollar plan for the endowment of Franklin and Marshall college so as to forestall the founding of a new college. They also began the agitation of a Mission-House in Eastern Pennsylvania like the German Mission House of our Church in Wisconsin. East Pennsylvania classis (November 18, 1868) proposed to establish such a Mission House and appointed a committee to lay the subject before the neighboring classes and with their committees to draw up a plan for such an institution and lay it before the next synod for action. But only two classes appointed committees, East Pennsylvania and Goshenhoppen, Lebanon classis declining to go into it. The joint committees met at Bethlehem July 13, 1869. The movement, however, was severely attacked in the *Messenger* by G. D. Wolff, although defended by Higbee and Apple, professors at Mercersburg. But the movement failed to materialize into anything and was given up. Helffrich, in his Autobiography, says the movement was gotten up to forestall the founding of Ursinus college. Still it reveals some dissatisfaction in Eastern Pennsylvania with the educational movements at Lancaster and Mercersburg.

SECTION 6. CONTROVERSY ON INFANT BAPTISM.

The two doctrines of baptism soon came into conflict, the covenant theory of the old Reformed and the high-church theory of the Mercersburg theology. According to the former, the child of Christian parents is born in the covenant to pecu-

liar privileges. Of all this, baptism is a sign and seal when it is administered. F. W. Kremer* describes the old Reformed view that the children of believing parents were saved. This was not because of natural holiness on their part (Pelagianism), for grace is not inherited. It rested on Christ's atonement. We might add that its Scriptural basis is 1 Corinthians 7:14. "Else were your children unclean, but now they are holy."

The Mercersburg view, on the other hand, was that the baptism was not merely confirmatory of any such covenant with the child at birth. It held that the child was not really in the covenant at birth or at any time until it was baptized,—that baptism puts him into the covenant. This view is clearly taught by Gerhart's "Child's Catechism," which says, "I became a Christian at my baptism." Gans† was charged with saying that baptism made the children full members of the Church.

These were the two views. Gradually the lines became drawn between them. At the General Synod of 1866 in the debate on the Order of Worship, Prof. Rust said that although he believed in original sin, yet he did not believe in the teaching of the Order of Worship, that the children were under the absolute power of the devil until baptism delivered them. Nevin attacked him severely, charging him with blank Pelagianism in saying this and with violating his vow as a teacher of theology in the Reformed Church by holding any such heretical views,—with having less sound theology than the children of the Sunday-schools. He called this "the Tiffin heresy." This charge was again raised against Prof. Rust after the Myerstown convention in 1867 by the Mercersburg theologians. Rust and Williard, who continued the discussion, claimed that their view was the Old Reformed view and that it was not Pelagian, because they did not claim that grace came at birth by nature, but through the covenant of God. The discussion afterward turned on the meaning of the 74th answer in the Heidelberg Catechism, especially on its word "Gemeinde" translated by "church," until Mercersburg theology came in and translated it "people." (But the word "Gemeinde in that answer clearly means more than "people," it means congregation."—A.) Rust claimed that this answer proved his view of baptism, for it said that infants as well as adults are included in the covenant and promise of God. This was said of them before baptism.

**Messenger*, March 4, 1868.

†*Messenger*, February 14, 1868.

Nevin, on the other hand, declared that the word "Gemeinde" meant Christian community, and not church. In 1867, Harbaugh takes up the subject in the *Mercersburg Review*, saying that if the word meant "church," and that they are already in the Church, then the first part of the answer contradicted the last part, which says they must be admitted into the Church by baptism. He says "Gemeinde" means those belonging to a Christian community though not incorporated in the Church. He would also translate the word "adults" in that answer by "parents." His attention was called to the fact that this misses the sense of the German entirely, for the German word for parents is Eltern, while the German word in the 74th answer is Alten—old people. Rust answers Nevin by saying that his meaning of "Gemeinde" was heathen not Christian, that among the Germans, the words "church" and "congregation" were used interchangeably and Gemeinde could mean both (Ebrard says "Gemeinde" means "congregation,"—a collective number of the baptized.) Rust quotes from the various Reformed Creeds as of Elector Frederick III, of Nassau, of Bremen and East Friesland, to prove his position. He quotes from Ursinus who, in his commentary on the 74th answer of the catechism, treats the word "Gemeinde" in the catechism as if it meant "church," and says not a word about any such meaning as Nevin held. Rust quotes from Heppe and even from Dr. Nevin himself in 1849-50, where he said that "infants were proper subjects of baptism because they belonged to the Church."

In 1868 the controversy reverts to the pastoral letter of the Eastern synod of 1846, which had been drawn up by Heiner. Harbaugh had hazarded the statement that the Reformed Church never in its history had taught that the children of the Church were members prior to baptism. Williard replies to this by quoting from the pastoral letter of the synod of 1846 as proving that our Church had officially endorsed that view. S. R. Fisher, in the *Messenger*, tried to evade this argument by saying that Heiner in that letter had blundered and misrepresented the view of the synod on the subject,—that that synod never had adopted the letter but that it had been prepared after the synod and been sent out in the name of the synod by the committee of whom Heiner was chairman. Williard replied that he did not hold that the children were in the Church by birth, but were in the covenant and that baptism simply was the seal of that covenant. He replied to Fisher that he knew that Heiner sent that pastoral letter out after the synod of 1846, but the synod had unanimously instructed him so to do and had ordered 4,000 copies to be printed and distributed throughout the Church, and Fisher had made a speech in favor of the subject. He said Harbaugh, Nevin and Fisher were all at the synod the following year, when Heiner reported what he had done. But they never attempted to raise any objection to it, as if he had misrepresented synod. On the contrary, Dr. Heiner's two hours' speech on the subject was highly spoken of by

Fisher in the *Messenger*, and synod unanimously adopted Heiner's report. Thus our own synod had supported the old covenant view of baptism officially before Mercersburg doctrine had come up.

This controversy on baptism also assumes a new phase in 1867, and later when Rev. F. W. Kremer carries out the Mercersburg view to its logical end and charges that the Order of Worship made baptism not merely a sealing ordinance (as was the old Reformed view) but a saving ordinance,—it was now a regenerating ordinance. If so and baptism saves, the inference is that unbaptized infants were lost. For the Order confines the grace of God to baptism for it says "by baptism Christ has ordained the communication of such great grace." Callender replied that baptism was the ordinary way, but that does not mean that there is an extraordinary way. But Dr. Kremer continued strongly attacking them on this point.

Perhaps the most important statement of Mercersburg theology on baptism appeared in Tract No. 3, published at first anonymously but later its author was discovered to be Rev. Prof. E. V. Gerhart, D.D. After giving what he calls defective views of baptism, he states what he conceives to be the true nature of baptism:—that there are two parts in baptism, the washing with water and the washing in the name of the Trinity. Neither the water or the Spirit alone are baptism, but joined together they form the sacrament. Water alone is not baptism, neither is the grace of baptism present and active without water. (There is no way in which a man can be created anew by the Spirit according to the established economy but by baptism.) On the other hand, there is no washing with water in baptism without the efficacious presence of the proper grace of Christ. The grace is as truly given as the water is applied. The two are one in holy baptism. He then adds that the way the blood and spirit of Christ cleanse us is not by faith, which does not make man a new creature, but by the Spirit, that is, by baptism; so that in baptism we have "the forgiveness of sins from God" and "are renewed by the Holy Ghost and sanctified to be members of Christ."

This controversy revealed the two views on baptism, the old and the new, the covenant and the high-church view, which had come up to transplant the old view. Thus the old doctrine of baptism as well as of the Lord's Supper and of the Church was changed by Nevin's emphasis on the objective. There must be objective efficacy in baptism as well as in the Lord's Supper and the Church. This efficacy they described as being not in the water alone, but in the union of grace with the water, just as at the Lord's Supper it was the union of grace with the elements, and in the doctrine of the Church,

grace was linked to the outward organization. Thus the objective was placed before the subjective, and the latter made to depend on the objective. This was different from old Reformed ideas, which placed the subjective first and emphasized it and made the objective depend on the subjective. Mercersburg theology, because it so emphasized the objective, could not see any force in the covenant view of baptism because there was nothing objective for the child before baptism.

SECTION 7. THE PREPARATION OF THE WESTERN LITURGY.

The movements in the Ohio synod toward the preparation of a liturgy were as follows: Its synod of 1862 desired the Provisional liturgy to be modified so as to omit the responses in the ordinary services of the Church and such phrases in it as were in conflict with the generally received doctrines of the German Reformed Church.

In 1863 Indiana classis requested synod to furnish the Church with a suitable liturgy. The synod of 1863 took the following action:

1. That synod feels the necessity of a liturgy that can be brought into general use throughout the entire Church so as to secure uniformity of worship.
2. That this synod is opposed to the continued use of the Provisional liturgy as such, and would request the General Synod so to modify it as to enable it to introduce it into our congregations. The vote on these resolutions was 43 to 16.
3. That should the Provisional liturgy not admit of such a modification, the General Synod be earnestly requested to take measures at once to provide a liturgy, which in our opinion will be adapted to the wants of our Church, and in case General Synod refuse that a committee of five be appointed to go forward in the work. The committee appointed was: Rust, Eli Keller, Bossard, Williard and Kline.

The General Synod (1863) in reply gave Ohio synod permission to prepare a liturgy adapted to the wants of the Church. At the Ohio synod of 1864 the committee reported that they had commenced their labors soon after the meeting of the previous synod by a meeting in March, 1864, at Tiffin. They adopted as the basis of the new liturgy the Reformed liturgies of the Reformation. They had gathered a good deal

of material and had prepared several forms on the sacraments which they were ready to lay before the synod. They suggested some changes in the committee, so as to make it more efficient. The committee was changed to Rust, Keller, Williard, Kline and J. H. Good.

The liturgical committee laid 650 printed specimen copies of the liturgy for examination before the synod of 1865. Synod distributed 350 English copies to the English classes and 300 German to the German classes for examination and approval and recommended the continuation of the work.

To the Ohio synod of 1866 the committee reported very little progress. Though the last synod had favored the liturgy, yet the subsequent action of a number of the classes was of such a discouraging nature that the chairman of the committee (Rust) declined to take any farther part and asked to be relieved.* Several forms, however, one for the regular Lord's day service and one for the burial of the dead had been prepared by two members of the committee. The report was referred by synod to a committee. The committee reported that the abandonment of the work would be detrimental to the future of the Church, recommended that other members be appointed and that the committee request General Synod to allow them to continue their work. The committee now appointed was Kline, Keller, Williard, Bossard, Lichtenstein, Kieffer, Rutenick, Derr and Stern. Fortunately when the new committee was appointed, Dr. Williard was placed at the head and the success of the movement was due to his perseverance.

To the Ohio synod of 1867 the liturgical committee reported that it had been able to accomplish little. A meeting had been called at Dayton in 1866, August, but was interfered with by the prevalence of the cholera. So the chairman and several other members could not be present and there was no quorum. Those who met agreed on thorough revision of previously pre-

*The Westmoreland class was in sympathy with the Provisional liturgy. And as Rust could not compete with Schaff in encyclopaedic knowledge of liturgies, criticisms started in the West and spread to Indiana classes and elsewhere. Rust felt this and therefore resigned.

pared forms and the preparation of new forms. But the chairman, Lichtenstein, resigned and no meeting was held until May 14 at Tiffin, when Kline was appointed chairman instead of Lichtenstein and it was agreed to recommend to the two synods (Ohio and Northwestern) :

1. That the committee be requested to go forward as rapidly as possible on the basis of work already done.

2. That a committee of six be appointed, three from each synod to whom the work be entrusted.

Ohio approved this and appointed Williard, Kieffer and J. H. Derr. Northwestern synod also approved the report and appointed M. Stern, Kline and Eli Keller.



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In 1868 the joint committee of the two synods had had two meetings. At the first meeting the general outline was agreed upon and the different parts assigned to different members of the committee. At the second meeting there were but few present. Though some members made no report, yet the committee decided that there was material enough in Reformed liturgies to complete the work on the basis already laid down. They had completed prayers for the Lord's day, and also

formulas for infant and adult baptism. Confirmation, preparatory service, Lord's Supper, ordination and installation were nearly completed. As some members of the committee had not labored with them, it was suggested that the committee be changed. The Ohio synod (1868) received the report and it was referred to a committee who recommended its speedy completion. It changed its committee to Williard, Good, Bucher and I. H. Reiter. Thus the high-churchmen of the committee were left off except Bucher, because they had no sympathy with the movement.

To the Ohio synod of 1869 the committee reported considerable progress but said the work was one of great difficulty and magnitude. Still the committee is nearly prepared for final revision. Northwestern synod appointed Kline, M. Stern, Eli Keller and Greding to continue the work in connection with the committee of the Ohio synod. The Ohio synod ordered a special meeting of the synod to pass on the committee's work and such a meeting was held in the spring of 1869 before General Synod. The work of the committee was approved by this synod and the synod requested General Synod to give permission for the use of the liturgy. (The Northwestern synod also held a special session, November, 1869, to approve the liturgy.) The liturgy was translated into German by a committee of both synods.

This history of the preparation of the liturgy reveals the diversity of opinion among those who wanted a liturgy and the lethargy on the subject on the part of those who did not. Rust, discouraged by the diversity of opinion and by criticism, resigned. The work was further hindered by the resignation of Lichtenstein. Then two high-churchmen went out of the committee, Kieffer and Derr. They evidently did not care to work with the committee on the basis agreed upon, namely, of making the Reformed liturgies the model. At last a harmonious and zealous committee was secured, who finished the work rapidly.

The internal history of the committee's work has been difficult to ascertain, as the minutes seem to have been lost. The committee, however, aimed to make the Reformed liturgies the

basis of the new liturgy and not to go back to the liturgies of the early Church, which had led the makers of the Provisional liturgy so far astray. Especially was the Palatinate liturgy considered and next to it the Bremen Reformed liturgy.

SECTION 8. THE DORNER CONTROVERSY (1868).

At the General Synod of 1866, Nevin had cited Dorner* as being in full accord in his work on the person of Christ, with the order and with Mercersburg theology. A graduate of Mercersburg Theological seminary happened to be studying at Berlin under Dorner and placed in his hands a copy of "The Order of Worship" and of Miller on "Mercersburg and Modern Theology Contrasted." After three or four weeks he called on Dorner for a statement of his views and was surprised to find that Dorner was not in harmony with Nevin. Dorner afterwards (1867) published his views of Nevin in the German "Yearbook for German Theology." It was translated and published in the *Reformed Church Monthly* of 1868.

In the beginning, he states the reason for writing his pamphlet, that he had been appealed to by Nevin at the General Synod of 1866, as endorsing his position. He was thus drawn into the controversy. He first gives the history of the liturgical movement in our Church, which is excellent, especially considering his distance from America. He speaks of the two kinds of liturgies, the altar- and the pulpit-liturgy. But there is a deeper question than that of liturgy, namely, doctrine,—Does the Order of Worship depart from the Evangelical faith of the German Reformed Church? If so, it is wrong; for *faith is fundamental, while liturgy ought to be secondary and dependent. A liturgy ought not to be the means of inoculating the Church with new doctrines, but simply to furnish a proper expression of its acknowledged faith.* (This is a very important statement of the relation of doctrine and liturgy. And Dorner is right and Mercersburg wrong.—A.)

Then, after stating the great fundamental truths, on which Nevin and himself agree, he goes on to show where they disagree. They come to a point where their paths no longer run parallel, since Nevin holds positions in regard to the Church which he does not correctly derive from him,—which are no longer Evangelical and which he must discard, if he acknowledges the principles of the Reformation in its full sig-

*The professor of theology at the University of Berlin, Germany.

nificance. Nevin says that the first mark of the liturgy is that it is Christological. But Nevin is a Pelagian because he grants a true knowledge of Christ before there is an experience of redemptive power.* Nevin makes no mention of conversion as the necessary basis of the true knowledge of redemption. Nevin is anti-Reformed in saying that the dogmatic products of the ancient Church in their purely objective form form the basis and condition of his system and hence he is silent regarding the fundamental import of faith in an Evangelical system. He grants that Nevin's theology had restored the Creed to a degree of honor which it had lost in America through Puritanism. But he then attacks Nevin's theory of the Creed, where he makes it the necessary form of the Gospel as first apprehended by faith, whereas it was a summary of doctrine for the understanding. He denies that the Creed is Christocentric, as Nevin holds, for it is trinitarian. Nevin elevates the Creed at the expense of the Bible.

Another mark of the new liturgy is its objective character. Nevin makes the objective follow the subjective. He tends to the deification of the Church. This identification of the Church with Christ tends to the ignoring of the atonement and of justification. He then passes on to criticise Nevin's views as revealed in the Order:

1. Ordination is openly made a sacrament, for it is called "the sacramental seal of their heavenly commission." The tenets of ordination, according to it, go far beyond the bounds of those which are hierarchical. Its subscription to the ancient creeds as well as to the Bible leads to hierarchy. The closing words of the formula for ordination make the union of the supernatural with the natural to be the union of the Holy Ghost with the person ordained. Nevin is contradictory, for he grants that some ordained do not receive ordaining grace because of lack of faith. How, Dorner asks, can there be any unbroken apostolic succession if such be the case. These high views tend to keep the ecclesiastical power in the hands of the ministerial office and rob the laity of their proper rights. Nevin sets every minister higher than the Romish Church sets her bishops.

2. In the Order, confession and absolution are objective, because they lead to the idea that forgiveness is bound to the outward organs and forms of the Church. But that cuts off the individual Christian from direct communion with God by introducing a new priesthood. The formula for baptism omits the requirements for antecedent or subsequent faith, over against its magical efficacy. Forgiveness of sin holds no proper place, while the guilt and damnable-ness of original sin as the ground of baptism is brought out prominently. Such are Dorner's criticisms.

Nevin replies to Dorner,† saying that Dorner is complimentary because his review recognizes merit in American theology, a point rarely granted

**Reformed Church Monthly*, 1868, page 345.

†*Messenger*, July 22, 1868.

by Germans. He says Dorner's article is far above the peltings he had received in this country, which deserved no notice. He then replies to the criticisms of Dorner:

1. That it is to be remembered that Dorner is a Lutheran. (But Nevin had quoted him as soundly Evangelical at the General Synod of 1866; now he bids his readers beware of his views because of their Lutheran standpoint.—A.)

2. If Dorner is a great German theologian, that is no reason why we should follow him in a slavish way. We can not accept the unfinished processes of thought of Germany as revealed by Dorner.

3. He is so far away geographically and politically that his standpoint detracts from the value of his criticisms. Dorner, too, is Erastian.* He is therefore incompetent to estimate the Mercersburg theology. (A. R. Kremer later said that it was Dorner's Erastianism that caused him to have low views on the ministry, which were out of harmony with the Mercersburg views.) Nevin said that all he meant when he referred to Dorner at the General Synod of 1866 was that Dorner with Ullman had come to represent the Christological way of thinking. He criticises Dorner's description of the liturgical controversy in our Church as very vague and shadowy. Dorner does not differ from him except on points ludicrously small, while he agrees with him in full over against his opponents. Dorner objects to the forms in the Order for ordination as Anglican and not German—as involving a third sacrament and not a proper harmony with Protestantism. Nevin freely admitted that his theology was Anglican rather than German in finding Christianity embodied in the creeds. (This was a different claim from that he formerly made, for he had represented that he stood for German and Continental thought.—A.) He charges Dorner with being contradictory, for he makes the atonement a deeper principle than the life of the Son of God, in and through whom we receive the atonement. This is contradictory to Dorner's view in his "History of Protestant Doctrine." He criticises Dorner for not having full sympathy with the Creed and the Church-idea.†

Nevin also replies by saying that to magnify the incarnation is to magnify the atonement. He denied that the Order obscured the atonement, as Dorner implied, but said it magnified it by putting it into right relations. He then takes up Dorner's objections to the forms for baptism, confession and absolution in the Order, saying Dorner is ruled by too low a view of the ministry. Dorner had said that he makes the ordination a sacrament. This he denies in the sense that Dorner uses

*An Erastian is one who placed the Church under the state or united with the state, whereas in America the Church is free from the state.

†Levan, *Messenger*, September 2, 1868, says he does not see why Dorner makes everything of Miller's book on Mercersburg Theology when Schaff and Harbaugh are forgotten.

that word. Dorner applies it to the two sacraments, while he uses the word sacrament in a broader sense. He acknowledged that he disagrees with Dorner on the ministry, for the continuance of the ministry is apostolic succession. He then takes up Dorner's objection that the reigning spirit of the Order is not in harmony with the genius of the Evangelical Church and grants that they differ there, Dorner making the subjective act of faith fundamental, while he makes the objective. Dorner said that Mercersburg theology, according to Miller, made faith, not to be faith in personal salvation in Christ, but only faith in objective Christianity (the Church). Nevin says that Christ's person and presence is the ground of all subjective Christianity,—faith in its last and deepest sense is simply submission to such objective authority. Dorner's view allows no room for the Church.

Prof. Bernard Wolff tries to mollify the heat of the discussion by saying that Dorner speaks approvingly of Nevin on several points, but grants that Nevin made a mistake when he quoted Dorner as a supporter of his views at the General Synod. Nevin had claimed that Dorner and Ullman supported his views on Christology and nothing more. He tries to show that Dorner agreed with Nevin on his Christology, but differed from him on the Church.*

Miller also replied to Dorner, stating the differences between Nevin's point of view and his own. In the controversy between faith and reason, faith is the organ or faculty by which absolute certainty is reached in reference to anything. Christ is the ultimate objective ground, and faith is the ultimate subjective ground for all truth. Nevin starts out with Christian faith, while Miller claims he goes one step back of this. He proceeds from a more general idea of faith as it underlies and conditions Christian faith itself. Miller found the mental difference between Modern and Mercersburg Theology to be their underlying anthropology, to which Christology and other points of difference referred. Nevin, on the other hand, emphasized the Christological side. Dorner based the certainty of objective truth on personal faith; and all else is a blind acceptance of Church authority. Miller says the Bible is higher ground than any man's personal experience. He charges Dorner's position with having a demoralizing effect and leading to irreconcilable confusion. Miller uses faith in the wide sense as underlying, conscious, personal faith, etc. Mercersburg does not aim to repristinate hierarchy, but to maintain the right of the Church to govern itself. Dorner had objected to his views on the ministry. He says the ministry is not a mere witness of the truth but carries with it an objective force and authority, which binds and loosens the conscience. The official acts of an executive officer are objective acts and are acts of God and the whole Church. It is assumed that Mercersburg theology is opposed to the experimental because it refuses to make it the supreme authority. To objective and

*Nevin's replies to Dorner continue till October 21, 1868.

subjective there must be added a third, the life of Christ. Mercersburg has never denounced the religious experience that precedes religious education, but it has refused to make it the basis. He charges Dorner with saying that Church authority is a dogmatic error,—that the Church is not the body of Christ.

J. H. Good* then takes a part in the discussion, re-stating Dorner's differences from Nevin and adds, "Mercersburg theology is not clear. But it is clear that it is not the German Evangelical theology of Dorner or Ullman. If Dorner, who is a half Lutheran, could find so much fault with Mercersburg theology, how much more should we, who are Reformed. If Nevin refused to accept the finished processes of German theology, so also we can refuse to accept the unfinished processes of Mercersburg theology because neither Miller nor Russell give it complete." He declares that Dorner's history of the liturgical controversy in our Church was wonderfully complete and reliable for a foreigner. He says Nevin never wrought out his system, for only he claims to give the principles of it, but it is in great confusion, at one time the incarnation, at another the divine-human Christ, again the person of Christ, again Christ himself. The Protestant world is tolerably well acquainted with the principle of Protestantism, but what is the principle of Nevinism.

Bomberger, in the *Reformed Church Monthly*, not only published Dorner's pamphlet as against Nevin but also took up his doctrinal points against Nevin at length.†

SECTION 9. THE HIGH-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

In the *Wächter* (*The Watchman*) the German Church paper of our Western Church, Ruetenik, the editor, gave a trenchant article on "The High-Church Movement." He described it as having risen in the nineteenth century in three countries, in England under Pusey, in Germany under Kliefoth (where Reformed districts were Lutheranized by the introduction of responses and altar services), and in America under Nevinism. High-churchism claims to be Christocentric, but Bishop McIlvaine, an Episcopalian low-churchman, claims to be as Christocentric as Nevin. The high-church movement makes the incarnation central rather than Christ's death. He quotes the 67th answer of our Catechism against the incarnation being central, because it says the whole of salvation depends on the cross. It gives no place for the invisible Church, as the Heidelberg Catechism (answer 54) does.

**Christian World*, August 27.

†See *Reformed Church Monthly*, 1868, pages 456 and 501.

Nevin attacks this article,* but in doing so he does not translate its title right. Its heading in German was "The High-Church Movement" (Hochkirchliche Bewegung), but Nevin leaves out the "high" and translates it "The Church Movement."

Nevin denies that the Order of Worship lays no stress on the atonement of Christ, as Ruetenik declared. This is not done in the way that is called "the blood theology," but by imbuing the service with the sense of atonement as a personal fact. Ruetenik not only wrongs the incarnation but the atonement also; for he reduced the atonement to a mere figure or device. The Gospel becomes, according to him, mere metaphysical theory and loses its historical character. If the atonement is sundered from the life of Christ it amounts to nothing. (Here Nevin is attacking a man of straw again, for his opponents never severed the atonement from the incarnation.—A.) The order of our faith is the mediator first and then mediation. Nevin also turns to the Creed again. The order of our faith in the Creed is not a-posteriori induction from the facts of the Church, but a-priori coming to us before all facts, from the person of Christ himself.

Bomberger then takes up this controversy in the *Reformed Church Monthly*.† Nevin, he says, charges his opponents with views they never held. Thus Bomberger denied any separation between Christ's person and work and proves it from the Heidelberg Catechism and other Reformed creeds. He charges Nevin with pantheism, with holding, in his idea of a generic race of the redeemed, to an emanation of the substance of the living Word. He charges Nevin with changing the doctrine of justification. Man is justified not by Christ's merits but, according to Nevin, by virtue of his organic conjunction with the incarnation by baptism as the organic channel through the intervention of the sacramental order.

F. W. Kremer also has an article in the *Reformed Church Monthly* on Ruetenik's article, showing that the atonement was central and that the invisible Church was not identical with the visible, as Nevin held. As proof of the first, he quotes answers 67 and 81 of our Catechism. In the Order of Worship the atonement is placed secondary. Thus forgiveness is not asked for the sake of the holy suffering of Christ but simply for "the sake of thy dear Son." Even in the prayer that precedes the distribution of the elements at the Lord's Supper, the death of Christ on the cross is not mentioned, but stress is laid on the communication of Christ's life. There his body is never spoken of as "broken" or his blood as "shed," which would bring out prominently

**Messenger*, April 8, 1868.

†1868, page 302.

the thought of atonement. The communication of Christ's life is mentioned five times in the communion services and all the while his death is minimized. As to the second point, answer 54 of our catechism proves that there is an invisible Church. Again, the Order of Worship never speaks of the necessity of repentance as related to baptism.

SECTION 10. CONSTITUTIONAL HIGH-CHURCHISM OR CHURCH AUTHORITY.

We have been following the history of the controversy mainly along the lines of doctrine and liturgy thus far. But it is evident by this time that the constitutional phases of the controversy are becoming more and more prominent. The original form of our Church government in this country was democratic Presbyterian, that is with large power and liberty for the congregations. Under the coetus it rarely dared to discipline congregations—only once if we remember rightly, in the case of Boehm's church, for accepting Weikel, an independent minister. The congregations evidently had great power in the coetus. The Mercersburg theology, on the other hand, with its high views of the Church, brought in the opposite theory,—the authority of the Church in its upper courts and of the ministry over congregations and members. The magna charta of these new views of church government was Harbaugh's article in the *Mercersburg Review* (1860) on "Reformed Synods," which, however, did not produce practical results until this later period. The synod, he said, is the highest earthly authority,—the final judge of error in doctrine and conduct. Classis can only have such power as the synod gives them, and all their acts are subject to the review of the synod. Consistories have only such power as the classes give them. The synod over the classis, the classis over the consistory, the consistory over the members. (This is a very simple and beautiful order of Church government, but it was not Reformed. They made Church authority descend from above down, whereas historically the old Reformed custom has been from below up.—A.) Gerhart follows these views also, stating that a minister is the bearer of a supernatural gift received from Christ by ordination. For saying that he is not to consult the

people as to the matter and manner of prayer. S. W. attacks him as an Episcopalian. Rev. T. G. Apple also takes the same positions in some of his articles as in *Mercersburg Review*, 1868.

To this view, Dr. Greding replies in the *Wächter*,* denying any such view of Church government and declaring that the old Reformed view was the opposite,—that the congregation came historically and logically before any of the upper courts and that the upper courts have only such authority as is delegated by the lower courts to them. In those things the latter are supreme, but as to others undelegated, the lower court retains its jurisdiction. The view of Mercersburg grew out of their high doctrine of the Church and of the ministers as priests, which elevated them above the people.

Harbaugh had quoted certain Scripture proofs for his view, which Greding takes up and answers one by one. Thus he had quoted Matt. 18: 18-19: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," to prove the authority of the Church that whatsoever it bound here was bound in heaven and loosed here, was loosed in heaven. But how about Luther, asks Greding. He was excommunicated by the Church,—and Huss. Were they not in heaven? According to the Mercersburg view the arbitrary assumption is made that Church and synod coincide. The synod is the Church. But if that be true, how would it work out. Mercersburg would say to the Philippian jailor at his conversion, "Connect yourself with the synod" instead of "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ."

Again, Harbaugh claimed that the meeting of the Apostles in the Acts was a synod. But it was not. Church history shows that only at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century did synods appear, and they appeared first in Asia Minor, not at Jerusalem. The Catholic councils were not synods because there were no laymen present in them as members. At the Catholic council of Trent the Holy Spirit came down on them not from above but from the city of Rome, where the pope held control of it,—not in the form of a dove but in that of a mail bag. Often the Church stood over against the synod. The Mercersburg view makes the distinction between a Church and a sect to be that the former has synods, the latter not. But this will not hold, for abroad on the Continent there is often no free action of synods as the Church is united to the state. In New Testament the word

*His article is translated into English in the *Reformed Church Monthly* of 1868, page 185.

“ecclesia” does not mean Church, but congregation,—the assembled people of God. If it meant the same as synod, would the Mercersburg men give the baptized children (who are members of the Church according to Mercersburg theory) a seat in the synod. Certainly not. They would likely be heard, he humorously says, but certainly they would not be given a vote. “If ‘ecclesia’ were the same as ‘sunesis,’ their view would be true. But this is arbitrary exegesis. “Christ is against their view of excommunication, for he received sinners after they were ecclesiastically ostracized.

In the case of Matthias’ election, that meeting was not a synod as Harbaugh claims. Only 120 persons were present, not one-fourth part of the 500 who were members of the Church. But the reply is made they represented the 500. How do you know. If they were delegates, then there were woman-delegates, for Mary is among them. (Mercersburg did not believe in woman-delegates.—A.) The phrase “we and us” in Peter’s speech does not look as if they were there as delegates in an official sense. The argument of Mercersburg proves too much, for according to it there would be not twelve Apostles but 121, if Paul were included.

Again, the meeting in Acts 6:1-7, as referred to by Harbaugh, is not a synod. Placing this equal to the apostolic college is sheer assumption. In verses 2 and 5 they create an office but do not act without the congregation. Polanus the Reformed theologian, says, “As pastors, the Apostles have successors but as Apostles they have none.”

In Acts 16:5, as to the apostolic council, which Harbaugh quotes for the authority of the synod, this resembles a synod more than the two other cases quoted above; for in it we have two congregations,—but a very small number when we remember the number of Christian congregations at that time. Does a body composed of leaders and members of one congregation and delegates from another congregation as here compose a synod? No. According to verses 12 and 22, at the request of the congregations of Antioch, they call a meeting at Jerusalem (they do not seem to have called it arbitrarily of their own will). Again, the account does not say the delegates from Antioch were elders, such as a synod requires. Also the congregation from Jerusalem took separate part (verse 24). The synod represented only two congregations, a minority of the Christian congregations. No elders are said to be present. In this synod the congregation stands first and this synod owed its existence to the call of a congregation. Therefore the Church government rests on the congregation and builds up from below and not from above down.

Again, synods, if infallible, must not contradict one another. But they have done so in Church history. Our own Eastern synod had contradicted its action. It recalled its first resolution about the introduction of Schaff’s hymn book because it offended against the order of the Church. (We might also add that the General Synod of 1905 re-

called the action of our General Synod of 1902 about that body being responsible for the sentiments uttered by the president in the opening sermon.—A.)

Thus the Bible does not prove their high views of the power of synods. The Scripture they quote is not in their favor but against them. But now Church history joins with Scripture against them. Take the French Reformed Church. In it first came the congregations and out of them finally grew the synod. (We might add that this was the order of our Church in America. First came the congregations formed from 1725 on. Then a number of these congregations in 1747 united to form a higher court, a coetus. This coetus was not a synod, as the adherents of the Mercersburg theology have claimed. It was not even a classis, for it was amenable to a classis (the classis of Amsterdam) and also to a committee of the Holland synods, the deputies of Holland. It was only a committee of high power, not even a classis. Later, in 1793, this coetus grew into a synod. Thus the growth of our Church in America came from below up, from the congregation through the coetus to a synod. This is historical development, and Mercersburg is committed to that as a principle.—A.) When the Ohio synod changed itself from a classis into a synod it was insubordinate to the Eastern synod. But its members were not ex-communicated, loosed from heaven for it, as Mercersburg claims. The high-church view is an application of Cyprian's view that bishops are supreme over councils. But Heidegger, one of the greatest Reformed theologians, says "Church government is not monarchical, aristocratic or democratic, but simply a service and a stewardship."

Again, the Church constitution is against Mercersburg as well as the Bible and Church history. Take article 25: "A higher judiciary shall have power to act only in cases that could not be determined by a lower." Also article 51 secures the rights of the lower judicatory against the higher. "The classis shall take cognizance of whatever concerns the welfare of the congregations committed to their care and which does not come within the power of the consistory." Articles 22 and 40, III also give the right to the congregation to buy property and choose the consistory.*

Thus the constitution joins with the Bible and Church history against the high views of Mercersburg. (If the Church and the synod are the same, then the verse "Tell it to the Church" would read "Tell it to the synod.") Ebrard says that our Church government rises from below from the basis of consistories.†

*The best description of the fundamental principles of the Church government of the Reformed is found in Hundeshagen, "Beitrage zur Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte und Kirchenpolitik."

†See his Dogmatics, page 463.

We shall now have an illustration of the way in which these high-church views of church government were applied in 1868, when Lancaster classis took action.

We have seen that the Provisional liturgy had been used in the congregation in Lancaster before any other Church and that it had produced trouble. When the Order was published, it was used by the pastor, Rev. A. H. Kremer, for three years, but the congregation wanted an action of the congregation about it. The pastor resisted this, claiming that by virtue of his priestly office as a minister, he had the right to decide on the manner of the worship of the congregation. Finally a consistory was elected that was determined to put out the Order and it ordered the discontinuance of its use. The action of the consistory at its meeting February 17 was as follows:

“WHEREAS, Great dissatisfaction exists among the members of the Church in regard to the use of the liturgy in the Church, it is

“*Resolved*, That the use of it by the pastor be dispensed with.”

Elders Zahn and Roth appealed from this to Lancaster classis on the ground that the consistory had no control in the premises,—that the control of the worship belonged to the spiritual council and not to the consistory and also because the trustees had participated in the action.

That classis had a special meeting April 14, 1868, and the report of the case came before the classis at its meeting May 22. Zahn argued before classis for the appellants and Welchans for the consistory. Classis sustained the appellants by a vote of 14-4. Classis appointed a committee, with Gerhart as chairman to formulate its judgment in the case. This judgment declared that the consistory had not the authority to direct the worship of the sanctuary—“that that authority belongs to the ordained minister of the Word.” The consistory has no right to forbid the minister to use the liturgy. It has the right to request him, but not to command,—the decision

rests with him. The General Synod has *authorized* pastors to use the Order (what a perversion of the action of the General Synod of 1866 and even of their own interpretation of it as given by the high-church leaders there.—A.) and the Eastern synod endorsed the Order. Lancaster classis has already passed resolutions recommending the book. It remains for the pastor alone to determine in what way, manner or extent it is to be done. Any interference by any church court is a violation of order. If the pastor is imprudent, the consistory has the right to complain against him and they advised the consistory of Lancaster to enter complaint against their pastor if they so desired. If they made complaint, classis will not hesitate to interpose its authority. The reply was made to him, how can classis interpose its authority when he says in the report it has no authority to interpose,—that all authority in the matter belongs to the General Synod.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* says that at this meeting of classis, Dr. Nevin ruled supreme. His motions settled all disputes and his arguments gave color to all action. It adds, "At the vote on the judgment of classis* only three elders voted for it. Rev. Mr. Graeff was brought all the way from Akron, O., to help it through. Gerhart did not ask for his dismissal to Mercersburg classis until after the vote was taken. Every man was needed to carry this high-handed procedure through.†

Good‡ severely criticises this action of Lancaster classis. He said that the action of the General Synod of 1866 on the liturgy would have been defeated, if it had been known that such an interpretation would be put on the words "an order of worship suitable to be used." The speeches of Gans, Apple, Steinmetz, Russell and Gerhart were then against any such interpretation. Gans then said: "We want no authority to go with the book. No endorsement is sought." Gerhart then said: "The Order must be submitted to the Churches. If it meets their wants it will be accepted and stay there; if not, it will be thrown off by them." Yet now Gerhart does not let the Church through the consistory take action on it. Good also quoted the constitution to prove that article 44 recognized the full right of the people in such matters. The congregation existed before the Church-courts, and General Synod has no power

*This vote was 14-10, Rev. Messrs. Hertz, Fritchey, Eckert and seven elders voting against it.

†*Reformed Church Monthly*, 1868, page 413.

‡*Reformed Church Monthly*, 1868, page 441.

not granted by them, and this power is not specially mentioned as being granted by them to General Synod. Again article 40 makes the minister only a member of the spiritual council as an elder. He is not above the rest and has no supreme authority on worship. Again, the spiritual council is for discipline, not for worship (Art. 11, 111, 107).

S. W., in *Reformed Church Monthly*, 1868, says of this action: The classis of Lancaster by this action forestalled and cut off every resource of the constitution. We are told, he says, to send a delegate to classis and General Synod, but it is certain he never would be elected to General Synod. We are reminded of our constitutional prerogative of preferring charges against Dr. Kremer. But classis said he did right,—that the spiritual council had no jurisdiction, that nobody had, outside of the General Synod, except the pastor and from his decision there was no appeal. At the synod of 1867 the “voice of the synod was the voice of God.” In Harrisburg, when a majority of the consistory is favorable to the Order, they have jurisdiction; but not here, because the consistory is against them. Lancaster classis now says that it has no jurisdiction—no one has but the General Synod,—and yet Lancaster classis some time before passed a resolution favorable to the Order. How could it do that if, as it now says, it has no jurisdiction.

This constitutional controversy about the use of the Order was continued the next year. Dr. Gerhart in 1869 has an article on “Reformed Church Government.” He says “The right of the minister is not given by the people. They may elect, but that does not constitute him a minister. His office is divine, because it comes from Christ, who bestows supernatural powers by the laying on of hands. He is the bearer of supernatural gift, received from Christ at ordination. He must disregard public sentiment about the administration of the sacrament. Nor is he allowed to consult the people as to the matter and manner of public prayer. The people can not determine what he shall pray for or how he shall pray. So, in regard to discipline, the opinion of the people is not his criterion. Still he is not irresponsible. But the limitation comes not from below but from above—from the Church through her proper organ. Answering to the ministers’ rights are the laymen’s duties. He owes duties to himself, the Church, the state, the family and God. Rights and duties mutually condition each other. But the rights of the layman are not those of the minister. The minister is above the layman.

For these high views of the ministry and Church government, S. W. attacks Gerhart in the *Christian World*, saying his Church government is Episcopal,—“the voice of the synod is the voice of God.” The pastor says “I am your pastor and your master.” But the Reformed Church always consults the views of the laity. We are democratic, believing in a republican form of government. Our constitution is democratic. Elders are to take heed of ministers. Discipline belongs to the elders, not to the minister alone. Gerhart denies strict authority to the

spiritual council and gives it all to the minister. The minister has the right to conduct the worship of God. The consistory at Lancaster had no rights. The pastor had the right to use the book so as to test its suitability. The classis could not interfere, only the General Synod. S. W. said he had hoped the organization of the General Synod would give some centre of unity and correct errors. But the General Synod has not come up to the ideal. Instead of a centre of unity, it is a theatre of strife. It is the liturgy that causes strife.

SECTION 11. THE EASTERN SYNOD OF 1868.

A special meeting of the Eastern synod was held Mar. 3, 1868, to elect a professor in the place of Dr. Harbaugh (deceased). At this synod an unkind act was done by synod which only made the breach wider between the two parties and which showed its determination to heap indignity on Dr. Bomberger, the leader of the Old Reformed party. A committee was appointed by the synod to propose a candidate. When it reported only a single name, that of E. V. Gerhart, objection was raised by Bomberger and others, as the early custom of the synod had been to have several candidates placed in nomination by the synod. The report was then recommitted to the committee to add another name. (Everything, here, must be churchly.) Bomberger and his friends wanted them to nominate Dr. Bausman. The synod, however, decided that no name could be voted for unless it were put in nomination by the committee appointed by the synod for that purpose.* When the nominating committee returned, it reported Bomberger as the other nominee. Bomberger refused the nomination, for he knew he would not be elected by a synod composed so largely of his opponents. He very properly begged synod to shield him from such insult and injury. He desired to nominate Bausman's name instead of his own. But S. R. Fisher and Leberman declared themselves authorized by Bausman not to allow his name to be used at all. So, finally, Bomberger's name was permitted to be taken off and Gerhart's alone stood and he was elected professor of dogmatics by a

*At present the custom of the Eastern synod seems to be for synod to nominate directly and not by a committee (the very thing contended for by Bomberger) as in the recent elections of Eastern synod.

vote of 54 to 9. Bomberger afterwards said in the *Reformed Church Monthly* that those unwilling to vote for Gerhart were not permitted to name their candidate. In the *Evening Telegraph* he expressed himself more severely, saying that such a refusal to nominate additional candidates was a most extraordinary procedure, unknown even to secular politics and without a precedent in the Church. The *Evening Telegraph* said that the seminary was under the control of the liturgical party and was becoming un-Reformed.

The regular synod met at Hagerstown October 21. As soon as it was opened for business, Callender, the retiring president, called attention to the articles in the *Reformed Church Monthly*, of which Dr. Bomberger was the editor, and in the *Evening Telegraph* as seriously reflecting on the synod's action in the election of Gerhart. Bomberger was not present at the opening of the synod when this came up, and Klopp begged the synod to defer action until he arrived. But synod was bent on taking action and it referred the matter to a committee composed of Russell, Davis and Loos. The committee reported that the articles were a libel on synod and that Bomberger should be required to present a full and unequivocal retraction in writing, so as to purge himself of the offense to the synod. If that were not done by Saturday at 11 A. M., he would be suspended from all the privileges of the synod. Objection was made to the report, that it contained every point involved in a prosecution (as trial, conviction and sentence) and that Bomberger ought, before conviction, to have at least an opportunity for defense. Dr. Bomberger after his arrival first offered a paper retracting the committee's sense of his language, but did not declare that their sense was his meaning of the articles. He refused to confess himself a liar (as they seemed to make him to be) when he did not feel that he was. He claimed that he put an entirely different construction on the comparison to secular politicians from what they did. But as that sort of retraction was not satisfactory to the synod, he finally withdrew it. At the opening of Saturday afternoon's session, he proposed another form which was, after considerable discussion,

accepted by the synod. "I retract the publications deemed objectionable by synod and regret that they should have been made the occasion of offense."

After the synod, Dr. Bomberger published* a card saying that he had received no notice of such charges being preferred against him until the committee reported the case to synod. He complained that he should have been convicted and sentenced in synod without having had an impartial trial and a fair opportunity to prove his innocence. He was told that no opportunity would be given to him. The retraction he made was compulsory and as such had therefore only the value of such a forced retraction. It was a retraction not of the words or of the language charged against him as slanderous, but it was a retraction simply of their publication and not of their meaning.

Philadelphia classis (May 20, 1869) passed an action regretting the proceedings of synod about Bomberger in thus attacking him and acting on his case without a regular trial. And as the action of synod was irregular (as synod assumed original jurisdiction in the case, which right belonged only to the classis) and reflected on his character, it passed an action that his character was unsullied and irreproachable. The vote in the classis was 28-4 (the latter being Fisher, Gans, C. F. Fisher and Elder Brock).

At the General Synod of 1869, Welker called attention to the constitutional error of the high-churchmen at this synod, that synod erred in assuming original jurisdiction in the case of Bomberger, for the constitution makes a minister amenable to his classis. In this he was right. Synod, instead of acting so hastily, should have referred his case to his classis, which alone had original jurisdiction. If dissatisfied with the action of classis, it could then have taken action against him. Bomberger, too, would have acted more constitutionally if he had left them go on without making a retraction and simply taken an appeal to General Synod against the synod for assuming original jurisdiction (as was afterward done in 1872 in the Super Appeal case).

The action of this synod against Dr. Bomberger was the high-water mark of high-church authority,—when attempted again against Dr. Bomberger in 1872 it was rebuked by General Synod and then this high-church tendency, which gave all authority to the synod and ignored the rights of the classis, was checked.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* also called attention to another point, that nobody presumes to punish contempt done to a previous body. The synod of March, 1868, had ceased to be,—had been dissolved and the new synod was composed of new delegates and was newly constituted.

**Messenger*, November 11.

Another case that came before the synod which revealed the controversy was the appeal of certain members of Christ Church, Philadelphia, against their pastor, Rev. Mr. Giesy, —or rather it came up as the complaint of Wolff against the action of Philadelphia classis in that case. We have seen that as the result of Dr. Giesy's reading the pastoral letter of the synod of 1867 to his congregation, a large part of his members seceded. The classis of Philadelphia had organized them into a congregation (Heidelberg) and had directed Christ Church to give them their letters of dismissal, which it had before refused to do. So Mr. Wolff appealed to synod. The synod decided for Giesy and declared that Philadelphia classis had acted irregularly and unconstitutionally. It ordered Philadelphia classis to revoke permission for the organization of a new congregation and also to revoke its decision that Christ Church should give letters of dismissal to the new congregation. It prohibited the formation of the new congregation within six squares of Christ Church. And it directed the president of synod to personally visit Christ Church and represent to that congregation that the synod stood ready to defend their pastor against the injury done to him by the efforts of the classis. This action of synod was a logical one. It had ordered its pastors to read the pastoral letter to their congregations and it could do nothing less than stand by them when they did it. But the synod was too late to stop the organization of the new congregation, as it had already been organized.

Philadelphia classis then appealed to General Synod against this action of the synod because the prohibition to six squares was irregular and unconstitutional, as the organization of congregations and their boundaries belonged properly to the classis and not to the synod (Constitution, Arts. 51 and 67) and also because synod by ordering the president of synod to come within its dominions and interpose, undertook to adjudicate matter not brought before the synod by classis by way of either appeal or complaint.

At the previous synod, a committee had been appointed to find out who had published what synod called a slanderous

article in the *American Church Missionary Register* by "a minister of the German Reformed Church." That committee reported to this synod that the editor declined to give the name of the person. So the synod passed an action charging the editor with a breach of courtesy. The synod also elected Gans (over T. G. Appel) professor to enter the seminary as soon as the endowment fund was raised to \$30,000.

SECTION 12. THE IOWA CONTROVERSY.

The liturgical controversy now enters a new phase. We have seen that it had first a dogmatic phase in the formation of Mercersburg theology, then a liturgical phase in the production of the Provisional liturgy and of the Order of Worship, then a constitutional phase in the introduction of the Order into the individual congregations. Now it assumes a missionary phase. (A church controversy is apt to ramify into all departments of the Church. Its last and most serious effect is apt to be on the practical activities of the Church, which it paralyzes. The controversy was as to which party should gain control of Iowa classis and with it the far West.

The difference between the two parties began to show itself when Apple* spoke of the want of unity between the East and the West,—that five-sixths of the missionary money came from the East and yet the West claimed the direction of the funds, and that the president of the Home Mission board (Bomberger) sets himself against the wishes of the East. Rev. C. Cort, a strong high-churchman, had gone West and was severely criticised for it. Williard had said at the General Synod of 1866 that young men from the East made trouble in the West.

Higbee says, in the same paper, that the East should not allow the West to use its funds against itself. The West ought not to oppose the East when its missions were supported by Eastern money.

Bomberger† replies to Apple. He says Apple made mis-statements,—that the Board of Home Missions sets itself against the wishes of the Eastern synod. He utterly denied it and asked Apple to bring proof of it. He had never objected to a man for the mission-field because he had studied at Mercersburg. Instead of five-sixths of the mission money of the East going West, less than one-eighth, only \$800, does. Can the West sell itself for \$800 for theological aggrandizement. Apple also

**Messenger*, March 10, 1869.

†*Messenger*, March 17.

assumes too much when he says that all the Eastern money came from Mercersburg men. A part comes from their opponents in the East. In his private capacity, he claimed liberty, but as president of the board, he had none as to the place where the appointees of the board came from.

Apple replied that he did not say Bomberger had so acted in his official capacity, but he had heard him express himself against Mercersburg men for missions as far back as the General Synod of 1866. He called attention to the fact that the Home Mission report to the synod of 1868 was \$2,000 less than the previous year, intimating that this was caused by the facts he had given.

Higbee* says that any opposition of the West will be viewed by the East as intermeddling, a shameful impertinence, revolutionary, and troublesome to the peace of the Church. He especially attacks Williard for charging Cort with intermeddling out West in Iowa classis. Williard replies that the West nearly balances the East in contributions received.

This friction needed but some event to bring it to a head. This appeared at the next meeting of the Iowa classis. That classis was called to meet in order to receive Rev. Mr. Cort. Because of a delay of the train, some members did not reach the meeting on the evening when it was called. Rev. G. Rettig, therefore, moved to adjourn, but Cort's friends, though his (Rettig's) members protested, held the meeting and hurried his case through and he was received as a member. Those who arrived next morning appealed to synod. (According to the recent custom of the Eastern synod, that appeal stayed action but it did not stop Cort from taking his seat as a member.) Four ministers dissented from the high-churchmen's action, the two Rettigs, Young, Karshner and four elders.† The classis, thus under the control of the high-churchmen, passed a resolution against the editor of the *Christian World*, Williard, for his attacks on Cort.

When the appeal came before the Ohio synod (1869), the president decided that Cort could not be received as a member because his case was under appeal and according to the custom of the Eastern synod an appeal always stayed the sentence.

**Messenger*, March 31.

†It seems that when classis refused to adjourn on the evening before, so bitter was the feeling that the congregation refused to entertain the members of classis, and they had to go to a hotel. When the motion to adjourn was made, Rev. Mr. Fouse said, "Let the congregation go," and they went.

The Iowa appeal was referred to a committee. It brought in two reports. The majority (high-church) reported the appeal out of order. The minority reported it in order. The minority's report was accepted by the synod and Johnson gave notice of appeal to General Synod. Thus the Ohio synod was treating Cort just as the Eastern synod had been treating Bomberger, refusing him membership.

Apple tried* to show that the two cases were not identical, because Bomberger was at first received as a member and Cort was not.

Iowa classis had a meeting at Wheatland, August 25, 1869, when the president ordered the clerk to strike Cort's name from the list. Cort appealed from the chair, but classis, being now under the control of the Old Reformed, sustained the decision of the chair. Rev. Mr. Cort gave notice of appeal and complaint. But as he was not recognized as a member of classis Riale did this for him. Rev. G. Rettig then offered a resolution that as Rev. Mr. Bauman, the stated clerk, had called the meeting of classis without the knowledge of the president, and made it a few hours before the meeting called by the president, that his act be declared disorderly, irregular and invalid. Rev. Mr. Bauman was suspended from his seat for a year. He then gave notice of appeal. Classis elected Rev. Mr. Buser clerk in his place, but Bauman refused to give up the records of classis and retired. Rev. Mr. Fouse then offered complaint against classis. The classis being now in the control of the Old Reformed, reconstructed its board of Missions, making it consist of two old Reformed, G. Rettig and Buser, and one Mercersburg man, Riale.

The Iowa classis (or those who were high-churchmen) then met, October 13, at Brandon. It appointed a committee to defend the classis against the appeal of Rettig. It complained against Ohio synod for not receiving Cort. It declared the above meeting of classis at Wheatland null and void.

The Old Reformed party also held a meeting at Wheatland, stating that as the president had been informed they could not

**Messenger*, June 20.

meet at Brandon, he had appointed the meeting at Wheatland. It declared the acts of the Brandon meeting schismatical and began a process of trial and called the attention of the Ohio synod to it. Thus the Iowa classis virtually split. Four members met at Brandon (Riale, Fouse, Bauman and Cort), the others, the majority, at Wheatland. Each elected delegates to the next General Synod so that it was evident there would be a new problem at the General Synod. The old Reformed defended the Wheatland meeting, saying the Brandon meeting was a secret meeting, kept secret from the other members of the classis.

SECTION 13. THE EASTERN SYNOD OF 1869.

The sensation of the fall of 1869 was the publication of an article by Nevin on "The Church Crisis."*

He says it is evident that the Order of Worship can not be adopted and also that no other liturgy can have any more favorable reception. But our crisis is not liturgical but deeper than that. The difficulty lies with our present Church government. Its organization in the General Synod is not working well. There is doubt in the minds of many about the expediency of the whole arrangement. Mutterings of this were found in the West and in the East there was a certain amount of restiveness. The Lord had not called us to bondage. The German Reformed Church was not made for the General Synod, but the General Synod for the Reformed Church. The question of questions is the relation of the General Synod to the individual synods. There will be many appeals at the next General Synod. Will the action of a lower court rule out from voting the whole court appealing, or only individuals in it if they voted in the lower court. He suggests that the Eastern synod take action to prepare the way for the right method of deciding these appeals. He then goes on to say that the General Synod is anomalous and not necessary to the Presbyterian Order. Indeed, it is a serious departure from it, because it has an ascending scale of representation. A General Synod that has power to revise all the business of synod is an abandonment of the Presbyterian theory and the door is thrown open to confusion. That

**Messenger*, September 15. The *Reformed Church Monthly* later said that before the General Synod of 1869, the Mercersburg party was greatly alarmed because the other party had elected a large number of delegates, probably a majority. This caused a great deal of anxiety in the East and may have been one of the influences that led Nevin, by publishing "The Church Crisis," to prepare the way for the dissolution of the General Synod if against them.

synod should reserve to itself the establishment and care of its colleges and theological seminaries is an inconsistent and arbitrary reservation. It ought to control the fountains of learning. This reservation is nominal rather than real and can be carried up to General Synod by way of appeal. He suggests two ways of correcting this:

1. Either that General Synod meet every year, so as to avoid delay in settling appeal cases.

2. That General Synod be reduced to a merely advisory body. In that case one meeting in three years, as at present, would be all that was necessary.

Prof. J. H. Good replies to Nevin's "Church Crisis,"* saying that Nevin always has a crisis on hand. For some years he had the liturgy-crisis, but now at last he has concluded that the Reformed do not want the liturgy and given it as his advice to bend before the storm. Nevin says there is no reason for insisting on full unity of worship in the Churches. This statement was very different from the early claim of the liturgical men, who said it would produce a uniformity of worship. Nevin wants the trial of the Order of Worship continued. But he prejudged the Western liturgy, which was not yet published, when he said it would never be adopted. Dr. Nevin now said that the crisis of the Church was no longer the liturgy but it was the constitution of the Church,—that the General Synod was not what it ought to be,—unless changed it had better be done away with. Nevin says the Eastern synod ought to consider this matter, but Good objects that it is not the duty of the synod to do so, for it was not the synod that had made the constitution, but the General Synod and the vote of the individual classes. (We see in all this the two views of Church government appearing, Nevin emphasizing with Harbaugh the rights of the upper court, Good, with the Old Reformed, emphasizing the rights of the lower Court.—A.) Dr. Bomberger, in writing about Nevin's Church Crisis, says† he is not sure what Nevin means by it, whether a permanent peace or an armistice. He seems to doubt Nevin's sincerity in suggesting that the liturgy question be dropped or also the theological. (Thus Nevin's enemies took up his statements and used them against his party, especially when he said the liturgy would not be adopted and was a failure.—A.)

Nevin's friends then became alarmed about the effect of his statements about the liturgy and some of them denied that he had given up hope of the adoption of the liturgy. Certainly they had not given up hope of its ultimate adoption, whatever may have been his views.

Dr. Williard says Dr. Nevin's articles certainly gave a different color from other articles in the East. They grant that the liturgy is not taking. They used to say the laity wanted such a book even when the consistory refused, but now all is different according to Nevin.

**Christian World*, October 7 and 14.

†*Reformed Church Monthly*, 1869, page 494.

These articles by Dr. Nevin and the controversy that resulted from them, caused the meeting of the Eastern synod in 1869 to be looked to with considerable anxiety. Its first act in electing Nevin as president was significant. It took action on the questions raised by his *Church Crisis* as follows:

It declared that as the constitutional relations between the synods and the General Synod were still open to discussion and as a committee of the General Synod will report to the next General Synod on the matter, that they therefore felt at liberty to appoint a committee to prepare a report expressing the sense of this synod on the constitutional points raised. Of this committee, Gerhart was appointed chairman. The committee reported as follows:

1. Whether the General Synod should be continued because of the differences between the East and the West on constitution, theology and liturgy.

2. If notwithstanding these differences, the Church ought to be thus organized, then came the question whether the General Synod should possess ultimate legislative and judiciary authority, or should be only an advisory body.

3. If the General Synod be not an advisory body, then two questions arise,—

a. How should the General Synod be constituted, from the classes or from the synods?

b. Should the power of the General Synod be limited or unlimited?

4. If the General Synod be constituted from the synods and not from the classes, then should all the classes be represented or not?

5. If the power of the General Synod be unlimited, should it be both judicial and legislative?

6. But if it be limited, what are the powers of the General Synod and what power should be ultimate in the synods.

The aim of this report seemed to be to have delegates to General Synod elected from the synods and not from the classes, as heretofore. This would entirely obliterate the representation of Philadelphia, North Carolina and Zion classes which were prevailingly low-church. The second item was whether appeals and complaints should have the General Synod as their final arbiter or whether they should stop in the synods. If the latter, then the Old Reformed party in the Eastern synod would have as its last court of appeal a synod

mainly deeply hostile to itself, as was shown by its recent actions and decisions. Whereas, if its last court of appeal were the General Synod, it would find many friends and probably be sustained, as was later done at the General Synod of 1872. So that underneath this move of the Eastern synod was a design to put its old Reformed minority out of the field.

Another significance of this action was that by thus raising questions about the relation of the General Synod, it made a stroke that looked to a separation between the West and the East, between the Mercersburg men and the Old Reformed,—an implied threat. It remained to wait until the next General Synod met to see whether that would come to pass.

Several other actions of the synod also had their bearing on the liturgical controversy. One was on Philadelphia classis. That classis having sent a memorial to General Synod against the decision of the last Eastern synod for so summarily causing Dr. Bomberger to retract his language under penalty of exclusion. This appeal from the classis direct to the General Synod was reported as irregular. It ought to come to General Synod through the synod. The committee claimed the synod had the right to decide on its regularity—that it had to go up to the General Synod through the synod, instead of direct from the classes, as had always been the custom in our Church. (But if the synod were to have authority to pass on its regularity, it could stop the appeal if it desired. This was contrary to the freedom always given in our Church, which had always looked to the classes rather than the synod as most fully expressing the mind of the whole Church.—A.)

The synod tried to condone its action by saying it did not take from Bomberger his office as a minister of the Gospel or as a delegate of his classis, but it endeavored to show that he was unworthy of their association and it declared that synod had adopted the mildest course possible. The committee reported that the action of Philadelphia classis was more than a petition,—that it was virtually a complaint, and that, as synod had received no notice of such action, it was therefore irregular. It was referred to a committee to take charge of synod's interests in the case at General Synod.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* retorts that synod resorted to a subterfuge in saying that the synod did not take from Bomberger his character as a ministerial delegate. This is just what they did, but the constitution (article 107) says that a minister must be tried by his classis and not by synod.

The synod also took a significant action showing its increasing emphasis on the rights of the synod over the classis,—that synod had the right to excuse absentees from its body instead of allowing the classes to do it, as heretofore. The synod was thus gradually taking the rights of the classes on itself.

It appointed a committee of five to examine the translation of the Order of Worship made under the direction of the East Pennsylvania classis. It also passed an action asking General Synod to place the Western liturgy on the same basis as the Eastern liturgy, and that it make its use provisional. Thus they again aimed to gain more time to educate the Church up to their liturgical ideas.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* also calls attention to the language of the report on the state of religion drawn up by Rev. G. D. Wolff.

The report uses such high-church language as: "The Church is the actual body of Christ and those who do not realize that as its body it possesses all the authority which of right belongs to him, of course do not realize their duty to be obedient unto the Church as unto Christ. They are unable to comprehend that in the Church is now lodged the prerogative of teaching the priestly function of the Saviour and also his kingly functions and must continue them in virtue of his appointment. The spirit of unbelief is associated with the spirit of unsubordination. Such a spirit rends the body of Christ, breaks the unity of the Spirit and follows Antichrist, the father of lies."

All this was evidently aimed at the low-churchmen, especially those in the East.

SECTION 14. THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1869.

This General Synod met in Philadelphia on November 24. At the opening of the synod there was a test of strength between the two parties, Gerhart and Williard being the opposing candidates for the presidency. The former was elected by a majority of eight although it was said by the old Reformed

that twenty-eight delegates were absent at the time.* Dr. Gerhart, according to the statements of the other party, was very partisan in his rulings and appointments of committees.†



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The Western liturgy, having been approved by the Ohio synod of 1869, who had asked General Synod to grant its free use in the Churches, was referred to a committee consisting of Apple, Bossard, Nevins, etc. The committee recommended its provisional use, like that given by the previous General Synod to the Order of Worship. Williard then offered a resolution

*Some western delegates were absent and some Germans who were more anxious for the interests of the Germans than about the liturgy voted with the high-churchmen. This lessened the low-church vote.

†They charged that he ignored the makers of motions in the appointment of committees called for by their motions, which had been the previous custom. In appointing the committee to consider the acts of the Eastern synod of 1869 on the constitutional relations of the General Synod to the synods, he appointed only men of the Eastern synod, the West being entirely ignored. This was entirely contrary to the previous custom of the General Synod.

(1) that both liturgies be submitted to the classes for approval and rejection according to the constitution, and that meantime the use of each be optional,

(2) but that neither should be introduced without the formal consent of the consistory and the congregation.

This motion sharply defined the issue between the two parties. There was a strong discussion on that amendment, the Old Reformed claiming that the amendment proposed the constitutional method and would stop the strife in the Church. Rinehart said the strife had already split congregations. Eschbach demanded proof. He replied "the Church in which we are meeting." (He referred to the quarrel in Christ Reformed Church of Philadelphia, which had been caused by their pastor, Rev. Dr. Giesy, reading the pastoral letter of the synod of 1867.) At last a division of the amendment was granted. On the first part of the amendment the vote stood 74 yeas to 106 nays. The second part was also lost by a vote of 81 yeas to 101 nays. Some of the Mercersburg men afterward gloried in this vote, claiming that it showed the growth of their party in the General Synod. This action was a great victory for the liturgical men, for it gave them two advantages:

1. It made the Western liturgy provisional and thus aided their continual claim for a provisional use of their liturgy. General Synod granted the provisional use of the Western liturgy as it had done in regard to the Eastern liturgies.

2. The General Synod also virtually approved their position about its introduction,—that it did not require the action of a consistory or congregation to have it introduced.

Another subject brought before the synod was the presentation of memorials from congregations of the Eastern synod and of Westmoreland classis of the Ohio synod (signed by about 2,000 names), requesting the discontinuance of the Order because of the harm it was doing. The object of presenting these memorials was to acquaint the General Synod with the real state of affairs in the Eastern synod,—that there was a great deal of opposition to the Order of Worship. The committee appointed on the subject stated that seventy-one

such memorials had come in. Its report was very partisan. It said the memorialists were irregular,—that serious injustice was done to the Eastern synod by the memorials because it had authorized the use of the Order of Worship, and that these wronged also the General Synod, who had allowed it as “an order proper to be used.” It declared that the worst feature of the memorials was that they flew into the face of Reformed Church history by asking synod to take away the rights of others and curtail the generous freedom of the Reformed Church in matters of worship. The report affirmed the right of petition, but disapproved the tone of disrespect to the General Synod in the memorials. An amendment was offered to the report to strike out the phrase that the memorialists wronged General Synod. The vote on this was 75 nays to 72 yeas, a very close vote which perhaps revealed the relative strength of the two parties.

The General Synod failed to re-elect Bomberger on the Home Missionary board, of which he had been president for some years. This was taken by his party as a blow at him, because of his founding of Ursinus college and his opposition to the Order of Worship. The liturgical party also at this election aimed to get the home missions of the Church more under their control, so as to spread their influence.

Another matter noted in the controversy (and which was seized upon by the old Reformed party) was the fact that in the report on the state of religion there was a confession that there were two tendencies in the Church whose controversy seriously interfered with home missions. The General synod, therefore, in adopting this report officially recognized the two tendencies.

From the Iowa classis there was a double delegation, one from the high-church party, one from the low.* The case was referred to a committee who presented a report throwing out both delegations, the delegates of the low-churchmen because of legal and technical errors at the Wheatland meeting, the high-churchmen because of errors in equity at the Brandon meeting. The appellants on both sides withdrew their appeals

*See pages 488-491.

on permission being given to divide the classis into an English and a German classis. After some friction between the two parts of the classis, Ohio synod in 1871 divided Iowa classis into an English and a German classis, the latter calling itself the Ursinus classis.

This was a synod of appeals and complaints from classes and synods, most of which were caused by the liturgical controversy. Thus the case of the Heidelberg congregation of Philadelphia was brought before General Synod by the Philadelphia classis. This had ordered its organization, but Christ Church appealed to synod. When Eastern synod decided against Heidelberg Church, then Philadelphia classis appealed to General Synod. The case was finally compromised by changing the action of the Eastern synod, which had permitted the organization at a distance of six squares from Christ Church to a distance of five squares.

There was a memorial from Philadelphia classis complaining against the treatment of Dr. Bomberger by Eastern synod. The committee of General Synod reported it irregular. Classis said it was a memorial, but the committee, being of the Mercersburg type, decided it was a complaint and therefore threw it out. It thus virtually allowed the action of Eastern synod of 1869 in the matter to remain. This decision was regarded as against the low-churchmen.

Philadelphia classis had appealed from the decision of Eastern synod endorsing Dr. S. R. Fisher's appeal from it about introducing the Order of Worship without the consent of consistories. Another complaint was from John Wiest and Mr. Myers against the action of Eastern synod for condemning the Myerstown convention. Bomberger complained against the Eastern synod for its action against the *Reformed Church Monthly* and for its action against himself without previous knowledge or notice in his absence. Bomberger's complaint against the action of the Eastern synod of 1868 was refused to be heard by a vote of 97 to 80.

From the liturgical side there was the double appeal about Cort against the Ohio synod. In all there were five or six appeals, communications, memorials bearing on the controversy.

If the synod had taken them up, they could have sat for many days more. So finally they were almost all postponed on the plea that a new constitution was about to be prepared. Of course this did not really meet the case, for the appeals, etc., referred to the past; while the adoption of the constitution referred to the future. The new constitution, if adopted, would not have had any bearing on what had happened under a former constitution. But the two parties grew weary and the members of synod desired to return home, so they agreed to compromise action thus.

One of the most striking events that occurred on the floor of this General Synod was the motion of Nevin to dissolve the General Synod. He made a motion that the present organization, so far as the General Synod was concerned, be ended, so as to make room for a more satisfactory form answering to the first preliminary question of the overture of the Eastern synod of 1869. He asked that a committee be appointed to do this. But the opposition was so great that it was lost by a large vote. Fisher rightly contended that a resolution like that was not a constitutional way of dissolving the General Synod.

Apple said* that most of the business of the last General Synod was in reference to the liturgy and that it gave little attention to the constitution, missions, etc. Yet it settled for itself one point: It declared itself in favor of maintaining the continuance of the General Synod. After the synod the Mercersburg party gleefully quoted the majorities in the General Synod to show that their party was rapidly growing in the Church. At the General Synod of 1866 their majority was only 7, while at the General Synod of 1869 it was 29, they said. The Order was approved, they said, by a two-thirds vote of General Synod, one direct at Dayton 1866, the other indirect here in 1869. The low churchmen were defeated at this synod. But as Helffrich says, the action virtually broke the power of the high-churchmen. He says that Nevin, after the permission had been given for the use of the Western liturgy, felt that the liturgical and Church movement was a failure. One of the leading Nevinists declared that only the immaculate conception of Mary kept him from entering the Romish Church. And another had preached at the synod at Pittsburg that at the consecration of the elements at the Lord's Supper, the Holy Ghost came to them and brought them to be the body and blood of Christ. Dr. Nevin teaches that one should bow before the altar because there is the shekinah, and his pupils, as usual,

**Messenger*, Aug. 5, 1870.

go beyond their teacher. So says the *Reformed Kirchenzeitung* of Germany.*

SECTION 15. THE "MERCERSBURG REVIEW" AND THE WESTERN LITURGY.†

The *Mercersburg Review* (1871) criticised the Western liturgy. It claimed that the judgment of General Synod carried with it no opinion or judgment in regard to the work, for the liturgy received no particular examination or discussion at its hands. The permission to use it amounted to this, that the Church was to have a certain amount of liberty in its use.

It claimed, however, that this permission differed from the permission given by General Synod to the Order of Worship. That was given only after thorough discussion and examination, and then the General Synod declared it "an order proper to be used," while this action about the Western liturgy was given without such careful preparation and, hence, the permission was of lower authority. The friends of the Order did not ask for endorsement only for permission, but the opposition forced a discussion which really brought out the merits of the Order. (This was an unfair use of the action of the General Synod of 1866. That action was merely permissive, while here they claimed it was authoritative.—A.)

He then notes the advantages and defects of the Western liturgy.

1. As compared with the Mayer liturgy, it reveals a long advance. It opens with a recognition of the church year and its great festivals, together with all the Sundays named in the church year. It also contains tables of the pericopes.

2. In its rubrics, some say the minister "shall" instead of "may." Here is an advance, for the Mayer liturgy gave no forms for the Lord's day. It then gives the three creeds, the Gloria, the Te Deum, the Litany.‡ The principle of the book is that the forms may be varied and

*1870, page 161.

†Although this discussion chronologically occurred later yet the subject properly belongs here as it was this General Synod that took action on the Western liturgy.

‡These forms we understand were placed in the Western liturgy at the request of Bucher, one of the committee who was a high-churchman in his sympathies. The low-church granted it, in the hope of gaining friends for the liturgy among the high-churchmen, for some of the committee entertained the ambitious hope that their liturgy would finally be adopted by the high-churchmen and thus become the liturgy of the whole Church. They hoped by admitting these forms to placate the high-churchmen.

none of them be binding. He grants that there should be liberty in worship, but that liberty should come not from the minister but from the synod. A liturgy, he says, can not provide room for a free service without interdicting itself. It should give a complete service or it will be only a compilation of forms. He criticises the Western liturgy,—

(1) That its worship centers around the sermon rather than around the eucharist and altar.

(2) It holds that the liturgical prayers for the Lord's day do not constitute a necessary part of the service.

(3) It gives no place to the people to take part in the service of the regular Lord's day. There is not a single response. How does this non-responsiveness, he asks, accord with their theory that all Christians are priests. It leaves out the absolution, Creed and Gloria, all familiar to the early Reformed liturgies. The theory of the sacraments, underlying this liturgy is that they are institutions for teaching, only part of the prophetic function and there is no room for the priestly office. It makes the sacraments confirmatory only. Baptism does not give remission of sin. But this is unscriptural and against our catechism (answer 69). He attacks the baptismal service because it has the pernicious theory of the covenant in it. There is no recognition in baptism of the proper grace of the sacrament. Adult baptism is also confirmatory. The Lord's Supper service is only confirmatory. He becomes indignant at the frequent use of the word "confirm" in the service before the minister distributes the elements. He also criticises its demand for the communicant to look away from the elements up to heaven where Christ is.* He says this is contradictory, first consecrating the elements and then ordering them to turn away from them.† Confirmation it represents as the act of the catechumen and not of the Church. The sentence "to increase their confidence," etc., is bad English and worse theology. Adult baptism and confirmation can't be combined as here. He speaks more favorably of the ordination service, but criticises the forms of the sacraments for continually speaking of them as a sign and a seal. The effort is thus made to weave into the liturgy the language of the catechism, but this has no merit. For the language of devotion is not the language of teaching,—a liturgy should differ in style from the catechism. This shows a slavish adherence to the catechism and to the Reformed liturgies, from which this book is compiled. This liturgy is not a reproduction but a compilation. It is not homogenous. In some forms, as the Lord's Supper, it seems to be a living organ of worship, in others it is a mere directory or guide. But even in the Lord's Supper

*But it is a peculiarity of the old Reformed liturgies that they have this admonition to look from the elements up to Christ in heaven.—A.

†But this was Calvin's doctrine—lifting the mind to heaven, where Christ's humanity is.

it does not rise to proper devotional glow. It ought to receive a revision, as the Eastern liturgy had received.

To this criticism of the *Review*, Williard replies* in a series of articles on the Western liturgy. He denies Apple's assertion that the liturgy was an advance on the Mayer liturgy about Church festivals, for these had always been observed. There was no such neglect of church-festivals in Prof. Mayer's time as the *Review* states. The Western liturgy, while it recognizes them, does not give them undue prominence. When he (*Williard*) was a boy, the Reformed ministers used to observe Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and often Ascension. One of the reasons for the lack of observance then was the fewness of ministers and the comparative rarity of church services.

Apple replied by denying that the ministers of Mayer's time used the Church festivals.† Williard reiterated his statement that the Mercersburg men had gone too far in denying this. He said the main festivals were used by Wagner, Rahausen, Pomp, Reily and Mayer.

**Christian World*, February 23, 1871.

†They made the claim for Mercersburg that it had revived the Church-year in our Church.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENDORSEMENT OF URSINUS THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT BY GENERAL SYNOD (1872).

SECTION 1. LITURGICAL EVENTS (1870-71).

The General Synod of 1869 had closed only a few months when the high-churchmen began to claim that it had endorsed their position.

Gerhart, the president of the General Synod,* says that both General Synods (1866 and 1869) approved of the Order of Worship. He says that the rejection of Williard's amendment at the last General Synod proved that that body endorsed the position of Lancaster appeal case. That meant, not that the minister had a right to force the liturgy on an unwilling people or that they had no remedy against the arbitrary course of an injudicious minister; but that they had no jurisdiction in the case, because it is his prerogative to conduct public worship. The consistory can not compel him to introduce it against his judgment or to suspend it when he has seen fit to introduce it. The remedy for such differences between the minister and the consistory is to be sought in the jurisdiction of classis.

He also tries† to argue that General Synod's action placed the Order somewhat above the Western liturgy. He says both liturgies are on the same footing, yet there is a difference. General Synod permitted the Western liturgy to be used throughout the Church, but the Eastern received a higher recommendation. It was allowed "as a book proper to be used in the Church," which was not said of the Western liturgy. Again, the Order of Worship was approved after a careful examination, which was not given to the Western liturgy. The latter was adopted not after a careful examination, but only out of respect to the western synods.

Dr. Good‡ attacks Gerhart for saying what he did about the Western liturgy. He denied that the Eastern liturgy had any higher position in the Church than the Western. The General Synod of 1866 had not approved of the Order as Gerhart had said; it only allowed its use.

**Messenger*, February 2, 1870.

†*Messenger*, February 9.

‡*Christian World*, March 10.

No speaker, even of the high-church party, then made any such a claim. Gans had said "we want no authority to go with the book, no endorsement is sought." They simply asked that their child should live. And as to its being approved at the General Synod of 1869, it is to be remembered that when Graeff brought in the report against the memorialists, it spoke of the Order as approved by General Synod of 1866. When Dr. Good objected to this, Apple moved to strike it out and it was done by a unanimous vote. This was a confession that the Order of Worship had not been approved.

A new method of the high-churchmen now began to appear. Before this it had not been customary for a classis to appoint a supply committee for a vacant charge unless asked to do so by the congregation or charge. But East Pennsylvania classis in 1870 first began to try the appointment of such a committee with increased powers, so as to get men of Mercersburg leanings into these charges. The effort was made to appoint such a committee for the Brodheadsville charge which was then vacant, even though the charge had made no request for a committee on supply. The former custom of the classis, however, prevailed and the motion was lost. Later, a very determined effort was made by them to get control of Slatington.* An effort was also made in some of the classes to the same end by the appointment of a committee on missions. This act of the Mercersburg men of course led to protective action on the other side. The Ursinus Union was formed in 1871 at York to offset this effort by aiding missions and beneficiary students. It continued in existence until 1890.

The division between the two parties was increasing and more friction was of course constantly developing. A new phase of the controversy began to appear,—a financial one, being added to the doctrinal, liturgical, constitutional and missionary phases, which already have been noticed. The Old Reformed party, now that Ursinus college was started decided not to pay any assessments for college or seminary purposes to Lancaster or Mercersburg, but to pay such money to the support of Ursinus College. Some classes, as Lebanon, granted them this permission. But East Pennsylvania classis did not. It appointed a committee to consider fining them or

* Helffrich's Autobiography, page 432.

bringing them before court. Their attorney, however, got them to give up the latter plan, as he said there was no law to support their case. Helffrich* says that East Pennsylvania classis ordered that if delinquents did not pay these assessments they should be suspended, but later they rescinded this action. That classis, he says, declared that its beneficiary students must go to the institution which it supported. He and some of the Old Reformed ministers took their stand against this. He declared he would not pay either synod's or classis' dues until classis took back this assessment for beneficiaries.† He claimed that the classis increased the number of beneficiaries at Mercersburg and Lancaster, so as to get all the money sent there.

The Reformed Church of Allegheny City took the altar and carried it out of the Church, to the horror of its pastor, Rev. Mr. K——, who "having declared himself unable to preach without an altar or hold a prayer-meeting, resigned at once." "Thus," says a low-church writer gleefully, "K——, as author of the articles, "Altar and Priest" in the *Mercersburg Review*, lost his altar and as priest he shook the dust from off his feet."

Rev. F. W. Kremer gave the fact that just before the seminary was removed to Lancaster, 1871, the services on Sunday and Wednesday were liturgical. Some of the students had a prayer-meeting of their own on Tuesday evening, in which a few were interested. On being asked how the prayer-meeting was attended, a student replied, "I do not know; I never attend it." "Do you not think it well," he was asked, "for young men preparing for the ministry to attend a meeting where free prayer is offered?" He replied, "I prefer read prayers." Such was the tone of the institution at that time. And some of the graduates came out either unpracticed in making free prayers or unwilling to make them.

SECTION 2. THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE MINISTRY.

The Mercersburg theology had, as we have seen, been bringing into prominence the idea that the minister is a priest, and making that office of Christ the central and most important

*Autobiography, pages 448-9.

†He claimed that he and his charge had the right to say where their money should go.

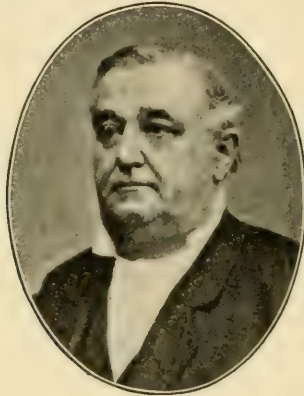
of the three offices of Christ (prophet, priest and king). With it came, of course, its correlatives, the altar and the sacrifice, without which the doctrine of the priesthood is incomplete. Dr. Nevin, soon after he developed Mercersburg views, had severely attacked Rev. H. A. Boardman, D.D., for his sermon before the Presbyterian General Assembly on "The Prophetical Office of the Minister," in which he made the prophetical office the central one and denied the priestly office of the ministry, saying "Christ was the true high-priest and not the minister." The high views of Mercersburg on the priestliness of the ministry in course of time led the old Reformed to reassert the old view of the ministry, that the prophetical office was central and not the priestly. This was especially brought-out in a sermon by Dr. Bomberger at the funeral of Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, D.D., Sr., October 22, 1866, where he says "Ministers are only priests in the sense that all members of the Church are priests."

The *Mercersburg Review* took great exception to this sermon because Dr. Bomberger had been sent to that funeral as the official representative of the Eastern synod, and because he used that occasion to refer to Dr. Helffenstein's Old Reformed views of doctrine, especially on the ministry, which were that it was a prophetic, not a priestly office. Dr. Bomberger was right in stating that, for such were Helffenstein's views. However, his severe attack on the priestly views held by Mercersburg caused a sensation. Dr. Harbaugh, in reviewing severely Bomberger's Address, says that Helffenstein disapproved and condemned Berg's opposition to Mercersburg theology. (In this he is in error, for the classical records reveal that Helffenstein always voted with Berg and for him even down to his dismissal to the Dutch Church.—A.) Harbaugh also criticised Bomberger for saying that the minister in his priesthood is like the members. He says that a minister is a member of the Church is true, but that a member is a minister is new.

It was, however, the inaugural address of Prof. Jeremiah H. Good on his entrance into the professorship of dogmatics and practical theology at Tiffin, July 1, 1870, that gave this subject new prominence. His subject was: "The Christian Ministry."

He defined the ministry as an "order of men, instituted by God, called of Christ, fitted with proper gifts by the Holy Spirit, designed to be in perpetual succession in God's own way until the end of the world. He denied, however, the position of Mercersburg theology that

the office of the ministry flows directly from the Lord Jesus Christ as the fruit of his resurrection and triumphant ascension to heaven. For it was before his resurrection that he had called the twelve to be ministers and prepared them, as he had also the seventy. Again, when Mercersburg bring Ephesians 4: 11-13 as a formal statement of the instituting of ministerial gifts, he says that Paul is there describing not the different orders of the Church, but the gracious gifts of the Saviour. He also takes issue with them, when he says, "How expressly our forefathers repudiated the notion that ministers were an order of mediating priests between Christian people and God, is shown by the



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Second Helvetic Confession" (chapter 19), which he quotes. The Heidelberg Catechism teaches (answer 32) the priesthood of all believers. It nowhere gives the slightest idea of priests of another sort, but calls them ministers (which means servants), not priests. He quotes the two Helvetic Confessions to prove that ordination is the confirming of a call to office and not a channel of supernatural official endowment for the work of the ministry. The Reformed, with this idea of ordination, would be compelled to answer "No" to the ordination formula of the Order. Dr. Nevin says in his "Vindication" that the Old Reformed view of the ministry was but "a mimicry,—the pow-wow of Pagan superstition." He replies that as Nevin had been ordained by the Presbyterians, who held such low views of ordination, his ordination therefore, according to his own words, was only "a pow-wow of a Pagan superstition," and a mocking of high heaven. Dr. Good quotes Ebrard and Heppe, two of the leading Reformed theologians of Germany, as proving his views. The Order goes beyond even the Episcopal prayer-book by requiring the person ordained to say he expects to receive by ordination the gift of the Holy Ghost. But the work of the Christian

ministry is a diaconate, which means service and from which we have the Latin word ministry. If then the ministry is a service, is it manward or Godward. Are they servants of God or servants of the Church? It has been asserted by Mercersburg that they stand over and above the people as a higher order. But they are not set over the Church as lords; their lives, however, are to be in the truest sense a servanthip of believers, even as Christ came not to be ministered unto but to minister. The ministry has a fourfold office, (1) of the Word, (2) of the sacraments, (3) of discipline, (4) of government, which he briefly develops.

The editor of the *Mercersburg Review* criticises Dr. Good's views of the ministry in this Inaugural Address. He says his views of the ministry ignore the sacramental. He can not agree with him that the sacraments address themselves to man in the same way as the preaching of the Word. He also criticises him for saying the minister is not a priest. Dr. Good's address is contradictory, now calling the ministry an office and now denying it. However, he endorses much in the address.

Dr. Good replies* to Fisher, showing from the Reformed confessions that the minister's office is a prophetic office and not a priestly. Dr. Fisher had criticised him for saying that there was nothing more in the sacrament than there was in the Word of God. (This brings out the distinction between the high-churchman and the low-churchman. The former places the sacraments above the Word of God, the latter places the Bible and sacraments as equal, or, as the Heidelberg Catechism states it, the sacraments are confirmatory of the Word. Answer 65.—4.) Dr. Good asks, will Dr. Fisher tell what this is, of which there is more in the sacrament than in the Word. Is it grace, regeneration, forgiveness of sin, justification, sanctification:—all of these are exhibited in the Word. Fisher says that all three offices of the minister (prophetic, priestly, kingly) have been prominent in the Reformed Church. If so, why did Dr. Fisher, who helped to draw up our constitution in 1840, omit any trace of the priestly function or of the threefold division in article 2 of the constitution?

As an illustration of the extreme to which the priesthood of the ministry was pushed by some of the Mercersburg men we give the following:

The *Lutheran Observer*† and also the *Christian Intelligencer*‡ had had an article, signed 'Aleph' and entitled 'Legitimate Fruits of Nevinism.' This article was given to that paper by a Lutheran minister in whose union church the event occurred about two years before.

**Reformed Church Monthly*, 1870.

†June 24, 1853.

‡August 25, 1853.

It says, speaking of a newly-fledged theologian of the Mercersburg type, that there had been a revival in the Lutheran Church when this man was called to preach a funeral sermon. (He evidently believed very strongly in their doctrine of the "priesthood of the ministry."—A.) He took advantage of the circumstances to refer to the fact that there were a large number of anxious souls among his hearers. In order to assist them more easily to accomplish their aspirations for eternal life, he extended both his hands over the congregation and in a solemn and impressive manner said, "I know that a number of you are deeply concerned for your soul's salvation,—that you feel the burden of your sins. I therefore, in virtue of the office I bear, herewith absolve you from all your sins." And then, shaking his finger very significantly at them, added, "if you don't believe this, you have fallen from grace."

This youth, says the *Observer*, acted out honestly the views he had been taught at Mercersburg. Rev. Mr. Rupley took the *Observer* to task for this account and demanded the name of the author. He found that its author was Rev. Dr. Wedekind, one of the most prominent ministers of the Lutheran Church, who, however, refused to give the name of the minister who gave him the account. For this, Rupley severely attacks him and Wedekind severely replies. Wedekind gives affidavits (unsigned) in the *Lutheran Observer*, October, 1853, obtained from several persons substantiating the truth of his statements.

SECTION 3. THE EASTERN SYNOD OF 1870.

The first matter that came before this synod was the complaint of Dr. Fisher against Philadelphia classis about the teaching of theology in Ursinus college, as there were rumors that the teaching of theology would be begun there. Dr. Fisher, at Philadelphia classis (June 10, 1870), had called the attention of the classis to the provision of the constitution about professors of theology and declared that these provisions were openly violated by an advertised course of theology at Ursinus college. After a brief discussion, Dr. Bomberger moved that it be laid on the table. Fisher appealed from this. The difference between them was on this point: Bomberger claimed that all ministers were teachers of theology; Fisher claimed that the constitution recognized only those as teachers of theology who were elected by synod. He said the constitution recognized the teacher of theology as a separate office. This then became another issue between the two parties, the Old Reformed party claiming on the other hand that the pro-

fessor of theology was not a different office from that of the ministry. They claimed that such a distinction had no Scriptural basis and that it was contrary to the old custom of the Reformed Church, where the ministers had often instructed young men in theology and prepared them for the ministry, as had been done by Hendel, Becker and Herman.*

Heidelberg claimed† that the right for theological teaching in Ursinus college was based on the history of the Reformed Church in this country.

1. Many of the ministers of the Church had received their theological training privately. This right had never been repealed.

2. The word "may" in the article of the constitution means that a synod may establish a theological seminary, but it does not say "must."

3. Every minister has a right to establish a college, seminary, female college, etc. There is nothing in all this forbidding ministers teaching theology. The Mission House at Wisconsin was for ten years a private theological institution, yet had never been looked upon as irregular.‡ In Germany such private theological seminaries were considered proper and right. Again, high-church ministers teach theology privately. Dr. T. G. Apple, one of their leaders, studied privately under Rev. G. D. Wolf.

Dr. Fisher replied to the attacks.§ All ministers, he says, are teachers of theology but not in the sense used here. The constitution created the office of teacher of theology and prescribed how individuals can be invested with it. The constitution would not have done all this if it had intended to allow a minister to teach at will. Another answer was made to the high-church argument by a low-churchman that this article of the constitution related only to those institutions that are under the direct care of the Church and not to others, such as Ursinus.||

Such was the discussion before the synod met. At the synod the complaint of Fisher was heard and synod (which had been giving decisions favorable to the high-churchmen right along, so that the low-churchmen felt by this time that they

*See pages 12-20.

†*Reformed Church Monthly*, August, 1870.

‡This statement is not quite correct, as the Mission House was under the control of the Sheboygan classis from the beginning. But it was correct in this, that it was not under the direct care of a synod for that length of time, and its professors had not been elected by the synod, which was the demand of the Mercersburg men, who denied that a classis had the right to found a seminary.

§*Messenger*, August 3, 1870.

||*Reformed Church Monthly*, 1870.

could not get any recognition or justice from the synod) sustained it against the classis. Its resolution was that the synod did not in this decision intend to pass upon the merits of the particular points involved in the case, but simply returned the subject to the classis with instructions to take it up and dispose of it in the regular way. So action was taken only on the action of Philadelphia classis in refusing to hear Fisher and not on the merits of the case. It was sent back to Philadelphia classis for reconsideration.

The committee of synod (of which Dr. Nevin was chairman) appointed to examine the German translation of the Order of Worship made under the direction of East Pennsylvania classis, reported it highly creditable to the source from which it came. But at the same time they were of the opinion that it does not come up fully to the style and tone which is needed to make the liturgy what it ought to be for our foreign German Church, and, therefore, the committee reported that they could not sanction its publication. The synod then, at the request of East Pennsylvania classis, appointed a committee to improve it and to have it published. Another important action of the synod was its decision to remove the theological seminary from Mercersburg to Lancaster.

SECTION 4. FRITSCHER'S REVIEW OF MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY.

Probably the most trenchant criticism ever made of Mercersburg theology was made by Rev. Prof. G. Fritschel, of the Wartburg (Missouri) Theological Seminary of the Lutheran Church. In him Dr. Nevin found a foe worthy of his steel.* He makes three points against Nevinism:

(1) It is not in harmony with Calvin's views even though Nevin so asserts.

(2) It is Lutheran rather than Reformed in its doctrines.

(3) Its doctrines were contradictory to each other, especially those of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

1. His statement of Dr. Nevin's departure from Calvin's views is very clear. Calvin, he says, does not make baptism a means of grace,

*His review of Nevin's theology was published in the *Theological Monthly* (1870-71) of Brobst, at Allentown.

but only a sign and seal of that grace. But Mercersburg theology makes baptism a means of grace:—baptism is the objective communication of the heavenly grace. In baptism there is a real transplanting from the kingdom of Satan to the kingdom of Christ. But the old Reformed doctrine of the covenant-relation of the child was that (according to 1 Corinthians 7: 14) the children of believing parents stand in themselves in communion with God,—that from birth they are included in a special act of grace of God in the covenant—that through birth they are in the sphere of grace, that baptism only confirms this and that out of it they go to conscious sin. But this old Reformed view, the Mercersburg theology sets aside. It claims that the doctrine of original sin makes even the children of believing parents to be in a state of condemnation, out of which they must be taken to be placed in a state of grace by an act of grace, namely, baptism, if they are ever to receive eternal life.

Again, the Mercersburg view holds that baptism is not only a transplanting into Christ, but also that by it forgiveness of sin is given. Thus, the doctrine of forgiveness is connected with baptismal grace; and repentance and absolution are nothing else than a use of baptism and a continual return to the grace given once for all in baptism. This, however, is different from Calvin's view, which disconnected forgiveness from baptism because of his view of predestination. He placed forgiveness in connection with the eternal decree rather than with baptism. Mercersburg also held that with forgiveness came the communication of a new and spiritual life. As Adam's life comes down to us, so Christ's is imparted to us. Baptism is the bath of regeneration. It includes the root of all the powers of the new life. The will of men and their condition (that is their faith) does not condition baptism. The inward grace goes with the outward use of the water. Water alone is not baptism. Baptism is the union of the visible sign with the invisible grace. Baptism is thus a vehicle of grace.

Again, on the Lord's Supper, Nevin's views were not Calvin's. Mercersburg theology made Christ's humanity to be present in the Lord's Supper in and through which he makes us partakers of the divine nature,*—this humanity being a rich inexhaustible fountain, which causes the life to stream over to us. But Calvin, though he uses language which may lead to this meaning, in other places denies ever eating of the substance of the body and blood of Christ as Mercersburg asserts. His constant teaching is that the body of Christ is far from us in heaven instead of being in the Lord's Supper, as Mercersburg declares. Calvin holds that only by the lifting up of the mind to heaven is there any enjoyment of the strength of the body of Christ. And he claims that this lifting up of the mind can occur at other times than at the Lord's Supper. Even when our mind is lifted up, there is nothing more than a streaming

**Mercersburg Review*, 1867, page 365.

forth of strength from his body, just as the warmth of the sun streams out. This is no communication of his life. Just as when Jesus healed the woman with an issue of blood, it was not the substance of his life that went out of his body; so neither does this substance proceed out of his body at the Lord's Supper. The body of Christ is in heaven, far from the Lord's Supper. And the substance of Christ's body is in no way received by mouth or spiritually. To prove this, Fritschel quotes Calvin's Institutes, Vol. IV, 17, 32, against Nevin's view. Calvin teaches the real communication of Christ's body, as did Zwingli. Even Nevin himself seems to feel that his views are not those of Calvin, for he grants that Calvin's is not a satisfactory statement; for speaking of Calvin's requirement to lift our minds to Christ in heaven at the Lord's Supper, he says, "the attempt which is made to bring the two parties together, notwithstanding such vast separation in space, must be allowed to be somewhat awkward and violent."

Fritschel says Nevin has three points on which he hopes to make Calvin's doctrine clearer than Calvin did and therefore he adds to Calvin.

The first is a view, taken from Fichte, who suggested that the personality or the true inner essence of the body lay in the identity of the ground-form of the body and not in the changing material particles. This view Nevin applies to Christ. His material body and blood are not communicated to us, but his inner real substance—the organic law of the human body.

A second addition of Nevin to Calvin is the emphasis laid on the absolute unity of the divine-human person of Christ. Instead of divinity and humanity being distinct, though united in his person; all, body, soul and divinity, are united in the indivisible life.

His third addition to Calvin is his philosophic realism, on which Nevin founds his view. In each sphere of life the universal and the individual are bound close together in the same subject, as for instance in the vegetable world. This Fritschel denies. The Lutheran Church denied the philosophic statement of the relations of the two natures in Christ as to his presence in the Lord's Supper. It simply accepts the Biblical statement. Nevin rejects as insufficient Calvin's view that the eating of the Lord's Supper is communicated by faith to the soul. The real communication, says Nevin, is from the center of Christ's life to the center of our life.

2. The second point that Fritschel makes is that Nevin had become Lutheranizing. Unlike the Reformed, Mercersburg theology places high value on the Church and the sacraments,—"Christianity is sacramental."

Nevin places forgiveness in connection with baptism as the Lutherans do. Fritschel rejoices that among the Reformed, one is found who holds

the Lutheran view,—that baptism is a fundamental doctrine—the bath of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit. He also rejoices that in the Lord's Supper, Nevin corrects the error of the Reformed theology by emphasizing the unity of the natures of Christ. In speaking of Nevin's doctrine of baptism, Fritschel says, "What a joy it would be for the whole Lutheran world if the Reformed and all Protestants teach that baptism is the bath of regeneration. He thus claims that Nevin virtually taught Lutheran doctrine"—that Nevin in all these views is like the Lutheran theologians as Nicolai.*

3. The third point that Fritschel makes is that Nevin is contradictory in his own doctrine, that his doctrine of baptism and of the Lord's Supper contradict each other.

Nevin holds in regard to baptism that by it the child is implanted into Christ. He emphasizes the power of the objective activity in that sacrament. Whether Paul or Simon Magus is baptized, the sacrament is the same baptism,—is itself the vehicle of grace. But here appears Nevin's contradiction. What he grants in baptism, he denies in the Lord's Supper. Faith, according to Nevin, does not affect the efficacy of baptism because it has objective force (here he takes Lutheran ground). And yet, when Nevin comes to the Lord's Supper, he requires faith. He says we are not participants of Christ's body and blood through the eating and drinking except through faith. This is the old Reformed position, which Nevin gives up in regard to baptism. All the benefits of Christ are received only through faith. "Why," Fritschel asks, "does Mercersburg disown in the Lord's Supper what it says belong to baptism,—that faith is necessary in the one and not in the other? Why is there not the same relation between the outward act and the inward grace in both sacraments? Why must faith mediate the benefits in the Lord's Supper and not in baptism? Why does it deny that in the Lord's Supper the communication of the body and blood goes with the outward means. Nevin calls this separation of the water from the inward transaction at baptism a Gnostic view. But does he not come under this Gnostic delusion himself by sundering them in the Lord's Supper and requiring faith. There is therefore a breach, a dissonance, an inconsistency in the Mercersburg theology. If Mercersburg holds to baptismal grace it ought to hold to oral manducation.†

Dr. Apple‡ comments on Fritschel's statements that the Mercersburg theology was Lutheran. He refers to Zwingli's low view of the sacra-

*An article by Prof. Krauth, of the Lutheran Theological seminary in Philadelphia, published in the *Mercersburg Review* (1871), in which he reviewed Dr. Hodge on Infant Baptism, also stated that Mercersburg theology was Lutheran rather than Reformed.

†Receiving Christ's body through the mouth at the Lord's Supper.

‡*Messenger*, November 23, 1870.

ments and shows that the Mercersburg view is not Zwinglian. And then by quotations from Calvin and other authorities, he shows that it is not just consistent with any of these, but is fully Lutheran and sometimes even a little more than Lutheran. We cannot, says Dr. Apple, but agree with him, when he says that Calvin's expressions on the sacrament, while they are sound and Scriptural, yet in a sense are often slippery; and we are quite willing to admit that the Reformed symbols generally have a tendency to escape the full Scriptural presentation of the nature of the sacraments. That the Mercersburg views on this subject have approached Lutheranism only proves that Mercersburg is not a mere re-pristination of the Reformed theology of the Reformation, but an advance toward overcoming the antithesis between the Lutheran and the Reformed faith of the Reformation. This only shows the Catholic spirit of the Mercersburg theology. Apple adds that the main point turns on Prof. Fritschel's view of the relation of the outward to the inward in the sacrament. The Reformed were inclined, he says, to separate these two: so as not to allow to the sacrament the full character of a means of grace. The inward transaction—the grace of the sacrament was made to run parallel with the outward sign and symbol, but not to come into full sacramental union with it. We grant this tendency in the Reformed faith, which Mercersburg has aimed to correct.”

Dr. Williard quickly took advantage of Apple's admission that Mercersburg theology was an advance, but an advance toward Lutheranism, not toward other denominations. (Apple had been attacking the Evangelical Alliance severely.)

Dr. Good also takes up the matter and says that Mercersburg theology was not truly Reformed, although Fisher used to claim it was. But it tended toward Lutheranism and even beyond it, toward Romanism. Apple had granted that their theology aimed to correct what was wrong in the Reformed theology, when it separated too much the outward and inward in the sacraments. When Apple did this, he gave up what distinguished the Reformed from the Lutheran. He says over against Apple that the Reformed tend to a union of the outward and inward in the sacraments but the Lutherans tend to a conjunction. Lutherans hold to a corporeal conjunction between the sign and the thing signified existing in one mass and at the same time and place. The Reformed hold that the sacramental union is not corporeal or in the presence of the sign and the thing signified in the same place, but it is relative and consists of two things:

1. In a likeness or correspondence between the sign and the thing.
2. In the joint exhibition of sign and thing signified.

Apple he says, now admits what their opponents had claimed,—that Mercersburg theology was Lutheranizing. What had Fisher now to say.*

*Dr. Fisher had always claimed that Mercersburg theology was old Reformed doctrine.

Dr. Apple then tries to draw in under cover, for he says that Mercersburg theology agrees with the Lutheran, but he says there is a difference. The Lutheran Church teaches that after Christ's ascension, Christ's humanity passes into full endowment of his divinity and that the right hand of God to which he ascended was everywhere. But Mercersburg distinguishes between the presence of Christ's humanity at the right hand of God and his presence in the sacraments, though it maintains that the latter was no less real than the former.

SECTION 5. THE PERVERSIONS TO ROME AND TO THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1870-73).

We have already seen that there had been some perversions to Rome in the years gone by, as Snively and Stewart. But now we come to an era of them lasting till 1873 and later. We have noticed that just about the time of the General Synod of 1869, Rev. Mr. Stewart went over to Rome. In March, 1870, Rev. J. H. Wagner went over to the Catholic Church. The *Messenger* tried to lessen the force of this perversion by publishing a letter of Rev. A. H. Kremer, our pastor at Lancaster, whose church Wagner had attended. Kremer says he had had an interview with Wagner before he went over to Rome urging him not to do so. He also said that Wagner had had an interview with Dr. Nevin, who gave him arguments against the Catholic Church. The Old Reformed party seized on this perversion as another proof of the Romanizing character of Mercersburg theology.

Dr. Williard said that Wagner was one of the most thorough-bred of the Mercersburg men educated under Nevin, and had defended Mercersburgism at the General Synod of 1866. The *Christian World* tried to cast discredit on high-churchism by saying that Wagner was a faithful attendant at Kremer's Church, where the liturgy was in full force. Wagner may have talked with Nevin, who may have dissuaded him, but his previous tendency, begotten from Nevin, was too strong and he followed it into the Catholic Church.

Stern adds fuel to the controversy. He says he had sent a Mr. Reine-man to Mercersburg twenty-five years before. Though but a preparatory student, he imbibed views so that he soon went over to Rome. While pastor in Pennsylvania, he had sent a Mr. Knecht there for but one session's study in the preparatory school. He returned home telling all around that he would never return, because the rector of the preparatory department tried to convince him of the propriety of the worship

of Mary. A Mr. Aaron Christman who was sent to Mercersburg to study for the ministry, returned home (1850) a high-church Episcopalian. He also said that the German congregation at Waukon, Iowa, had just withdrawn from our Church because of the theology of Nevinism, the congregation being composed mainly of Reformed settlers from Lippe in Germany.

The *Christian World** notes another perversion to Rome, Professor Budd of the Franklin and Marshall college. J. W. S. in *Messenger* tried to defend Budd's case by saying that he was of Quaker blood and that as he was not a member of the Reformed Church the perversion could not therefore be charged to Nevinism.

Dr. Good replies that if it be true, as J. W. S. says, that Budd never had any faith in Protestantism and did not like the Reformed Church, it is strange he ever was elected as professor in one of her institutions. J. W. S. said that if there is any Romanizing tendency it could not come from the college but from some other quarter. Good asks, "Does he mean to deny that Nevin was so nearly gone to Rome that his family begged the interference of other ministers." This statement is made, he says, on the authority of Prof. M. Kieffer. What does he mean by the other quarters? Does he refer to Mercersburg† as Romanizing.

J. W. S.‡ says that of 470 graduates only two had gone to Rome. One-fourth of the students of the college were of other denominations.

He replied to Good's attacks on Snively's early perversion by calling his article "The Lamentations of Jeremiah," playing on Dr. Good's first name.

Dr. Good says "colleges ought to be careful about their professors, as their going over to Rome has a far-reaching influence." His conviction of the Romish tendency of Mercersburg theology is however based not so much on the number of persons going to Rome as on its theological basis.

By October, the Church was startled at the news of three more perversions to Rome. Ermentrout, Wolff and Wm. Philips.

A writer in the *Messenger* expresses surprise that they should go to Rome now, since its adoption of the new dogma of papal infallibility, against which Dollinger and the old Catholics were protesting. He tries to excuse their act by saying that Ermentrout had not been in the active ministry for some time past, and Wolff not for a year. Ermentrout, he says, was one of the young men infected some twenty years ago with the first Romanizing tendency, and he had done more by sophistical and skeptical quibbles to unsettle and disturb the minds of later students

*May 18, 1871.

†The Theological seminary was still at Mercersburg.

‡*Messenger*, June 28.

than any other man known to us. Both have suffered from the poisonous inoculation of the Church some twenty years ago. And it can not be worse for the Church for them to go where they belong. Such views are not Reformed and any one holding them can better be spared than retained. Our catechism denounces the mass as "an accursed idolatry," and it is idolatry or heresy for any Reformed to turn Papist. We must, however, preserve the middle course, neither fall back in alarm at our present advance of truth into negative forms of belief, or to go blindly into abject bondage to popery; but to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. We should not be despondent. The loss of a few men can not destroy the Church.

The Old Reformed party were not slow in taking advantage of these new defections.

Dr. Good has an article* on Wolff's defection, saying that he was prominent as a leader among the Mercersburg men. At the Eastern synod of 1869 he was chairman of the committee on the state of the Church and in his report he extols the Eastern liturgy to the skies and stigmatizes his opponents as of an infidel spirit. Like Wagner, who had preceded him to Rome, he was the son of a Reformed minister, yes of a professor in her theological seminary. Dr. Good severely arraigns Dr. Nevin as the father of these perversions, saying that Nevin for years has been warning his students against rationalism and Puritanism but never once against Romanism. Yet the latter has been deeper in its heresies as in the immaculate conception and the infallibility of the pope. Nevin had abandoned the principle of Protestantism, justification by faith on the basis of Christ's righteousness, and had substituted justification by baptism on the ground of the incarnation.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* says "that the defections to Rome and Episcopacy included some eight or ten ministers of our Church, besides five sons of professors and presidents of college (two sons of Nevin and two of Kieffer), a professor at Lancaster, a niece and nephew of Dr. Apple and others, of whose relationship we can not speak." The *Christian World* says of W. Phillips and Brettel, who had also left our Church for the Episcopal that they had been the most brilliant preachers of the Mercersburg party.

In the Church papers, Dr. Bausman explained their defection as due to a one-sided investigation and Dr. Russell, to theological dyspepsia. Dr. Ruetenik,† in commenting on the perverts, says "A high-churchman went so far in a synodical sermon as to say that the Romish Church was in the right in the Reformation struggle by defending the principle of Church authority. The same individual conducted the examination of

**Christian World*, October 12.

†*Evangelist*, November 2, 1871.

the candidate, Mr. St——. To the question whether he received the Heidelberg Catechism, he answered "Yes," except the 80th question; and contrary to the constitution his answer was received as satisfactory. We were present, he says, when the candidate V. H. was examined and in opposition to the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism he affirmed and admitted that he himself believed that Christ is also according to his human nature everywhere present. It will now be less difficult for him to bow before the consecrated host and worship it. Another who belonged to this class of students and was once on the verge of going over to Rome, but afterwards came to a better conclusion, affirmed that not a single Mercersburger could preach the Gospel with a clear conscience in a Protestant communion."

The *Reformed Church Review's* attack on this article of Dr. Ruetenik led the latter to reply* that he might tell of a Mercersburg candidate who once disputed with a Reformed minister in favor of popery and so denounced Evangelical religion that his own father was constrained to say, "You seem to be like one who calls his mother a harlot."

The Reformed Church Monthly gives a list of the Romanizing books that had been commended to the theological students at Mercersburg and said when these books were recommended, was there an antidote suggested, as Russel's "Catholicism and Protestantism Compared" to offset Balmes' work or Bacon's "Two Sides" against the "Poor Man's Catechism."

Gans tried to show that the perversions were not due to Mercersburg theology but to Tiffin theology. It was so one-sided in its attacks on Mercersburg theology that it led these men to react and go to the other extreme. He called Tiffin theology a negative theology. Against this statement the *Christian World* protests. It replied that if its article has hastened the departure of Ermentrout and Wolff, it was not sorry. It was better that they should be where their hearts were (in the Catholic Church rather than in the Reformed).

Several communications appeared in the *Messenger* in the early part of 1872, which seemed to shift the blame of these apostasies from Nevin to Schaff. This called forth a protest of Dr. Schaff.† He said he had done his thinking openly before the world from 1844 to 1871 through his publications and he had made no change in his principles or standpoint. Thus this effort to make Schaff the scapegoat instead of Nevin failed.

*February 7, 1872.

†*Messenger*, February 21, 1872.

(Dr. Schaff, in his inaugural address (1871), as professor at Union Theological seminary, New York, spoke out positively for Protestantism. It is a pity he had not spoken out so boldly in his earlier days. He had evidently gotten over his earlier aberrations and now defended the Reformation. He now declared the opposite of what he then granted,—that he did not believe that Protestantism tended to division and dissolution. His former pessimism about Protestantism in its present form had now given way to optimism.—A.)

Dr. Bomberger takes the side of Schaff against Fisher, saying that Schaff is not to be held responsible for the Romanizing tendencies in our Church. He was swayed by influences back of himself. More than once, as at the synods of 1862 and 1866, he gave utterance to sentiments that showed that although a strong current was sweeping him along in its course, yet he was aware of its dangerous tendency.

The *Christian World*, however, says that Schaff was not free from blame, for he was identified with Mercersburg theology and contributed to it by his influence. But Schaff never went in his writings to the full length, as Nevin did in "Early Christianity" or in his tract on the liturgy. Nor has he ever expressed any doubt in regard to Protestantism as others have done.

We might add to all this, after a careful study of the subject for years, that the decidedly Romanizing tendency came from Nevin, although Schaff was fond of high-church forms and in his "Principle of Protestantism" and other works expressed some dangerous views. Also in his advice to students at Mercersburg about reading Catholic books he exerted a very unfortunate influence.

Hardly had the astonishment caused by these perversions to Rome abated than the Church was surprised to learn that another leader of the Mercersburg party, Rev. Mr. Giesy, had gone over to the Episcopal Church.

The *Messenger** announces Giesy's departure to Episcopacy, that he had applied to Maryland classis for a dismissal and that classis had granted it, although some of them knew that it would not be recognized by that Church. The classis did wrong, it says, in granting a paper that could not be recognized. It humiliated our Church. Their action was without precedent. The constitution says that dismissal shall be given to ministers *called* elsewhere. Giesy had been without a field for a year.

*February 7.

Maryland classis, in dismissing Giesy, tried to guard itself by saying that it did not mean by its action to express any doubt as to the validity of any action growing therefrom nor did it mean to acknowledge the peculiar claims of the Protestant Episcopal Church in respect to its ministry.

The *Christian World*,* speaking of Giesy's perversion, asks if he renounces his ministerial character (this is implied by the fact that he had to be re-ordained by the bishop) as a Reformed minister, why does he hold on to his degree of D.D.? How could he be a D.D. if he is not a minister? Or where was his degree of D.D. during the time between his departure from our Church and his re-ordination in the Episcopal Church?

The *Christlicher Botschafter*, the organ of the Evangelical Association, makes merry over the re-ordination of Giesy by the Episcopalians, because the Reformed had once treated them in this way in the case of Dr. Gehr, whom the Reformed had re-ordained, because they said he came not from a church but from a sect—the Evangelical Association. It says the Episcopalian Church now regards the Reformed as a sect.

The *Christian World*, speaking of Giesy's going over to Episcopacy, says it thinks of Hudson, Geiger, W. Phillips and Hartman who had also gone there. And to Rome had gone Snively, Stewart, Ermentrout and Wolff. Mercersburg theology had driven Berg and Mesick to the Dutch, E. H. Nevin, Vaughn and Samuel Philips to the Presbyterians. The *Reformed Church Monthly* also refers to "the rapidly thinning front rank of Mercersburg."

On Easter Sunday, 1872, there were four more perversions, as three young men of the senior class of Franklin and Marshall college, together with Mr. Zahner, a theological student, were received into the Episcopal Church, the latter forsaking our Church after it had spent \$1,200 on his education.

Philadelphia classis (1872) appointed a committee to inquire into the recent perversions to Rome. Its report gives as the causes:

1. That the Church had disparaged Protestantism and elevated the Early Church.

2. Some of the distinctive Reformed doctrines and usages had been assailed.

3. Some of the leading errors of popery defended.

4. The affirmations of Wolff, etc., that these things led them to Rome.

The vote on this report was 28 yeas to 7 nays, 2 non-committal. A motion was made to publish this report in the *Mes-*

*April 10, 1873.

senger, *Reformed Church Monthly* and *Christian World*. Dr. Fisher rose and declared it would not be published in the *Messenger*, as he did not publish controversial articles. Yet at the same time he was publishing Gan's articles on absolution, which were very objectionable to the Old Reformed party.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* says two Catholic papers are now edited by former Reformed ministers, the *Catholic Standard*, by G. D. Wolff, and the *United States Catholic Register*, by Stewart. The former has an article in his paper on Nevinism, in which Ermentrout charges Nevinism with leading to Rome. Speaking of Philip's defection, he says:

"His transition was not the result of transient excitement or of a hastily formed resolution. Through a period of eighteen years, his mind had been more or less exercised on what used to be called the Church Question. Through the dimly-lighted bleak regions of Puritanism he wandered for a time, but soon emerged out of its darkness into the healthier, clearer atmosphere of what is known as Mercersburg theology, the Ajax of which—the well-known Dr. John W. Nevin—in his happier years did so much to remove from the public mind the prejudices against the Romish Church that encrusted it and by his suggestive writings to occasion conversions to her authority.

The author has also a private letter written by Rev. Robert Nevin, son of Dr. Nevin, to a friend, Rev. K——, who states that his conversion to the Episcopal Church was the result of the teaching of his father's theology. Thus these perverts all unite in charging their perversions to Mercersburg theology.

The effect on our Church of these perversions was sobering. Nevin himself finally comes out more decidedly against Romanism than he had done for many years. He attacks* the Catholic rule of faith that

"They put an infallible Church instead of an infallible Bible. They put the Church as an outward authority before Christian faith and its supernatural object, which makes the Church the middle term between Christ and the true believer. This can not be harmonized with the New Testament and does violence to the inmost sanctuary of religious conscience."

But still he tries to occupy a sort of mediating position between Protestantism and Catholicism, for he continues:

**Messenger*, February 21.

“The Catholic theory is as little tenable as that which makes the Bible to be the basis. I can not put either the Church or the Bible in place of Christ. The Bible does not give authority to Christ but Christ to the Bible. Neither does the Church authenticate Christ but Christ authenticates the Church.”

All this seems to be correct, but there is confusion and fallacy in it. The Bible, we remark, does give authority to Christ, for we would know nothing about Christ but from the Bible. Only as Christ is known through the Bible does he have authority to give. But it is interesting to notice that Nevin is beginning to hedge on his former extreme positions. This he can now the more easily do, for since 1855 the Catholic Church had taken a great step farther from Protestantism by proclaiming the pope infallible. It seems strange that after this additional heresy, ministers like Ermentrout and Wolff and others were not kept from going over to the Catholic Church. But the logic of their earlier training was too much for them.

Nevin, in *Mercersburg Review* for 1874 on “The Old Catholic Movement” again comes out against Rome:

Arguing against Bishop Coxe, he says, “he does not hold that the Cyprianic theory of the Church should be of binding force to the Christian world now, so that Protestantism must be charged with error in proportion exactly as it fails to comport with this primitive standard or rule. Christianity as it stood in the age of Cyprian can by no means be taken as a safe pattern of what Christianity should be in the present age or as the true ideal of what the Christian world must reach after to solve in time to come the problem of Christian unity.” (How different all this is from Dr. Nevin in his articles on Cyprian in 1852.—A.)

Dr. Bomberger says:* “One can now see a gradual change, one can read the word Evangelical in their articles. The *Reformed Church Monthly* (1876) says Ermentrout belonged to the class of 1848, Schnebly to the class of 1850, Albert and Christman to class of 1851, Stewart to class of 1852. Appell, in the history of the seminary, 1875, says: “History was attended with some loss” (some loss?—ten or fifteen ministers, including sons of professors—A.).

**Reformed Church Monthly*, 1875.

SECTION 6. THE EASTERN SYNOD OF 1871.

The Eastern synod had had a special meeting July 12 at Lancaster, at which Dr. Higbee resigned as professor in the seminary. Rev. T. G. Apple was elected professor of Church history in his stead. (Thus Dr. Apple becomes professor and Gans' Tercentenary professorship never materialized.) The



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nomination was in open synod and not by a committee, as in the previous election, which had caused some controversy. A communication was received from several German ministers asking for a professor to suit the wants of the German part of our Church. Though only a communication, the action of synod in regard to this was the opposite of their treatment of the communication from the Myerstown convention at the Eastern synod of 1867 or of the memorialists at the General Synod of 1869. They received it respectfully.

The regular meeting of the Eastern synod in the fall of 1871 was looked forward to with great interest because it was expected that it would take some action on the perversions of

Wolff and Ermentrout to the Catholic Church. The synod took action and ordered the classes to which they belonged to proceed against them in discipline. It also appointed a committee (T. G. Apple chairman) to bring in a paper giving the views of the synod on the situation. This committee reported that the synod deeply deplored the perversion of these men from the faith. They could not rest simply with an expression of sorrow; but, recognizing the danger of the Church from rationalism and infidelity, they deemed it necessary to utter a solemn protest in a calm and solid argument against Rome. The theology of our Church as taught by our denomination is soundly Protestant. Our Church holds firmly to the Heidelberg Catechism.

The perversion of these men seems to have sobered the eastern part of the Church. The synod is here more outspoken for Protestant truth than it had been since Mercersburg theology began. The *Messenger* declared the report a masterly vindication of Protestantism. The Old Reformed, however, said it virtually condemned the teaching of their own theological seminary.

Dr. Bomberger says it is remarkable as not containing any thrust at the old doctrines of the Reformed Church, which is quite in contrast with the liturgical report of 1862 or Gerhart's attack on the Evangelical Alliance. He says it gave true importance to the Reformation, which Mercersburg had hitherto been unwilling to do. Mercersburg had claimed that the Church of the future would be a union of Rome and Protestantism, but there was nothing of this in the report.

The committee's report to synod suggested that a pastoral letter be drawn up by synod to be read in the churches. Zieber opposed this, for he said the reading of a pastoral letter might lead some in our churches to think there was something wrong in the Church. Evidently the synod had had enough experience with the previous pastoral letter in 1867 to be chary on the subject, so it was not adopted.*

*In the discussion on these resolutions L. D. Leberman denied the rumor that he intended going over to Rome and also denied another rumor about himself, that he never baptized children without first having obtained Catholic holy water.

Still the action of the synod was not a full answer to the charges that these perversions had been due to the teachings of Mercersburg theology.

The *Christian World* rejoiced that the Eastern synod so heartily endorsed the Heidelberg Catechism and Protestantism.

The report of the committee on minutes of classis called attention to North Carolina classis, which had taken severe action against Nevinism. The committee thought that their action called for censure because it was directed against our synod (they assumed that Nevinism and the doctrine of our Church was identical—A.). But the synod declined to acknowledge such identity by striking the suggestion of the committee from their report. This was quite different from what Nevin had claimed at Dayton when he said that the Eastern synod had endorsed Nevinism and also from what Apple had claimed on the basis of the action of the Eastern synod of 1864. Quite a discussion arose on the Terecentenary professorship and the German professorship, which revealed some interesting facts. At Reading, in 1864, the convention had appropriated \$16,000 for the Terecentenary professorship. But since then this Terecentenary fund had been added to the funds of the other endowments of the professor's chairs so as to raise their salaries from \$1,200 to \$1,500 annually. It was charged that this was a diversion of funds from their original purpose. This, however, was denied. But at any rate the action on a Terecentenary professor was tabled for a year.

The Germans sent a petition for a German professor in place of Higbee, as the previous professor of church history and languages had been a German (Schaff). They were dissatisfied that there was no German professor at Lancaster, as large amounts of money had been obtained for the Church nominally or avowedly for that purpose,* so a German conference was arranged for.

The German conference was held January 23, 1872, at Philadelphia. Dr. Gehr was appointed president and Pister,

*A plan was evolved to have a German faculty there, so as to satisfy the Germans.

secretary. It passed resolutions gratefully acknowledging the interest of the Eastern synod in the Germans and asked that they would proceed to elect a German professor as soon as the founding of the professorship was completed and that then they would take steps to get students from Germany,—then they would try to found a second professorship; but if that be found impracticable, to found their own seminary,—that the funds for the professorship be entrusted to a board of trustees chosen by the German portion of the synod and the German conference. They requested permission for German classes to be formed so as to organize a German synod.

The *Messenger*, in commenting on the resolutions, said that the resolution asking that the funds of the German professorship be transferred to trustees was asking what could not be legally done without violating its trust and making them liable to forfeiture. Many of the Old Reformed party looked with anxiety on this conference as an effort to detach the Germans from the low-church party. But this conference took such action about the care of the funds contributed by the Germans as the Mercersburg party would not agree to and so the Germans generally remained with the old Reformed as before.

SECTION 7. UNION WITH THE DUTCH (1871-2).

The Ohio synod had overtured the General Synod of 1866 for union with the Dutch Reformed Church. The committee of that synod to which the subject was referred brought in a favorable report, but it was amended, postponing the subject of union until the next General Synod. The Ohio and Northwestern synods then overtured the General Synod of 1869 to take favorable action toward union with the Dutch. But that body did not see its way clear to do so. Finally the Ohio synod became tired of waiting for General Synod and took matters into its own hands in 1870. Rev. Dr. Ferris, the secretary of the Dutch board of Home Missions, was present at the Ohio synod. He made an address on Foreign Missions and spoke of their sympathy with the Ohio synod, saying they would be glad to have a student from Tiffin in their foreign

field. The synod resolved to enter into correspondence with the Dutch and appointed delegates.

Dr. Reiter attended the next General Synod of the Dutch Church (1871) and made an address. The Dutch Church then took action to enter into correspondence with the Ohio synod and with North Carolina classis. A substitute to this was offered by a minister, who had formerly been in the German Reformed Church,—that the officers of General Synod be appointed to confer with our General Synod on the subject instead of with the Ohio synod. But his amendment was voted down. Their General Synod appointed Dr. Peltz delegate to the Ohio synod and Dr. Ganse and Elder Schefflin to North Carolina classis.

When this became known to the Mercersburg men in the East, bitter attacks began to appear in the *Messenger*.

That paper* says that the *Christian World*, the organ of the Ohio synod, had sold itself and the whole Reformed Church to the Dutch. The editor of the *Messenger*† wrote on the latest tendency as the “new Dutch Crusade.” He opposes union with the Dutch because of the differences between the Dutch and the German Churches,—the difference in their customs as in the Lord’s Supper and in their creeds, as on the five points of Calvinism. The last General Synod of the Dutch Church invited independent congregations to throw themselves into their arms and had appointed delegates to visit the Ohio synod and the North Carolina classis to entice them away. What will our General Synod say to such proceedings. He did not object to proper agitation of such a subject as union, but he said that the effort ought to come through the upper Church court, the General Synod.

In the West, Dr. Good writes favorably to union with the Dutch, as does Welker, of North Carolina, but Prugh opposes it as an insult to the General Synod,—calls it schismatic, which Williard denies, claiming that the Ohio synod had always corresponded with other bodies as the Presbyterian. The *Messenger* articles continue against it, saying that the Dutch in 1819 had interfered with our Church to our hurt and again in 1844 had tried to intermeddle and that the Triennial Convention sought union with us so that their ministers might get places in our Church. They call this act of the Dutch a predatory act. On the other hand a writer in the *Christian World* claimed that the Ohio synod had the right

*June 13th.

†July 5th.

to maintain correspondence with any Church, its former right to do this never having been withdrawn.

Dr. Peltz, who wrote the resolutions for the Dutch General Synod, in the *Messenger* of September 27, disclaimed any secret intention in the matter. The basis of those resolutions were the utterances of the delegate from the Ohio synod. He denied that the purpose of the Dutch was predatory, to steal away from the German Church. He was not aware that the North Carolina classis had resumed relations with the German Church.

Dr. Fisher replies that on his recent visit to North Carolina he found much Dutch literature there and also states that that classis had resumed relations to our synod in 1858, although it had been broken by the Civil War.

Dr. Apple writes against the Dutch. He says the persons who charge Mercersburg theology with being Lutheran are now plotting to make us Dutch. He had been opposed to the organization of the General Synod, believing a free union of the East and the West to be better. But when the General Synod was organized, he believed in sticking to it, as he had done at the General Synod of 1869. That, however, was an orderly method of procedure, but this was disorderly and schismatic, tearing parts of our Church from us.

The *Messenger* says that the *Christian Intelligencer* declares there can be no organic union with the German Reformed, but that a division of the German Reformed is only a question of time. It is said that the theological differences in the German Reformed Church stood in the way of union. Apple pronounced this false, as neither the Eastern synod or the *Messenger* had said anything against union but against the irregularity of the method by which it was proposed to get it. It charges Dr. Good with a schismatic tendency.

Welker writes,* referring to the attacks on it in the *Messenger* and by the high-churchmen, who charged "selling out to the Dutch," "predatory excursions," "stealing churches," etc. He replies that if it had been discovered that these men were trying to introduce a pan-philosophical philosophy or Puseyite theology, circulating and recommending the devout study of missals and breviaries to the students of the college, would there be such indignation. They charge that the movement came from an obscure corner and not from the synod. But so it is in history. Foreign missions in America began in a haystack, the Reformation did not begin in a synod. They stigmatize it as schismatical, but it is a union of two denominations. All their objections, such as "threats to deprive us of buildings," "swallowed up in the Dutch" grow out of a want of argument on their part.

A minister of the Dutch Church says, in the *Messenger*, that their General Synod committed a gross breach of courtesy to our Church ac-

**Christian World*, February 29.

cording to our constitution, which places the synod under the General Synod. But he utterly denies the motive stated by the *Messenger* that the Dutch ministers want places. The Dutch have openings enough to make a half dozen such classes as the North Carolina classis if there were men to fill them.

The *Christian World* (March 28) says that the *Christian Intelligencer* had stated that Mercersburg theology was the great obstacle in the way of union. Dr. Apple had denied this in the *Review* and the *Messenger*, but later accepts it as a fact, and not only accepts it but rejoices over it and thanks God for it. The *Christian World* of April says that all the action that the Dutch General Synod took was to state the aspect of the subject of union and its willingness to receive any communication which our brethren may choose to present to them. The Ohio synod did not violate our constitution. The Dutch General Synod of 1872 had delegates from both of our synods, Eastern and Ohio, Davis and Willard.

In the *Christian World* of August 29, Dr. Van Horne begins an elaborate article on union. The differences were that the German Reformed Church was more liturgical, the Dutch was more Calvinistic. There was more independence of synods in our Church than in the Dutch. In calling a minister the desire of the congregation is sought privately by the consistory in our Church; in the Dutch, publicly, by vote. In the Dutch there was catechetical preaching, in the German the catechetical class. The Dutch had no confirmation and no special formula for it, as the Germans have. The Dutch have the sitting communion, the Germans, the standing. He then speaks of the benefits of the union in publication interests, missions and church beneficiaries.

Ohio synod met May 1. Drs. Livingston and Peltz were present from the Dutch Church. The synod referred the subject of union to the General Synod for its consideration, but approved it and requested General Synod to adopt such measures as would speedily bring it about.

In connection with this agitation on the subject of union, another question began to be discussed by the high-churchmen. The *Messenger* asks the question, Has our Church a distinctive mission? This subject had been brought up by the discussion on Union; because if our Church had a mission, it ought not to go into the union.

In February 28, the *Messenger* has articles on the External Mission of our Church, that is, her mediatory position. She was to be the mediator between the Churches.

Gans, July 5, 1871, writes on "Our Special Work," that it is not to be a large Church. It is to be intensive rather than extensive, theological rather than territorial. Protestantism needs such a mediating theology.

No confession has received such broad and hearty endorsement as the Heidelberg Catechism. No other is so truly Christian and Catholic. Our object is to mediate, to harmonize. Christ is the centre, which was very different from making the decrees the center. Our aim is to Catholicize Protestantism.

SECTION 8. THE CHARGE THAT URSINUS COLLEGE GREW OUT OF DISAPPOINTED PERSONAL AMBITION (1872).

Dr. Bomberger referred* to the charge made by the Mercersburg men that the founding of Ursinus College was due to his disappointment at not being elected professor at Mercersburg in B. C. Wolff's place, when Harbaugh was elected in 1863. He replied that the charge was not true, for his opposition to high-churchism began before that time,—that it began in 1860 and culminated in the liturgical report to the synod of 1862, all of which were before the election. He is surprised that Fisher, who knew the facts, would allow this report to be published in the *Messenger*. The baselessness of the charge is shown by the fact that it was not broached until nine years after it occurred.

The *Christian World*† has an article, entitled "A Base Slander Refuted." The report was that Dr. Bomberger's opposition to Mercersburg theology was due to thwarted ambition at not being elected professor of theology when Harbaugh was elected. The article places the following facts against that slander, showing that Bomberger had been opposing them a considerable time before that election.

"1. As early as the synod of 1860, Dr. Bomberger joined with others in urging that the Provisional liturgy be referred to the classes. He did it

a. Because it was evident that the liturgy was not acceptable on account of objectionable, ritualistic and doctrinal features.

b. Because the peace of the Church demanded it.

The leading Nevinites opposed this desire that the Provisional liturgy be sent down to the classes. This was three years before the election of Dr. Harbaugh.

**Reformed Church Monthly*, 1872, page 33.

†November 19, 1874.

2. At the synod of 1861, Dr. Bomberger, with others, pressed the immediate revision of the Provisional liturgy, which was opposed by the Nevinites. This was two years before the election of Dr. Harbaugh.

3. At the first meeting of the liturgical committee, Dr. Bomberger moved that certain ritualistic features of the Provisional liturgy be stricken out. He was violently assailed. The contention was sharp. The majority refused to proceed with the revision as synod had ordered. Here he opposed the Nevinites two years before Dr. Harbaugh's election.

4. At the Eastern synod of 1862, he was the leader of the minority to bring in a report against the high-churchmen. This was one year before Dr. Harbaugh's election.

5. During the winter of 1862-3, he wrote a series of articles in the *Messenger* against the high-church party. All this was done before 1863, when it was known a professor would be elected. The report is a dastardly slander."

The effort to make it appear that the controversy in our Church was due to personalities and not to principles must be given up. It is very evident (from the history of the controversy contained in this book) that it was a great battle of principles in regard to doctrine, worship and Church government. Mere personalities do not usually divide a Church unless principles are beneath them. Besides, if a controversy is one of personalities only, it usually dies out after the persons have died. But this has not been true in our Church. For although much of the controversy has died out since the peace movement, yet the two parties have remained as clearly defined as ever. This rumor was an ignominious effort to cast discredit in a sly way against Ursinus college and those who supported the Old Reformed position, and only injured those who used it as a shaft.

We might also add that Bomberger's divergence began even earlier than 1860, namely, in 1859. Rev. N. Strassberger, when he reviewed Dr. Bomberger's book on "Infant Baptism" in the *Mercersburg Review*, July, 1860, already calls attention to Bomberger's divergence from Mercersburg. He criticises Bomberger's statement in the book, that all infants are saved. Of what use then was baptism if all are saved, says Strassberger, with his Mercersburg views. The truth was that Bomberger in this book held to the old Reformed view,—the covenant view,—that the children of pious parents

are born in the covenant, whereas Mercersburg theology holds that they are not in the covenant until baptism. Dr. Bomberger tried to harmonize both views, the covenant and the sacramentarian, in his book. But this book was evidently not to the taste of the Mercersburg theologians. All this, however, only shows that Bomberger was diverging from them as early as 1859, which was four years before Harbaugh's election.

SECTION 9. THE EASTERN SYNOD OF 1872.

The most important appeal before this synod was the Dunn appeal case. A growing tendency began to appear on the part of the high-churchmen to make the classical apportionments to be assessments or taxes which must be paid. East Pennsylvania classis in 1872 held pastors responsible for their payment under penalty of being disciplined. So, too, the classis of Mercersburg. (A distinguished (high-church) brother of the classis of Lancaster told a brother of the other side that he must not elevate private conscience above ecclesiastical authority.) But the past custom of the Church was against any such ideas as these as in article 51 of the constitution, which defines and limits the power of the classis but does not give it this right.

Rev. Mr. Dole, the pastor at Huntingdon, declared to Mercersburg classis in 1870 that he could not conscientiously raise money for the support of the Altoona mission because of its sympathy with doctrines which were taught in opposition to those of the Reformed Church. (He referred to the doctrines of Mercersburg as preached and taught there in the Order.—A.) Classis therefore declare his statement heretical and disrespectful and warned him that if he acted on this principle he would subject himself to the discipline of the Church. Dole arose and declared he would then appeal to synod. He was told he could not appeal, as it was not a case of appeal. (But article 20 said he could.—A.) He then said he would complain, but that ground was denied him because the complaint was taken too late.

Such was the high-handed dealing by Mercersburg classis with the Old Reformed adherents by virtually ruling them out of order on mere technical grounds. While the Mercersburg classis took this action, the Mercersburg men in Zion's classis were pleading for the opposite view, because they were in the minority. At that classis Rev. Daniel Ziegler offered a resolution that each minister give his money where he desired. And the Mercersburg men begged him to withdraw it as they already had that right and were exercising it. Thus they claimed one thing in one classis and its opposite in another.

The classis of Mercersburg required her congregations to pay their beneficiary aid to students for whom she had made herself responsible. And she would not permit any consistory to pay funds elsewhere until these obligations of classis were met. The Old Reformed became suspicious that their opponents' plan was to make the obligations of classis so great that the congregations would not be able to raise enough money besides so as to give to any other students, as at Ursinus. The consistory of the Huntingdon Church, June 3, 1871, resolved to give its money to Dr. Williard and to the Church in the West. The consistory at McConnellstown also passed the same action June 7, 1871. The pastor of the charge, Rev. Mr. Steckel, who was in sympathy with Mercersburg, called attention in his parochial report to these actions, stating the amount of money made thus available. Classis appointed a committee to confer with the delegate-elder to classis and with elder Dunn, who was delegate secundus. Mr. Dunn agreed with the elder to get it reconsidered at both places. McConnellstown took action in the summer to send the money to the boards of General Synod. This was carried unanimously, the pastor alone dissenting, as he wanted it to go to Mercersburg. The next day at the church service, he announced the decision of the consistory in a way that gave offence to them. The consistory took action April 20, 1872. Mr. Joseph Isenberg offered the resolution that \$20. be appropriated to George Resser, in Ursinus college, and the balance to home missions. Rev. Mr. Steckel gave notice of his intention to complain about this

action to classis. The classis decided for Mr. Steckel and against Dunn. So it was carried up to synod.

At the synod, Rev. Dr. Super was counsel for Dunn and Prof. Higbee for the other side. Dr. Super took the ground that the Church as a denomination had no authority over the temporalities of the congregation. The synod can prescribe as to faith and morals but not as to the property of the members. Gifts must be voluntary. Such demands, he said, were contrary to the action of the General Synod of 1869, which had recognized the two parties in the Church and allowed each to act freely. Prof. Higbee, in reply, declared that the Church must be supported by its members,—its financial contracts and agreements must be kept. He based his argument on the high authority of the Church over its members.

The synod as usual decided for the high-churchmen and did not sustain the appeal, so Mr. Super appealed to General Synod. The president at once decided that as he was no party in the case, he therefore could not appeal and so ruled his case out, Mr. Super then appealed from the decision of the chair, which had been unanimously sustained. He was then permitted to appeal to General Synod from its decision as to his right to appeal. Mr. Dunn also gave notice of complaint to General Synod. So both an appeal and a complaint went up to General Synod. If the one were thrown out by any sharp parliamentary tactics of the high-churchmen, the other might stand, and so the case be gotten before General Synod. The next morning, when the minutes of the previous day were read, there was no notice on the record of Super's appeal from the president's decision, the clerk having arbitrarily suppressed it. After repeated demands, the clerk read as if he supplied the omission.

Two constitutional points are now coming into prominence:—

1. Which body decided whether an appeal can be taken or not, the higher court or the lower, from whom the appeal is taken. The high-churchmen claimed here that the latter was true. But if this be true, then the lower court could prevent any appeal, by simply declaring it out of order and thus could prevent any case from getting to a higher court. This, however, was contrary to all the previous customs of our Church.

2. What is the difference between an appeal and a complaint. This had not been clear in the previous custom of the Church. Article 29 of the constitution defined an appeal, article 33 defined a complaint. A new difference also began to appear in the effects of each of these,—an appeal stayed all further proceedings in the case, while a complaint did not.

The committee on the German translation of the Order of Worship reported that it had been translated by Rev. Mr. Bank and revised by the committee and that it would soon appear.

The time had come to observe the semi-centennial of the Theological seminary at Lancaster. But owing to the divided state of the Church, it was not deemed wise by synod to recommend a general celebration of it; and so it was referred to the faculty and alumni to commemorate it as they saw fit. The delegate to the Dutch General Synod reported that that body had decided to discontinue interchange of delegates with particular synods of our Church, as Ohio.

The report on the state of religion seems to reveal the happy confidence of the Mercersburg men. It says, "Our late doctrinal conflict is virtually passed so far as this synod is concerned and we have settled down to the unity of one faith and the question of cultus is settled in principle." Yet, as Dr. Bomberger said, in the *Reformed Church Monthly*, not one-sixtieth of the ministers of their party dared use the Order of Worship in full. They however felt strong enough to undertake a more serious action, namely against the teaching of theology in Ursinus college. The resolutions on this were offered by Rev. Mr. Kieffer and advocated by Rev. S. R. Fisher. They were:

"Whereas the constitution of the Reformed Church makes teachers of theology a distinct office, and the synod alone has power to establish and govern a theological seminary and appoint professors or teachers of theology, as no minister has the right to assume that office unless chosen by a majority of votes of the synod and inaugurated by taking the prescribed oath of office and as they are required to conduct a prescribed course and conduct instruction under the direction and supervision of a board of visitors, therefore the synod considers the conduct of J. H. A. Bomberger as disorderly and enjoins him to desist from this disorder.

It appointed a committee of three to communicate the official copy of this injunction and it was directed to institute such constitutional proceedings as are necessary to maintain the order of the Church.

Dr. Super at once gave notice of appeal from this action to General Synod. The president ruled his appeal out of order



REV. PROF. HENRY SUPER, D. D.

as at the present stage the action had not assumed a judicial form, and, besides, he was not a party in the case. He then appealed from the decision of the president to General Synod.

In the discussion about the Bomberger case, the Mercersburg men claimed that the constitution gave the synod control over all theological teaching and as Dr. Bomberger had not been elected to that office by synod he was irregular. On the other hand, it was argued by the low-churchmen that from the first formation of the synod to the present day, ministers were educated privately, and that when the constitution was adopted, this right was not taken away; for the constitution said, not "must" but "may" establish a theological seminary. It was argued that if Dr. Bomberger's act was unconstitutional, then so also was the teaching of the tutors in the seminary at Mercersburg, as Kerschner and Reily, for although they had been appointed with the sanction of the synod, yet they had never been elected by the synod,—they had not taken

the oath of office, yet were permitted to teach. Why then should not Dr. Bomberger also teach. And, besides, it was argued that the seminary at Mercersburg had among its professors one who had been educated privately, namely, Prof. T. G. Apple. Again, the Germans had no place to educate their students, as Lancaster had no accommodation for them. Where were they to go, if the high-churchmen's interpretation of the constitution was right. Also the constitution nowhere required students to study in the synod's seminary; it only prescribed the branches to be studied, not the place where they were to be studied; also, that the custom of the classes was to license any one *from any where*. Another argument was that the synod had no right to begin a judicial process against Bomberger, for that right belonged to the classis to which he belonged. The synod in so doing was, therefore, overriding the rights of classis. Again, it was urged that this action was sprung on the synod in Dr. Bomberger's absence, when he was unable to defend himself.

The synod now reaffirmed the action of the synod of 1820 that no minister be permitted to give theological instruction without the permission of synod. This action of 1820 had been virtually repealed by the synod of 1821, or at least had long been a dead letter.* But it was now used to discountenance the teaching of theology in Ursinus college as irregular.

SECTION 10. THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1872.

This General Synod met at Cincinnati on November 27. The president and a large number of delegates were detained by the collision of a train ahead of their's near Columbus, so that they did not arrive until the end of the opening session. Dr. Klein preached the opening sermon and was unanimously elected president. This election gave the organization of the synod to the old Reformed party. But the real test between the two parties came on the two appeal cases of Super for Ursinus college and of Dunn in regard to beneficiary money.

In the Super appeal case, Dr. Bomberger acted as counsel for Super, and Prof. Higbee and Elder Bousch for the Synod. Bomberger argued against synod's action:

1. It misconstrued the constitution in regard to theological teaching, for it nowhere limited the teaching of theology to the seminary of the synod.

*It was also to be remembered that this action of the synod of 1820 prepared the way for the secession of the Free synod, which might serve as a warning of what might again happen in this case.

2. The synod had reached beyond its province and put contempt on a lower court, the classis, by proceeding at once against Bomberger, and thus assuming original jurisdiction.

3. It has fixed censure on a member in his absence without trial and without an opportunity to appeal.

Professor Higbee claimed on the other side, that classis had nothing to do with the matter, because the constitution left the theological training in the hands of the synod. And when Bomberger assumed to be a theological teacher, he put himself by that act under the direct jurisdiction of synod.

Dr. Bomberger in his reply, denied their argument that the teacher of theology was a separate office from that of the minister. Such a distinction was not Scriptural. Besides, the constitution itself provided for the ordination of ministers, elders, and deacons, but nowhere for the ordination of teachers of theology. Therefore, it was not a separate office. The teacher had nothing to do, but what the minister could do,—teach sound Gospel and defend the faith. A minister could give his people a course in theology and Church history, and it would not be questioned. The right of the minister to teach theology had been recognized in our Church for 100 years and by the General Synod for nine years.

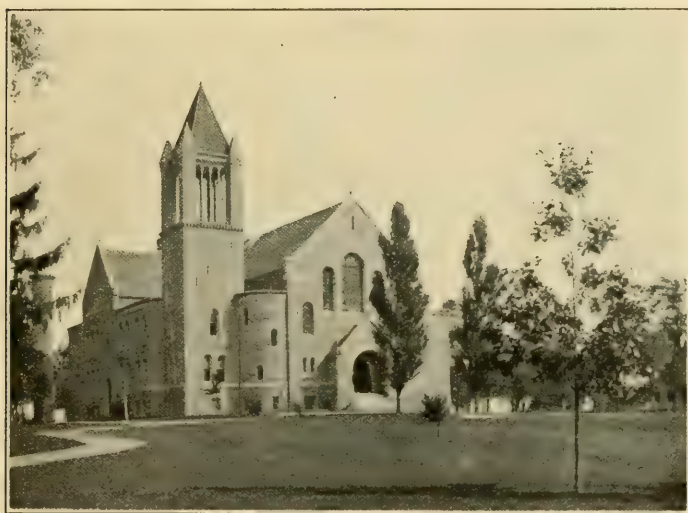
In the discussion that followed,* the case of the German Mission-House in Wisconsin was referred to. It had been a private school for six years,† teaching theology, and the synod had never interfered with it. If the Germans could teach theology thus, so could Bomberger. Dr. Greiding declared that the action of the Eastern synod of 1820 forbidding ministers to teach theology privately had been a dead letter. Elder Zahm, on the other side, claimed, however, that if anybody could teach theology, then the oath and the articles in the constitution were a broad farce,—an empty ceremony. Dr. Gerhart claimed that Bomberger's act was irregular because: (1) he was not elected to the office, (2) there was no board of visitors over him, (3) there was no guarantee of the soundness of the teachings of the seminary. Dr. Welker replied that the resolution of the Eastern synod of 1820 about theological teaching had never been enforced. It was significant that when the constitution was framed (in 1840) this resolution was not incorporated. The early ministers had the right of teaching theology and classis or synod had never taken it away. Dr. Bomberger said that the best argument of the other side was by Rev. J. S. Kieffer, who said that there was no trial, but that the synod was on trial. He used an illustration that a man has an estate and there is trespass against it. He sends out a note of warning. That

*See the *Messenger* and *Christian World* at end of 1872 and beginning of 1873.

†We have before corrected this statement. The Mission-House had always been under the care of Sheboygan classis, but not under the direct control of the synod.

is what synod did. At this point there is room for appeal as to whether there is trespassing or not.

When the vote was taken the appeal was sustained by a vote of 100 to 78, a majority of 22. The judgment of the synod in regard to the matter was that the conduct of Dr. Bomberger and those associated with him was not disorderly nor contrary to the constitution, even though they had not been invested with the office of teacher of theology or conducted their training under the direction of synod. It also declared that the synod had acted unconstitutionally in assuming original jurisdiction in the case and not letting the classis, of which Bomberger was a member, assume the initiative.



URSINUS COLLEGE.

The other test case was the Dunn appeal case. In this, Rev. E. H. Nevin (who was a low-churchman) was the counsel for Mr. Dunn and Prof. Higbee for the synod.

Mr. Nevin argued that there was nothing in the constitution which gave the classis the power to put its hands on the people's pockets. How can classis know the financial ability of the members? Where is the constitutional authority to forbid the consistories from appropriating funds where they want to send them?

In the discussion, Revs. Higbee and Apple both declared that any alienation of funds would produce anarchy and disorganize the work of the Church. Rev. Mr. Forwick replied "Our Germans would not submit to such taxation by classis as the Mercersburg classis claims."

The vote on the Dunn appeal was 90 to 85, a majority of five. The interpretation of the judgment of synod was:

(a) That no consistory or other judicatory had a right to use funds for the purpose for which they were not contributed.

(b) The consistory had the right to designate the direction of benevolent funds when not specially designated by the donor.

- The previous question was moved and: a was adopted by 90 nays, 59 being excused; b was adopted by 82 yeas, 19 nays, 39 being excused.

These two victories of the old Reformed party seemed to settle a number of other complaints and appeals, of which there were quite a number brought before the General Synod. Thus the memorial of Philadelphia classis asking General Synod to protect it in its rights as individuals and as a classis against the Eastern synod was withdrawn.

The complaint of the Ohio board of Missions against the Eastern synod for appropriating funds for the support of missionaries located in its territory (Iowa) and under its control was finally dismissed as premature.

In regard to Union with the Dutch, the General Synod declared that it hailed the movement with pleasure and ordered each of the synods to appoint a committee of three to confer with a similar committee of the General Synod of the Dutch Church.

After the General Synod was over, Dr. Apple wrote a number of articles in the *Messenger*, trying to explain away its action and to show that its decisions were of little importance. This was quite natural, for the General Synod had declared against the high-churchmen. He said,* "This General Synod was of less significance than any of the preceding. Neither of its two great discussions touch cultus or theology. Practically they were unimportant. As to the teacher of theology, the decision was only a war-measure and will soon pass away in time. One view of the situation is unpleasant. The General Synod is an organ, by which the

**Messenger* of December 18.

West has come to support the minority in the East. General Synod at present can exert only a demoralizing influence on the Church and in that view we would better be without it. But matters may change. One result will come, however: The East has built up the West, but hereafter our Church will be very slow to build up those who come and smite us."

Dr. Fisher* says, "General Synod has usurped power that does not belong to it and trampled upon the constitutional rights guaranteed to district synods by its action on teachers of theology, as that belongs to synod: He also tried to lower the decision about teachers of theology by saying that other matters were paramount."

Again, the *Messenger* says, "What course should those of us aggrieved take? Shall we rebel? Never for a moment. Submission is the only alternative. The synod will give expression of the sense of wrong in respectful terms, and proper measures will be taken which will ultimately lead General Synod to correct itself. Its action opens the door to lawlessness in teaching theology. Already Illinois college has proclaimed that a full theological course will be added. Our Iowa brethren can do the same."

On the Dunn appeal case, the *Messenger*† says, "The result of this action of the General Synod will be to interfere with the benevolence of the Church."

Bomberger says‡ that a pastor in Mercersburg classis had been told that he had no right to oppose his individual conscience against the will of the classis. Since the meeting of the General Synod a high-church brother, a former member of Mercersburg classis, threatened a low-church minister that if he would not help the benevolent objects of classes, he could leave his field.

Before this synod, the Mercersburg men had been saying that "the voice of the synod was the voice of God." The *Reformed Church Monthly* rubbed it into them after this General Synod's meeting, reminding them that the voice of the synod was the voice of God and the voice of God was against them at this General Synod. After this General Synod we hear less of their very high assumption of the authority of synod and of their high-handed measures.

Dr. Bomberger now speaks of the "factiousness" of the high-church party, using the term as they had formerly used it against the low-churchmen in the East as representing only a faction in the synod and a troublesome one at that. Now he declared the other side was only a faction and guilty of troublesome "factiousness."

The action of this General Synod checked the extreme men of the Mercersburg School from an arbitrary course in church-government. It also probably saved the Church from ultimate division; as the refusal to allow

**Messenger*, January 8, 1873.

†January 22.

‡*Reformed Church Monthly*, 1873.

Ursinus college to teach theology would have made the breach between the parties still greater.*

*A letter from one of the oldest and most reliable ministers in the West gives this inside view of the battle fought in this General Synod: After the Mercersburg men found that they had lost, Dr. Davis and others threatened on the floor of the General Synod to dissolve the General Synod. The evening session closed in a general uproar. The Old Reformed party held a private meeting after it for consultation in case their opponents should secede. They came to the conclusion to do nothing but to let the other side take any initiative. Second thought seems to have quieted the latter, for secession would have perhaps meant for them great loss in case of a legal contest. They recognized this and the next day proposed to make General Synod an advisory body only, thus stripping it of all its authority. The Old Reformed opposed this, taunting them with being contradictory in claiming at one time divine authority for the General Synod (as they had done when it was on their side), and now denying to her any authority at all. (We might also add that the Church was near division at that time. We believe that if a division had occurred, the low-church party and the Dutch Reformed would be united to-day, as the obstacle to that union has always been Mercersburg theology.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE LITURGICAL DISCUSSION UP TO THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1878.

SECTION 1. LITURGICAL EVENTS (1873-8).

The beginning of 1873 revealed a good deal of friction between the two parties because the decision of the General Synod of 1872 had been against the Mercersburg party. The *Messenger* began a series of articles, which said the appeal cases were at variance with the constitution. Apple assailed the Germans for receiving money from the East for missions and then voting against the donors. C. W. says that the proper end to be aimed at is the union of the three eastern synods. Dr. S. R. Fisher says, in the *Messenger*, that Heidelberg college in Ohio is not a Reformed institution, and yet it was pointed out to him that he had named it in the Almanac as among the Reformed institutions. Williard replied to all this in the *Christian World* that there is no need of any such alarm at the action of the last General Synod as the *Messenger* declares.

The most important event early in the year was the special meeting of the Eastern synod, held in February in Lancaster. Evidently the Mercersburg party felt that after the decision of the General Synod against them, some special action must be taken to safeguard their position. The synod was called, however, ostensibly at the suggestion of the committee appointed by the previous synod to devise a plan of union for the control and support of the theological seminary at Lancaster. Apple gave as the reason for this that no provision had been made in the General Synod for certain interests. It was left, he says, for the Mercersburg wing in a legitimate way to do so, according to the constitution. If the General Synod has

been persuaded to let the theological institutions be thrown into private hands without ecclesiastical supervision, it is left for Mercersburg to unite together for the support of the seminary,—and not only to unite on the seminary, but also in mission work. On these points, he says, the General Synod is not the point of unity.

The synod appointed a committee of three to present its plan to the Pittsburg synod, asking it to join with them and Potomac synod in a real organic union. The plan had to be adopted by two of the synods in order to become operative.*

Their action uniting the three eastern synods caused some criticism by the other side. A writer in the *Christian World* said he could not see in what way the constitution could be explained so as to authorize a synod to enter into any compact with another synod. Russell, a high-churchman, in "Our Church Paper," proved that the plan of home missions under the three synods was in direct conflict with the constitution. Will General Synod, he says, allow such infractions of the constitution?

Another event that occurred at this synod was the seventieth birthday anniversary of Dr. Nevin. The synod called at Caernarvon, his home near Lancaster, and presented him with a costly gold watch. Gerhart made the address for the donors, and Nevin replied. In Gerhart's address, says Bomberger, he claimed that Nevinism was a peculiar and distinct system. Nevin agreed to this, and said a change had been going on in himself as well as in the Reformed Church in the last thirty years.

*Another matter brought before them was the founding of a mission-house, which was negated as of doubtful propriety. The starting of a Mission-House for Eastern Pennsylvania was begun by East Pennsylvania classis. It sent a memorial to the Lebanon and Goshenhoppen classes about the matter. The latter appointed a committee to unite with the committee of East Pennsylvania classis in this project. But Lebanon classis did not go into it. The whole plan finally came to naught, although several meetings of the joint committees of East Pennsylvania and Goshenhoppen classes were held. There also arose quite a discussion in the *Messenger* between Rev. G. T. Wolff, who bitterly attacked the scheme and Prof. Higbee, who favored it. Dr. Helffrich, in his Autobiography, says it was a plan to circumvent Ursinus college by drawing attention away from that institution to it.

As the high-churchmen combined in these three synods for missionary work, the low-churchmen also combined and organized the Ursinus Union, June 26, 1873, to foster missions and beneficiary education.

A church case that caused a good deal of friction was the Reformed Church at Frederick, Md. Dr. Zacharias, who had been pastor for many years, and who had never used the liturgy in his Sabbath services, died in 1873. A few weeks after his death the first meeting of the Potomac synod was held in the church, when a full liturgical service was used for the first time. This gave offence to many, who had never been accustomed to it. The majority of the consistory was high-church and they nominated successively two high-churchmen as pastors, but both were defeated by the congregation. A petition to have a low-churchman nominated was rejected by the consistory. Finally Dr. Eschbach was nominated by the high-churchmen. At this meeting they captured the low-churchmen by passing a motion that the non-liturgical service was to be used in the Church. Dr. Eschbach was elected and the following Sunday ordained and installed the Church officers, against whose election the low-churchmen had been protesting.*

Dr. Apple, in addressing the Dutch synod, 1876, said the controversy had largely ceased within our borders. Though the two tendencies, churchly and unchurchly, have not ceased, they are nearer common ground than they have been for years. For the rest they agree to disagree and look for a complete reconciliation in the future.

The *Christian World*† objects to being thus called unchurchly by Dr. Apple. It takes Apple up for saying that a liturgy, except in such

*For a full statement of this and the action of classis, synod and civil courts, see the *Christian World*, July 30, 1874, to February 5, 1876, which gives the Old Reformed view of the case. For the other side of the case, see Eschbach's *History of the Frederick Church*, page 50.

An interesting dispute occurred in the *Messenger* in the spring of 1873 between Gans and Steiner. Gans, with his very high-church proclivities, made an assault on our public school system, saying that our public schools were infidel, for which Steiner called him to account.

†July 6, 1876.

main features of worship as are fixed by the constitution of the Church, ought not to be attempted to be enforced. It hopes that this remark will be heeded by the high-churchmen.*

Rev. F. W. Kremer had an article† on "Unchurchly German Reformed." Unchurchly means a low, unworthy, unscriptural conception of the Church and the ministry and the sacraments. The Old Reformed ought not to be charged with it. They were probably declared so because of their simple worship. But theirs was the Old Reformed worship, for the Mercersburg theology confesses that their worship is new.

The publication of the *Reformed Church Monthly* was discontinued, after being published for nine years, six longer than had been prophesied of it. It was combined with the *Christian World* in a new department, called "Faith and Works."

F. W. Kremer‡ says the Order of Worship is a failure. Nevin some years ago pronounced the Provisional liturgy a failure. The same is true of the Order:

1. As to its limited introduction. Among 1,352 congregations, not more than 25 use it in full.

2. Its use in the regular Lord's day's services has been abandoned in many congregations, as Harrisburg and Altoona and elsewhere.

3. Even its limited introduction was found an injury to the Church, creating alienation between pastor and people.

4. The attempt to introduce it has seriously interfered with our literary and theological institutions and involved us in the expense of establishing other institutions.

The *Christian World*§ says the old issues are still pending. It refers to the baptismal regeneration of Tract No. 3 and the denial of the atonement, as found in the catechism. These issues are not only pending, but more than one have been claimed to have the approval of the Church through the synod. How long will this continue? But it must be met.

*E. M. R. also takes him up in the *Reformed Church Monthly* severely in "The Ointment that ran down Aaron's beard," which Apple had written. He refers to the yelling down of Dr. Super at the synod of 1872, to the violent demonstrations at synod of 1867, when the proceedings of the Myerstown convention came up, to the scheme of the synod of 1868 to brand a minister with lying and slander without permitting him self-defence.

†*Christian World*, September 28, 1876.

‡*Christian World*, February 7, 1878.

§March 21, 1878.

SECTION 2. THE "MESSENGER" AND THE OLD DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT (1872).

The *Reformed Church Monthly* for October says that the article "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Atoning Work of Christ," declares that the catechism does not teach that the sacrifice of Christ on the cross is the only ground of salvation. But it does. The Palatinate liturgy directs our faith at the Lord's Supper to his perfect sacrifice as the ground and foundation of our salvation.

"A superficial study of the catechism," says the *Messenger*, "would make the atonement of Christ central. Therefore, it is the principle of redemption,—the cross is the pivot. But this idea is incompatible with the central position of the Creed,—with its connection of the gospel as an order of grace, standing in the personal history of Christ. When the catechism emphasizes Christ's death, it does not set it in opposition to any cardinal fact in his history. The cross presupposes the manger. Emphasis put on the cross involves opposition in a different direction against Romish errors. The sacrifice of Christ is against the sacrifice of the mass. Mercersburg emphasizes the birth of Christ. The catechism teaches that the offering that Christ made of himself was not the offering of his body at the altar according to the Romish theory. The Palatinate liturgy is against the Catholic doctrine of the "unbloody sacrifice" in making Christ the only ground of salvation. But it does not stop at this point. It makes Christ and not the sacrament the source of salvation.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* for November says that its exposure of the (Mercersburg) seminary faculty,—that they were against the atonement, has led them to come out. They grant that the catechism *seems* to teach it, but does not do so really; and only as opposed to Romish errors;—"seems to teach it"?—it teaches it plainly. (See answers 16 and 17.)

The *Messenger** says there is a two-fold view of Christ's atonement in the catechism. It contemplates the death of Christ mainly from the divine side like Anselm, but it also recognizes the relation it bears to Satan, though it does not teach redemption to Satan, as answer 37 "everlasting damnation," and answer 44 'anguish,' etc. Answer 34 also brings out the double truth of redemption to Satan, etc. Thus, while the catechism emphasizes the juridical or forensic aspect, so also the negative aspect or the necessity of his death in relation to Satan is spoken of. According to the catechism Satan is a personal, evil spirit, the

*November 19, 1873.

Son is not a mere negative influence. The Heidelberg Catechism does not do as the Shorter Catechism, leave out the negative side of Christ's relation, namely,—to Satan.

We might add to this historical survey of the discussion that Mercersburg made the incarnation central,—Christ's life rather than his work. But the doctrine of the atonement is central in the Bible and in the Heidelberg Catechism. Paul preached "Christ and him crucified." Christ left no sacrament to commemorate his birth or any other event of his life, but he did leave the Lord's Supper as the undying witness of his death. And in the catechism there are more references to atonement, redemption, blood of Christ, etc., than to any other doctrine.

SECTION 3. REV. DR. RUPP CHARGED WITH PANTHEISM.

A new development of Mercersburg theology now begins to become prominent. Many years before, as far back as the days of Dr. Berg, attention had been called by its opponents to its pantheizing tendencies. These now become prominent in the discussion. Dr. Rupp had an article* on "Regeneration and Conversion," in which he parallels generation and regeneration.

Sin begins in the substance of our life. Our catechism teaches that we are sinners before we are transgressors and transgressors because we are sinners. At Adam's creation, the life-breath can not be regarded otherwise than as an emanation from the being of God.† "The life of regeneration is an emanation by the Holy Spirit from Christ's divine-human life." And yet it could not be said that God's being was any less than it had been before. So the soul of the child emanates from its parents. Regeneration is a change produced by the Holy Spirit, not primarily in the sphere of consciousness but in the substantial ground of the human soul itself. It is the production of a new life in the substance of the old. Regeneration and the new-birth differ just as generation and birth differ. Christ stands in the same relation to us as Adam. As by nature, men become partakers of the human nature; by regeneration, they become partakers of the divine nature. 2 Peter 1: 4.‡ Though not pantheism, it means a real communica-

*See the *Review* of 1873.

†Page 143.

‡Page 150.

tion of being with God in Christ. It does not mean that any part of Christ's individual or personal being is by regeneration infused into his people in such a way that his own being is diminished by the process. What God breathed into man was an emanation of himself and not a creation* just as the parent's substance passes over to the child. The life of regeneration is the life of the Holy Spirit from Christ's divine-human life and yet not the sensible or material part of his being. Thus in giving light to the plant, the sun does not lose any part of his power; so there goes from Christ by the Holy Spirit a new principle which lodges itself in the human soul, imparting a new character. This is regeneration. Regeneration is ascribed to the Word, but the Word means Christ himself. He then states that faith precedes knowledge and is an activity of the heart. Union with Christ comes before the knowledge of it, especially in a child at regeneration.

This article created a great sensation within our Church and outside of it. The *Christian World* says it contains the essence of Romanism. The *Reformed Church Monthly* says it holds to baptism in the ultra-Lutheran or Romish sense. The *Independent and Interior* also attack Rupp. The *Messenger* replies to these attacks that it is only by taking his words out of their connection and putting a new meaning into them that objection can be found. Regeneration, according to Rupp, does not have the popular signification of a complete state of salvation, but a transplanting from the world into the Church. It attacks the junior editor of the *Christian World*, who had never studied theology, as a "theologister." The *Messenger* and the *Christian Intelligencer* get into a controversy about Rupp's view on baptism, the *Messenger* defending him.

Rev. Mr. Rupp finally replies to these attacks.† Regeneration, he says, is the implantation of a new principle in the center of the soul,—is deliverance from the sphere of nature into the sphere of grace. Baptism is a means of grace as well as a symbol. It does not work *ex opere operato*, but it has objective force which the subjective organ (faith) does not put into it. The phrase "objective medium" is not found in Scripture, but neither also is the phrase "sign and seal." Baptism is a sign but not of an absent grace given before and after. Infants are capable of faith in its incipient and germinal state. There is therefore

*Page 151.

†*Messenger*, April 16.

no reason for making a difference between the infant and the adult in baptism as far as the meaning of the grace of baptism is concerned.

The *Messenger* replied to the *Christian World* that it did not understand Mr. Rupp. The *Christian World* replied that Mr. Rupp was not difficult to understand, for he taught baptismal regeneration. Bomberger says the Old Reformed believe in baptismal grace but not in regeneration. So does Helveticus, who writes in the *Christian World*.

The *Reformed Church Monthly** takes Mr. Rupp to task on three points:

1. What the doctrine of Mercersburg is.
2. That it is contrary to Scripture.
3. That it is contrary to the faith of the Reformed Church.

The root of the doctrine is the false relation of the creator to the creature—by emanation. This means that man sprang from the very essence of Godhead and was literally a part of that substance, just as the soul of the child is part of the substance of the parent's soul and is an emanation from them. Regeneration is a new emanation from the substance of God through the theanthropic life of Christ. It is the implantation of the substantial portion of the divine-human life into the substantial center or core of human personality. Mr. Rupp's qualification on this, that it does not diminish Christ, does not alter the import of the statement; for it asserts the same thing except that it is done without loss. We must be careful not to confuse, he says, baptismal regeneration with baptismal grace into which Mr. Rupp glides. Redemption, Rupp says, is an organic conjunction with Christ. Gerhart, in Tract No. 3, says that there is no way for man to have a new life created but by baptism.

Bomberger, after answering Rupp's Scriptural proof, goes on to say, there is no teaching of any emanation in the catechism in connection with baptism.

They tie, says a writer, regeneration to baptism and say if we deny baptism, then there is no regeneration. They are blind. The difference between them and us is not as to the reality of regeneration but as to the time of it, whether it always takes place at baptism or not.

The *Messenger*† says regeneration is not pantheistic. It claims that the Mercersburg doctrine is the same as Ebrard's. What is pantheism? Absolute unity and identity of all being in the universe. It may be regarded under the notion of force or of substance, but in either case the universe is only its phenomenal manifestation. Pantheism denies personality to the creature. He adds‡ there is no union between pantheism and regeneration. Our opponents say we believe that regeneration

*June, 1873.

†October 29, 1873.

‡November 5.

is a conveyance by emanation of a portion of the substance of God into the center of man's soul. This is not Rupp's doctrine, or the doctrine taught at Lancaster. This mode of thought of the objector is crass and quantitative. Regeneration is not a conveyance of a portion of God's substance. Their critics use the word "substance" in a crass materialistic sense or how could we speak of a portion of God's substance. Is God divisible? The same materialistic idea lies at the basis of their word emanation. But regeneration is not the conveyance in an external mechanical way of a life-germ into the soul. It is the establishment of a new life, a religious transfer from one order of life to another. Yet if regeneration ingrafts into Christ, there must be a response on our part in the life of the soul itself. Without it the subject continues a dead branch. Regeneration is the possibility, not the necessity, the reality of the conveyance of the new divine life from Christ to the soul.

The *Messenger** has an article on "Mystical Union and Pantheism." It asks, is there anything in Mercersburg doctrines to occasion the charge of pantheism? What our opponents regard as pantheism is the doctrine of the mystical union established at regeneration. It belongs to the original constitution of man to be the recipient of divine life. To deny this is to affirm an eternal dualism between God and the world. Man's creation (Gen. 2:7) teaches that there is in man a divine element, which comes by inspiration and which constitutes a real substratum of his human existence. That text sounds almost as if a portion of God had been conveyed by emanation to man. Still it is in the Bible. Paul says "we are the offspring of God." How can we be the offspring, if we do not share the life of our Heavenly Father. The original inspiration in the case of Adam is not an act once for all, but one continued in history and repeated in each individual in the race. Again, if man is to become immortal, he must partake of the life of God. The fountain of immortality we have in the Son of God. In him incarnate humanity, which had original capacity for God, received the fullness of the Godhead into itself. Peter says, "we are partakers of the divine nature." Paul prays the saints ought to be filled with all the fullness of God.

The *Messenger*† has an article, "The Charge of Pantheism Groundless." Why is union with God called pantheism. Because it is thought to involve a loss of life on his part. God is conceived as a full vessel pouring out its contents into an empty one. But in real birth there is communication of life to the child, but the mother does not lose portion after portion of her life with each child. Here we see how life begets life. So God's life comes to us without emanation or loss of one portion or loss to himself.

*November 12, 1873.

†November 19, 1873.

The *Messenger** contains an answer to the Pantheism in Rupp's article which is quoted. "The life breath which God breathed into Adam when he became a living soul can not be regarded otherwise than as an emanation from the being of God" and "The life of regeneration is an emanation by the Holy Spirit from Christ's divine-human life." He regrets that Rupp used the word emanation, for it does not mean what he intends to say. It is a physical term denoting the flowing forth of fluids and therefore inapplicable to God's communication of life to his creatures. Rupp himself answers it, for in the next clause, in the first sentence, he says, "and yet it could not be a part of God in such sense that God's being should now be so much the less than it was before." Rupp also says that the phrase "partakers of the divine nature" does not mean simply moral resemblance but a real communication. It does not mean that any part of Christ's individual or personal being is by regeneration infused into his people at the loss of his own being. But he adds God did not breathe a part of himself into man's nostrils, though what he did breathe into him was an emanation and not a created element.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* for December says, What is it? They deny pantheism. Dörner charged them with pantheism. So did Hodge. Their claim not to be pantheistic does not prove it. Both Pelagius and Arius claimed to be Evangelical, yet were heretics. Gans' definition of pantheism in Herzog's *Encyclopædia* exactly covers the Mercersburg theory,—“Any theory that teaches that man is an emanation from the life of the creator or the result of an organic conjunction of God and man or that God begets creatures out of his substance is pantheism.”

The *Christian World*† has an article on Rupp, claiming that he did not teach pantheism. He did not mean pantheism by emanation. He used it, not in the ancient sense of the Gnostic but in the modern sense as light emanates from the sun, as power of government emanates from the people. He did not mean that a portion of the sun is in its rays, or a part of the people is in this power of the government. He meant simply that the sun was the source of light and the people the source of power. So God is the source of life and this is the doctrine of the New Testament.

The Mercersburg adherents try to parry the charge of pantheism by quoting from Bomberger's book on "Infant Baptism," where he speaks of a living union with Christ,—that the germ of the new life is implanted in the heart. Thus, pages 89-90 prove baptismal grace which Bomberger never denied, but he did not place the baptismal grace in the mere outward form as they did.

*November 26.

†December 4, 1873.

SECTION 4. ANOTHER PERVERSION TO ROME.

On July 6, 1873, Rev. Mr. Forney, pastor at Norristown, which was one of the first congregations to use the liturgy in full, notified his congregation that he had renounced Protestantism and gone to Rome. He was the third pastor of that Church to go over, Wolff and Ermentrout being the others, to be followed about 1878 by a fourth, who had been previously pastor there, Gans. Ten days before his perversion, Forney had been elected by the alumni of Franklin and Marshall college at their annual meeting to deliver the alumni oration at their next annual meeting, an honor unusual for one so young.

Dr. Fisher, in the *Messenger*, says his perversion was due to the reading of Catholic books and openly blames Dr. Schaff for this. The *Reformed Church Monthly* replies this is shameful in its attempt to screen guilty parties. Dr. Bomberger said he did not know whether Schaff recommended such books, but he knew they had been recommended since Schaff left. Gerhart's logic on the priestly character of the minister, Apple on Fritschel and Gans on Absolution were enough to make a papist of the muddiest water. The *Messenger* pities Forney for throwing himself away and hopes his case will be a warning to others.

The *Catholic Standard** has an editorial by Wolff, in which he congratulates Forney that his doubts are over and that he has found rest in the embrace of our holy mother Church. He calls the teachers of Mercersburg and Lancaster theological schools "guideposts" pointing to Rome, but never moving one step themselves. They were used by Providence to prepare others for Romish blessings. "May God grant them grace to follow those whom it ought to have been supposed would have preceded them into the Church." Wolff declares that the seeds of what have been such bitter fruits for the Reformed Church were planted by Nevin, Harbaugh, Gerhart, Higbee and Apple.

Pennsylvania,† in speaking of Forney's defection, says that the Mercersburg students twenty years before were urged to read Catholic books. Just the other day a Reformed minister in good standing told one of his members who was going west that if she could not find a Reformed Church she should not join the sects, but rather to go to the Catholic Church.

The *Reformed Church Monthly*, for August referring to "guideposts to Rome," says, of our ministers some preach truths that can find their fulfillment only in the Catholic Church. Yet their position as Protest-

*July 12.

†*Christian World*, July 17.

ant ministers gives the lie to their teaching. They have no faith in Protestantism.

Common Sense tries to reply* to Wolff in the *Catholic Standard* by saying that of every one hundred students in seminary only one goes to Rome. He confesses that twenty-five years ago Mercersburg was stirred by such exciting questions as, is Christianity law or doctrine or morality; no, it is life. Is the Bible to be interpreted by private judgment or under the Church, which is under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Students have gone farther than their teachers. That was long ago, but matters have subsided there now.

Dr. Fisher replies† to the *Catholic Standard* and its charges against the Mercersburg professors. He says, "No man can go from Mercersburg to Rome without pulling up some of the foundation-stones of its structure. It is strange these conversions should occur just when the papacy is trembling. He attacks the papal doctrine of infallibility. If the ministers of the Reformed Church are so easily staggered that they dare not study Catholic books without coming under the ban, then their faith is not well grounded. The Catholic Church fears Mercersburg school more than any other. In closing, he says that if there are any other faint-hearts in the Reformed Church the sooner they go the better.

The *Christian World* replies to the *Messenger's* article against Wolff, which had said that his judgment was not safe and sound. It says that before his perversion his judgment was considered very safe and sound, as at the Eastern synod (1869). It names the perverts to Rome and the Episcopal Church: Stewart, Coblentz, W. Philips, Snively, Wagner, Ermentrout, Budd, Forney, Nevin, Nevin, Kieffer, Giesy, Hartman, Schwartz and Zahner.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* has the remark that in the long history of the Reformed Church for a hundred years before Mercersburg we do not remember a Reformed minister going over to Rome.

The *Messenger* tried‡ to defend Mercersburg thus by asking where is the best defence against Rome. Is it not in Nevin's answer to Brownson and in the articles of the Mercersburg men. Where have Drs. Bomberger and Kremer (the leaders of the low-churchmen) given such articles. But the best defense of Protestantism lies in Mercersburg's position. There are those in Protestantism who think that the strongest position against Rome is being farthest from it. This is wrong. Its fallacy is that the Romish Church is not entirely in error, whereas it mingles truth and error. That he had made the best defense of Protestantism, Brownson conceded in regard to Nevin.

In the *Messenger* of September 3 there is also an article answering the *Catholic Standard* and attacking the Catholic Church.

**Messenger*, August 6.

†*Messenger*, August 6.

‡September 3, 1873.

1. Its great error is its identifying the Church and Christianity so as to make the Church a fixed-expression of the meaning of Christianity. This is wrong, like ultra-Protestantism, which seeks for the finished model of the Church. But Christianity is a life, moving on, developing.

2. The *Standard* confuses personal salvation with the uncertainty of the future state of the Church. It is just this certainty that Rome could not give,—that Luther found in Protestantism. Nevin does not believe that the pope settles everything.

The *Christian World** says, suddenly Mercersburg theology is waking up to oppose Rome. But we decline to stand with them in their fault-finding of Protestantism. We do not believe in a nearer approach to Rome in order to be more firmly Protestant. We do not believe that the nearer we get to Rome the better Protestants we shall be.

The *Messenger*† says there is a difference between Catholicism and Mercersburg theology. The latter believed in historical development while the Catholic Church regarded everything as fixed. The *Christian World* replies that the historical development that Mercersburg theology believes in is developing men into the Catholic Church.

The *Messenger*‡ answers the *Catholic Standard*,—Romanism is presented by the *Standard* on three points:

1. Its certitude—it offers certitude because infallible.
2. The life of Christ is confined to the Romish Church.
3. The Romish Church alone has the true apostolic succession and therefore alone has the true ministry.

He answers these arguments. As to the first the certitude of faith must come from the self-authentication of the object of faith. No authentication greater or better than himself could come from beyond himself. Against the Catholic view, Christ should authenticate the Church instead of the Church authenticating Christ. When Christ was on earth, did the Jews have to find some infallible medium like the pope before they could receive him as the Son of God. The weakness of the Catholic theory is that you must first believe in the infallibility of the pope before you can believe savingly in Christ. Certitude in nature depends on truth itself, not on something outside of the truth. The Romish Church can not give certitude, because it can not give assurance. The Catholic idea of faith is different from the Protestant. With him, it is assent; with the Protestant, spiritual apprehension.

Ireneus answers§ the charge that Nevin was the cause of the defections. All the reasons given for it thus far, he says, are untenable. In October 1 he gives two remote reasons for these perversions:

*September 18.

†September 17.

‡September 24.

§September 24 and later in the *Messenger*.

1. The promulgation of a general theology, that is, one that is not peculiarly denominational. It was a peculiarity of the Reformed Church that she is irenic. In this broadening process Catholic authors were read.

2. The subordination of the symbolism of the Reformed Church. The immediate occasion was her virtual schism. He had never considered the cry of her Romanizing tendencies wholly groundless. But the opponents of Nevinism were also responsible for the defections by dividing the Church. He tries to answer Wolff's figure of the "fingerboards to Rome" by saying that fingerboards usually lie horizontally and indicate opposite directions,—that is, indicate merely, but let the traveler to his own choice. They warn as well as show. (It seems pretty hard for them to get over Wolff's figure.—A.)

The *Messenger** says that the *Christian World* is hard to please. Its first charge was, why don't the Nevinists defend themselves? Now it is that their defense is a feint. We don't need any defense, say they, for everybody knows that we are Protestants. Before the Eastern synod of 1871 it was said, "Let the synod come out and assert itself." The synod asserted itself. Then the *Christian World* found fault that it was humiliating that a synod had to do such a thing.

The Nevinist party finally charged Wolff with furnishing articles for their opponents in the Reformed Church, thus trying to leave the impression that Bomberger was in some sort of league with Wolff and thus trying to cast discredit on Mercersburg.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* of October, 1873,† gives the total list of perverts to Rome, 14, and to the Episcopal Church, 10.

The *Christian World*‡ had a letter from J. H. Good on "Tiffin Theology and Historical Development." He vindicated Tiffin theology, which had been attacked by the Nevinists.

It was true to the Heidelberg Catechism. It had no new theories. It used Ursinus on the Catechism as a text-book. It vindicated Protestantism against Romanism, the Order of Worship, etc. It did not believe in historical development, which some think a wonderful modern discovery. This is a mere theory of which there have been many. Newman had one, Nevin another, Wolff did not exactly agree with Fisher and Fisher with Klieforth or Dorner. Thirty years ago Newman was warmly greeted by Nevin, yet his views led him to Rome. So, the theory of Wolff, Ermentrout and Wagner have done. We do not exalt a mere theory like this, for the world is never conquered by a mere theory.

The author remembers the great uneasiness that came over the Church after the perversion of Wolff and Ermentrout

*October 1.

†Page 540.

‡October 30.

and which was accentuated by Forney's perversion,—the sense of suspicion of the Church and fear about the ministry. The Church was disgraced before the world by so great a number of perversions.

An interesting question comes up here in connection with these perversions,—why did so many of them go over at that time and not before? In some respects it is to be wondered at that they occurred. For since Mercersburg theology had been first taught, the Catholic Church had added to its doctrines that of the papal infallibility of the pope. It would have been easier for Dr. Nevins to have gone over in 1853 than for these later perversions in 1871-3, because then the infallibility of the pope had not yet been adopted. But we may suggest one or two possible reasons for these perversions at this time:

1. It became increasingly evident that Mercersburg theology could not gain the control of our entire Church. The opposition to the liturgical party was becoming strong, united and aggressive. So, as some Mercersburg ministers gave up hope of carrying the Reformed Church, they left it.

2. Their perversion was the natural result of their early high-church views. Man not merely thinks logically but lives logically. As time goes on, he follows the logic of his views. And these men in later years were simply reaping what had been sown in their minds in earlier life. High-church views always point Romeward and many a Protestant high-churchman has not stopped until he has landed in Rome.

SECTION 5. THE SYNOD OF 1873.

The Eastern synod appointed a committee on the Super appeal case, to report at the next annual meeting of the synod. The Mercersburg party evidently still had hopes of upsetting the decision of the General Synod of 1872 in the case of Ursinus college teaching theology. In reference to the General Synod's action on the Dunn appeal case, it declared that inasmuch as the principle involved in the case had been decided by synod in its action in regard to Mercersburg classis no further action was necessary. Thus the action of the synod

was set over against that of the General Synod. Mercersburg classis, however, overtured synod to overture General Synod to revise the action on the Dunn appeal case on the ground that the vote sustaining the appeal did not represent the mind of the Church. This the Eastern synod refused, declaring the action of the General synod as final. Its action also involved a rebuke to Lancaster classis for resolutions for assessments for benevolent purposes. The synod declared that the actions of the General Synod are and ought to be considered final, that is, open to reconsideration by itself before adjournment, but not subject to the revision or reconsideration by a subsequent General Synod.

The report of the committee on the Theological seminary contained a clause declaring the teaching of the seminary to be in accord with the views of the Reformed Church. Objection was raised that synod could not certainly know what was affirmed and should not commit itself. The vote was 23 affirmative to 6 negative, a majority not voting. The board of visitors made assessments for the indebtedness of the board. The tri-synodic board of Home Missions decided to labor on the Pacific coast, thus allowing the Ohio synod the intervening territory.

The German Philadelphia classis took action on the German translation of the Order of Worship, pronouncing it defective in several particulars. The synod referred it back to the classis with instruction to report its defects to the next synod. Thus the Order dragged its weary way along for a number of years without being published in German until 1873.

The Potomac synod did not accept the plan of union of the three eastern synods as drawn up by the previous Eastern synod. So the Eastern synod accepted the plan of the Potomac synod. The Pittsburg synod also accepted this plan.

As Clarion classis had directed the trustees of Clarion Collegiate Institute to consider the expediency of establishing a theological department, the synod declared the constitution was against it. And as the decision of the last General Synod was contrary to this decision, it passed resolutions unanimously overturing the General Synod to reconsider so much of

its action as may give sanction to irregular teaching of theology against which the organic law of the Reformed Church so carefully guards. It thus tried to re-open the Ursinus college case at the next General Synod.

The *Christian World** defends the General Synod against this action. The Mercersburg men had said, "If any man hear not the Church, let him be to thee as a publican. The Church is the pillar and ground of truth." It looked as if they believed in this as long as the Church agreed with them. But when it goes against them, they forget all their sermons about obedience and not only fail to preach it, but take measures to get up a quasi-rebellion against it, as the Pittsburg synod has done. The latter looks upon General Synod's action as if it had sanctioned an irregularity, which it considers a violation of the organic law of the Church. What a commotion would be caused if lawyers in civil courts would request the judges of the supreme courts to reverse their decisions and make them conform to the opinion of the district court. Pittsburg synod says, "We know a little more than you do, General Synod!" But the General Synod is the final arbiter. Again, Pittsburg synod charges the General Synod with an irregularity. An irregularity is an act without synodical authority. But the General Synod gave it its authority, where, then, is the irregularity? If General Synod has violated the organic law, who is the judge, General Synod or a district synod like the Pittsburg? Evidently the former. As to the charge that no human enactment can annul a divine right such as teaching theology, it replied, but the teacher of theology is not a Biblical office, only an ecclesiastical arrangement. The General Synod simply confirmed a right always existing in the Reformed Church of the minister to teach theology.

SECTION 6. REV. DR. SCHNECK'S BOOK ON MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY.

This book appeared in 1874 and made a great sensation.† Coming as it did from one of the oldest ministers of the Reformed Church and one who in the previous generation had been among the most prominent,—the man who called Schaff to this country and opened the way for Nevin to enter our Church, it was noteworthy. The *Reformed Church Monthly* says of him: "His age, experience, thorough hearty knowledge of our principles, long fidelity to the faith and services for the Church fitted him for the task."

*December 11.

†There are still some copies of this book for sale at a low price at the bookstore of the heirs of Mr. Snider, Chambersburg.

Dr. Schneck's book, entitled "Mercersburg Theology Inconsistent with Protestant and Reformed Doctrine," was intended to reveal and refute the Mercersburg theology.

He first gives a description of the teaching of Mercersburg theology and says the catechism teaches differently. He then takes up the doctrines of the atonement, justification by faith, and the priesthood of the ministry, and showed that the Mercersburg doctrine was different from that of the Reformed. He takes up the statement, made in the *Messenger* of September 17, 1873, that "only a superficial study of the Heidelberg Catechism makes Christ's sacrifice on the cross fundamental. That this doctrinal system underlies and animates the Heidelberg Catechism we can not believe,"—that the atonement is central is incompatible with the central position of the Creed. Schneck replied that the Creed was virtually placed above the written gospel (page 3). Mercersburg holds, he says, that we are saved not by Christ's passion and death appropriated by faith, but by participating in the theanthropic or divine-human nature of Christ,—the incarnation, not the atonement, is the central doctrine. He takes up also the philosophical views which were at the bottom of their theology, namely, that Christ took on himself generic humanity. This is, he says,* a mere assumption without a particle of proof that there is such a thing as generic humanity. It is furthermore a pure assumption without a particle of proof that Christ's assumed generic humanity. It is in the third place a pure supposition without any proof at all that Christ's assumption of generic humanity was the redemption of the world. The Scriptures point rather to the cross for redemption than to the incarnation.

On justification, he showed that their theory of justification made it depend on our union with Christ through his theanthropic life instead of the Old Reformed view which made justification to be forensic, dependent on the merits of Christ. On the priesthood, he showed that the priesthood of the ministry was contrary to the priesthood of all believers, which is the Protestant doctrine.

He also takes up confession and absolution and the altar, showing that they, like the doctrines just mentioned, were contrary to the Reformed views and customs. He then considers the sacraments, showing that the Mercersburg views were not the old Reformed doctrine.

Appel† says that Schneck's book fell still-born from the press.—Nevin did not think it necessary to notice it. But on the other hand this book was received with great joy by the Old Reformed because of its author's known ability and also

*Page 42.

†Life of Nevin, page 540.

because it was the first book written directly against Nevinism. Dr. Good, in the *Christian World*, calls it "a book for the times." The *Reformed Church Monthly* highly endorses the book. No reply was ever made by the Mercersburg party to this book, although at one time in 1873 Dr. Good says there was a rumor that some one was preparing a reply.

An attempt, however, was made not to answer it, but to throw discredit on its truthfulness by impugning a quotation made by Dr. Schneck from Gerhart's Tract No. III. It was claimed that the quotation was invented. Dr. Gerhart says he wrote to Schneck and received a reply from him in which he confessed that he took it from the *Reformed Church Monthly* instead of directly from Gerhart, because he was in a hurry to send material to the publishers of his book,—that he confessed and regretted the mistake. Gerhart said the spurious passage was the opposite of what Mercersburg taught. The sentence quoted from Gerhart was:

"All the benefits of Christ are received not by faith, not through previous knowledge of our misery, not in the way of repentance, but through baptism and through baptism exclusively."

Gerhart declared that he would say the opposite, all of faith and not by baptism,—the objective virtue of baptism does not supersede the necessity of personal faith and the saving power of faith does not nullify the virtue of baptism.

Heidelberg, in the *Christian World*,* puts Gerhart's words in his Tract No. III and his words in his card against Schneck side by side, thus:

TRACT NO. 3.

"In holy baptism grace is this same divine life of Christ given by the new creating power of the Holy Ghost, to those who are by nature dead in sin, in that by baptism they are engrafted into Christ and thereby made partakers of Christ and all his benefits. There is no external washing with water without the internal washing with the Spirit."

CARD.

"All the benefits of Christ are received, that is appropriated, by us and thus made our own not by baptism, not in the way of any sacramental transaction and by the exercise of personal faith exclusively."

*May 21, 1874.

These statements, says the *Christian World*, can not be reconciled. Both sentiments can not be true.

Dr. Schneck's error was merely in the putting of a quotation mark. What he said was the substance of the teaching of Mercersburg. But Dr. Gerhart saw his opportunity and by going back on his previous statements he made Schneck contradict himself. But a mere error in a quotation mark is not sufficient to throw out the contents of the whole book. Still it diverted the minds of many from the real issue and in that way seemed to gain the object desired by the opponents of the book.

Dr. Bomberger finally replies* that Schneck's quotation was taken, quotation marks and all, from the *Reformed Church Monthly* of 1873 (page 299), and it was quoted from a review in 1871 of Gerhart's tract. It was a mere technical error. Gerhart tried to make it out that the quotation was a fabrication and an invention, which was false. He then quoted from Gerhart's tract to prove it was true. Gerhart, at the end of that tract says, "It needs no repentance to become a child of God. Do not tell them they must repent," etc. Dr. Gerhart now repudiates that.

Dr. Bomberger goes farther. He accuses Dr. Gerhart of not publishing the whole of Schneck's letter to him. For a copy of the letter had been found in Dr. Schneck's house, in which Schneck also says, "I am full of the belief that the sentence expresses in brief what you express in various sentences in Tract No. 3. To my mind a much stronger case can be presented than the lines in the book to which you object." So Dr. Schneck did not take back anything by his letter.

Heidelberg† also replies to Dr. Gerhart. He says the matter of the quotation is important. But if this epitome by the *Monthly* of Mercersburg theology were correct, why during the three years before was it never complained of. It was apparently permitted to pass at first as a correct statement of Gerhart's views. Dr. Gerhart, in the article falls into a mistake fully as culpable as Schneck. He says the Heidelberg catechism says "we are washed from our sins by the blood and spirit of Christ as certainly as we are washed eternally by water." It does not say so, according to answer 69, for it also says "we are admonished and assured," and "adding thereunto this promise." He compares Dr. Gerhart's statements and says they are contradictory. In Gerhart's tract there is not the faintest trace of the later view given in his card. This card is the opposite of Mr. Rupp's statements about baptism (he taught baptismal regeneration). Dr. Gerhart's statement is the opposite of the

**Christian World*, June 4, 1874.

†*Christian World* of June 11.

Order of Worship where baptism is the actual communication of the benefits of Christ. Dr. Gerhart ought to learn English. Three years ago Dr. Gerhart taught that baptism makes us partakers of Christ. Par-take means to take part. Either Dr. Gerhart had changed or the English language.

Dr. Nevin, in the *Mercersburg Review*, calls Schneck's book a miserable travesty of Mercersburg Theology, garbled quotations and all.

The *Christian World* denies that it is a caricature and declared that Dr. Nevin had no right thus to attack a dead man. Schneck's letter was frank, Christian, honorable. Not so Gerhart's treatment of it. The letter said, "In speaking of parents of baptized children you (Gerhart) use the following language, 'It needs no repentance in order to become a child of God,' and a little farther on you say, 'Do not tell them that they must repent of sin and obey God in order that God may love them, God loves them, etc.' To my mind, a much stronger case could be presented than the four lines of the book to which you object. And I hereby declare that I will take the first opportunity to displace those four lines and put in place two or three times as many lines of direct quotations," etc. Now, why did Gerhart keep this part of the letter back?

The *Messenger** replies that the theme of Tract No. 3 was not the nature and necessity of personal faith and therefore not much was said about faith. Our critics might as well find fault with James for ignoring faith when that was not his subject. Nor is its theme the necessity of repentance. But it affirms the virtue of baptism so as to imply the duty represented on the part of the baptized. He denies that the sentence "Do not tell them to repent" is in the Tract No. 3, for the tract adds "they ought to be truly sorry for sin, hate all evil," etc. The sentence, "the baptized need no repentance" is a negative sentence and is followed by a positive one. The child needs repentance to live in Christ.

Heidelberg† says that Dr. Gerhart

(1) Having been convicted by previous proofs that he taught that we are ingrafted by baptism, (whereas the catechism says we are ingrafted by faith,) takes refuge at last in half-truths which only make the matter worse. As late as June 24, he says we are ingrafted by baptism. He himself called baptism and faith the contradictory opposites of each other. If these are half-truths, then the catechism teaches only half-truths instead of whole truths; for it ascribes all these benefits to faith. Then for three centuries our Church rested on half-truths and now only at last has gotten to the whole truth.

(2) Gerhart then, when he published the tract, was guilty of half-truths according to his own theory.

*July 8.

†*Christian World*, July 23.

(3) Then the whole of the Mercersburg doctrine of baptism is half-truths. What a confession! In such contradictions has it involved itself.

But perhaps philosophy will come to his relief in the distinction between subject and object, that baptism expresses the objective and faith the subjective. These are good words where properly used. But it is not a clear distinction. It is unscriptural, for the Bible says faith is a divine work. The statement is the opposite of the catechism, which says (answer 65) that the Holy Ghost works faith by the preaching of the gospel and confirms it by the use of the sacraments. The objective side of redemption is in the person and work of Christ and not in baptism.

The *Messenger** says the object of the sentence "Do not tell them," etc., in Tract No. 3, was to show that repentance and obedience are not the *producing* causes of God's love. God's love is toward them as sinners. If our opponents refuse this doctrine they must hold the opposite, which is the Catholic doctrine of works.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* of September (page 484) refers to the rumor about Dr. Schneck, that before his death he had stated that he regretted that he had written and published the book,—and shortly before his death said if he had to write it again, he would make important changes in it.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* denied this and said Dr. Schneck always declared the opposite of this. His heart and conscience seemed to be relieved of a heavy burden when his book was published. Even in the letter to Gerhart, he tells him that the book has set forth the truth and that if another edition were published, this would be abundantly proven.

Helffrich† publishes a letter of Dr. Schneck, written during the last week of his life, in which he urges Dr. Helffrich to promote the sale of his book. This does not look as if he were sorry that he had published it or that he desired to retract anything.

We have also had a letter from and later a conversation with, Mr. Wicke, an elder of Dr. Schneck's Church at Chambersburg, and who was with him when he died. He utterly denies that Dr. Schneck ever said that he retracted anything he had published or was sorry for it. So that the rumor was baseless.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* says Gerhart's attack on Schneck has unearthed the author of Tract No. 3,‡ which had been published anonymously.

*September 2.

†Autobiography, page 486.

‡These tracts were intended to be like the Tracts of the Puseyites. Puseyism began in July, 1833, at a conference at Harleigh, England. In two years it issued seventy tracts, of which No. 90 showed the relations of Puseyism to Rome.

Bomberger, in the *Reformed Church Monthly*, says they dared not openly and fairly meet Schneck's book, but only replied that it was a tissue of misquotations and misrepresentations. The *Reformed Church Monthly* later says, Two years have passed away since Schneck's book has been published and yet no answer. It appeared in English and German in two editions. The English edition was nearly exhausted within a few months of its publication. With but one or two incidental exceptions Mercersburg had not noticed it.

SECTION 7. THE SYNOD OF 1874.

This synod took up the Super appeal case about the teaching of theology in Ursinus college but decided that as the Eastern synod of 1873 had decided that the acts of the General Synod were final and not subject to revision or to be considered by subsequent synods, it was not advisable to take any further action.

A prominent subject before the synod was the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Theological seminary at Carlisle in 1825. This matter had been before it at several sessions and it now took final action that the next meeting of the synod should be held at Lancaster, where the seminary now was located. It ordered that a register of the institution be published. It recommended that all pastors preach on the subject on May 7 or 14 and submit to the consistory whether a collection should be taken for the institution, and if they decided in the affirmative to arrange for that purpose. It ordered that a circular be sent to all pastors and appointed an executive committee of five to superintend the semi-centennial celebration. This action it ordered to be transmitted to the Pittsburg and Potomac synods.

Another prominent subject before the synod was its publication interests. Its periodicals, on account of the controversy and the financial panic of 1873, had decreased in circulation all, with one exception. All efforts to rally the Church to their maintenance had been unsuccessful. So synod ordered the board to make changes to suit the circumstances. It transferred the *Kirchenzeitung* to the Philadelphia (German) classis. This paper never had been successful, as almost all of the Germans were with the Old Reformed party. It also

took action ordering the Board to prepare a series of Sunday school lesson papers according to the church-year, or as it said, "according to the distinctive doctrines and usages of the Reformed Church." The Board, when it afterward met, decided to annex this Sunday school lesson help to the *Guardian*. The synod also ordered that the *Mercersburg Review* should no longer be published by the Board but be made a private enterprise.

The *Reformed Church Monthly* approved of this act because it said the *Mercersburg Review* was a partisan organ of the Mercersburg School and yet asked the whole eastern Church to become its financial endorser.*

As a result in the *Messenger* of November 18, 1874, there appeared a great change. There was a change in form, price and general character to a folio, half as large as when an eight page paper. The price was made two dollars.

The Potomac synod refused to sustain the complaint from Frederick against Maryland classis for confirming the call to Dr. Eschbach. It was then appealed to General Synod.

The Potomac synod also took up the subject of the Sunday School lessons. Rev. Mr. Ault championed the International Sunday School Lessons. Drs. Higbee and Gans advocated the Sunday School lessons according to the church-year. An objection to the latter was offered that if there was such a desire (as was reported) to study the Bible according to the church-year, why were Gans' books, arranged according to the church-year, used in so few of our Sunday Schools. The Synod, however, approved of the church-year course of Sunday School lessons.

*The *Messenger* (December 23) says of the *Mercersburg Review* that while the *Messenger* and the *Guardian* were brought before the synod, the *Review* was left out in the cold. Had it not done an important work? The receipts of the *Review* revealed a deficit each year, not large, but this now reached a considerable dimension, which, in the straitened circumstances of the Board, it was unable to continue. The editor is pecuniarily responsible. But no provision was made for the *Guardian* by the synod except provisionally for the Sunday School department. The *Review* was continued on the pecuniary responsibility of an individual when the Board transferred to him its subscription list.

SECTION 8. THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (1875).

In the *Messenger* of January 20, 1875, the committee of the Eastern synod sent out a circular asking the observance of the semi-centennial of the seminary on May 7 or 14 (these being the dates nearest the date of the opening of the seminary on May 11, 1825). It also asked them to submit to their consistories the taking up of a collection for the seminary.

The *Reformed Church Monthly*, in writing on the circular and the appeal for the semi-centennial of the seminary, asks, Why have there been so many defections in the ranks of its graduates? The seminary was started by men who believed in new-measures.* How different in this regard the doctrines and customs of the seminary now from those of its founders?

In connection with the semi-centennial, two articles appeared in the *Mercersburg Review* of 1876,—“The External History of the Theological Seminary,” by Rev. C. Z. Weiser, D.D. Half of the article is taken up with the early Reformed Church before the days of the founding of the seminary. Then he describes the early difficulties in getting it started.—Dr. Milledoler’s final declination and the election of Dr. Mayer as professor. He then gave a brief history of the seminary, from 1825 to 1875. This was followed by an article by Prof. T. G. Apple on “The Internal History of the Seminary.” He described the type of theology taught in it. Speaking of Prof. Mayer, he reverts, as the Mercersburg men always did, to Prof. Mayer’s divergences from orthodoxy, saying, however, that they were not so much divergences from the usual definitions of the dogmas of the Church as in the manner of their explanation.

Dr. Apple, however, grants that Mayer’s system of theology was theistic, and not like Nevin’s, Christological. He mainly describes the theological thought of the seminary as revealed first in Nevin’s *Anxious Bench*, then in the later development of Mercersburg theology. He reviews its position on the sacraments and the person of Christ and then turns to its

*See page 148.

philosophy, devoting some time to a panygyric of Prof. Rauch, claiming that he laid the basis of their system philosophically, especially in his realism and his view of the organic. He then spoke of Dr. Wolff's teaching and Higbee's and Harbaugh's, and claimed that the seminary had produced certain good results in our Church.

1. It had emphasized catechization and the use of the catechism.

2. It had rehabilitated the Church festivals.

3. It had infused new life into the ordinary forms of Church service and government.

We might remark that there was not the life and enthusiasm produced by this semi-Centennial as came out of the Centenary movement of 1841 or as came out of the revival period previous to it, out of which came the college and seminary and the church-papers. Mercersburg theology had divided the Church and thus chilled its activities.

SECTION 9. THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1875.

The General Synod met at Fort Wayne, Ind. The election of the president revealed that the Mercersburg men were in control, Dr. Zieber being elected president. But like its president, this General Synod was conservatively high-church and not partisan. Perhaps the defeat of 1872 made the extreme high-churchmen more careful. The most important question that the General Synod had before it was whether the case of Ursinus college should be reopened. The Eastern synod had taken the position that the acts of one General Synod could not be reviewed by any later General Synod, as its judgments were final. But the Pittsburg synod had taken a different position, and sought to have the case reopened. With which one of these would the General Synod decide? Pittsburg synod sent up an overture asking General Synod to reconsider so much of its action of the last General Synod as had reference to teachers of theology, so that the district synods might be protected in their absolute constitutional right of jurisdiction and control over the theological teaching

in its bounds. The General Synod decided that the action of the previous General Synod had regard to a specific case and gave no utterance as to the meaning or intent of the constitution. However, to protect the district synod, it passed a resolution that according to the clear provision of the constitution, all public theological teaching within the bound of any particular synod be placed under the control of that synod. But it also declared that nothing in this resolution was to be construed as reversing or affirming the action of the General Synod of 1872 about Ursinus college.

The Pittsburg synod had also brought up another case on this subject. As if relying on the action of the previous General Synod, Clarion classis inaugurated a movement looking toward the opening of a theological department in connection with the Clarion Institute. The matter came before the Pittsburg synod and was severely rebuked there. So an overture was taken up to the General Synod. We do not find an action of the General Synod on this particular case unless action on it was intended to be included in its previous action as given before. Dr. Bomberger said that this case of the Pittsburg synod was intended to furnish a new case if necessary to come before the General Synod so that General Synod might reverse its previous decision in regard to Ursinus Theological department.

This General Synod was actuated by a spirit of comparative fairness, as the *Christian World* grants, even though it was under the control of the Mercersburg party. A spirit of mutual forbearance was beginning to appear more and more in the Church.

The synod took an important action permitting the division of classes on the basis of language into English and German classes. The Home Missionary report revealed that the General Synod's board had done nothing, as the work was in the hands of the district synods' boards. The Foreign Mission board reported that it had four thousand dollars in hand. The General Synod refused to join the Alliance of the Presbyterian Churches throughout the World because its creed was

the Heidelberg Catechism, while their's was the Westminster, although it contemplated that movement with satisfaction.

After this General Synod was over, quite a discussion arose in the Church papers as to the meaning of its action in reply to the overture of the Pittsburg synod on the status of theological teaching. J. H. D.* criticised the *Christian World* for its report of the synod where it says that according to the action of the last two General Synods, the theological department of Ursinus college had the full and unequivocal sanction of the Church and is a recognized school of the Church. The action of the General Synod of 1872, he said, was only a negative action, saying that Bomberger was not disorderly. But there was no affirmative sanction or recognition of the institution. Even if the negative form implies an affirmative, it only means that the conduct of Bomberger and his associates was orderly and nothing more. It implies no sanction or recognition of Ursinus. The latter part of the action "although not invested," etc., was not in the original draft, but was added by T. G. Apple. This clause was added

1. To make General Synod stultify its own action.
2. It was a virtual refusal of sanction because it hinted that Dr. Bomberger was not invested with the office, etc.
3. Dr. Apple, the mover, then and there and ever since has firmly opposed the sanction.

So there is no sanction by General Synod of Ursinus college. The very opposite is confessed in the latter part of the definition itself, as Apple intended.

As to the action of the General Synod of 1875, the resolution, which did not propose to take up the action of the previous General Synod, was no recognition of Ursinus. It puts the action out of any sanction. Dr. Bomberger offered a resolution that the action now to be taken was not designed to reflect on the constitutional legitimacy of the theological department of the insitution named or to imply that the several departments of said institution are not worthy of ecclesiastical regard. Here he tried to gain sanction. Over this was one of the chief contests of the synod. The advocates of the committee's report declared that their report should not be made operative in regard to the Super appeal case. The opposition was so great that part of Bomberger's resolution was stricken out and only the first part remained. This neither reverses or affirms the decision of the General Synod of 1872. There was just as great a determination on the one side to guard the action of the General Synod of 1875 as there was on the other to guard it from reversing or repudiating the action of the General Synod of 1872. Even in its present form it is distasteful to many in the synod. So Dr. Apple offered the following, "that nothing be construed as reversing or affirming the Super

**Christian World*, August 19.

appeal case." This was finally accepted by Bomberger and his friends. The action, says Derr, of the two synods completely denies sanction or recognition of Ursinus. Bomberger's effort to gain it was rejected.

The *Christian World* replies (July 22) that General Synod meant what it said,

(1) That Ursinus was orderly in offering theological instruction and that such instruction was sanctioned.

(2) That if the action was not thus in effect as understood by the majority but designed by T. G. Apple to be different, then he and those agreeing with him are in an unenviable position by reason of their secret design and their continued silence respecting it. Later the *Christian World* says it is not its purpose to notice the article or to attempt to answer it. The spirit of the article was simply due to hatred of Ursinus.

Dr. Super replied,* saying that the General Synod of 1872 gave recognition to the theological department of Ursinus college. Its action meant that Dr. Bomberger and his associates were orderly and that students prepared there had the right to go to any classis on equal footing with any other licentiate. This, he said, had been recognized by the classes. The Eastern synod, in reviewing the proceedings of the different classes that did this, had pronounced their reception of young men from Ursinus to be perfectly in order and it had enrolled them as ministers. If this was not recognition of Ursinus, what more can we desire except the mere technical title of "teacher of theology." He continued,—the objector says "Anybody can teach theology." This is based on the absurd position that there are two kinds of theology, one for the pulpit and one for the theological seminary. It is objected that ministers will be poured into the Church from every quarter. Let them come, Super replied; we need them. But on the other hand, it is objected that the teacher of theology may be an Arian. He replies that the synod's decision saves us from that. He says J. H. D. several times says the General Synod of 1872 stultified itself by its action. But there was no stultification, and it is strange that he should delight so much in this, for his former position was to dwell on the authority of the Church as the voice of God. If Apple did what D. says he intended to do at the General Synod of 1875, it is unworthy of a doctor of divinity and a teacher of theology. But whether true or not, it failed of its purpose. At any rate the decision of the General Synod of 1872 is irreversible. For there can not be two decisions (one in 1872 and another in 1875) on the same case and the decision of the supreme court is final. There would be no security in anything if it were not. Why did Pittsburg synod make its request if nothing had been granted by the General Synod of 1872 according to J. H. D. The reason why there was so much restlessness was because

**Christian World*, July 22.

something had been granted. The General Synod of 1875, instead of granting the request of Pittsburg synod expressly denied it and said that nothing in it reversed or affirmed the decision of 1872. As to the negative form of the action of the synod of 1872, it was in that form because it was a reversal of a positive act of the Eastern synod. Nothing would do that but a flat denial. Apple, it seems, published a card agreeing with J. H. D. His aim in the second part of what he proposed at the General Synod was to make the first part judicially void. But he failed. Jesuitry was caught in its own trap, as Super has proved.

In the *Christian World** E. M. R. says Apple admits virtually that it was an attempt to lead General Synod to stultify itself unwittingly and J. H. D. was privy to it. He says, Was it right for a minister of Jesus Christ to descend to such a trick,—to a professor of a theological seminary to place such an example before his students,—was it respectful as a member of synod to his brethren,—was it the conduct of a Christian gentleman to lead General Synod unconsciously to stultify or make a fool of itself. Such an act has never marked the bitterest controversy of the modern Church. If this be the ethics at Lancaster, the society of Jesus need ask no more. He had the right to hold that synod's act was contrary to the constitution but not to make the synod a fool of itself.

Apple has a card† in which he said his object in his amendment at the General Synod of 1875 was to bring into clearer light the contradiction of the decision in the Super appeal case. There was no concealment. It was not Jesuitism, for both parties saw what they were doing. The General Synod of 1875 decided that the right to teach theology belonged to the synod and not to the classis. He repelled the charges made against him.

Bomberger says, All this is a new attempt to add the stigma of illegitimacy and unconstitutionality to Ursinus college. If so, then the *Messenger* and the *Reformed Era* are unconstitutional, for where in the constitution is there authority for them. The constitution, he says, does not provide for a Society for the Relief of Ministers and Orphans, is that an unconstitutional or illegitimate society?—or of Orphans' Asylums, are they unconstitutional. The constitution provides for synod to publish books, but does not make it unlawful for any party to engage in the publishing business.

SECTION 10. THE SYNODS OF 1875-8.

The Philadelphia classis sent up an overture to the synod of 1875 on the tendency in certain sections of the Church on the part of higher judicatories to interfere with the rights of vacant congregations. Synod refused to entertain it in the

*October 7.

†*Christian World*, October 7.

form presented because it failed to specify any case of alleged interference. This decision was, therefore, against the Old Reformed.

The publication interests of the East received considerable attention from this synod. The *Lammerhirte* was ordered to be transferred to the German publishing house at Cleveland, but synod ordered the publication house again to publish the *Reformed Review*. It appointed a committee to meet the other two synods about having only one church-paper. So Dr. Russell was left out of any editorial relation and his *Reformed Era* was discontinued.

The synod of 1875 was criticised for not having had a single free prayer offered during its session. The reply was made that it was the custom of St. Luke's congregation, Lancaster, where it met, always to use the liturgy. Criticism was also made on the altar and the cross there, so that the writer said he felt he had gotten into the wrong place when he went into the synod. Rev. Mr. Graeff tries to explain away this criticism.

The question of synodical and classical assessments now became prominent. Those who supported Ursinus college refused to pay assessments laid on them for the college and seminary at Lancaster. For this they were severely criticised at classes and sometimes drastic action was taken against them because delinquents. Personal threats were sometimes made against them of censure and even of deprivation of office. All this was done notwithstanding the action of the General Synod of 1872 in the Dunn appeal case, which declared that congregations had the right to send their benevolences where they wanted. The matter finally came to a serious issue at the Eastern synod of 1877. It was brought before the synod by East Pennsylvania classis, which asked for a deliverance on the following points:

- a. Are pastoral charges in duty bound to make proper efforts to meet classical assessments for the benevolent objects of the Church?
- b. What is the remedy of a classis in case of non-fulfillment on the part of a pastor and charge?

East Pennsylvania classis evidently wanted to get the authority of synod in its support so as to compel delinquents to pay their assessments. The synod declared

1. That the pastoral charges were in duty bound to meet classical assessments for the benevolent objects of the Church.

2. That inasmuch as the obligation to give benevolent moneys is moral and spiritual and not legal, therefore the various classes should affectionately urge all their pastors and charges to make free-will offerings for such benevolent objects. But in case of non-compliance, the classes should not use the rigor of ecclesiastical discipline.

The action of the synod thus declared that congregations and pastors ought to pay their assessments, but that classis could not legally collect it, thus making it morally binding. This decision of the synod was further complicated by an act of synod, when it voted moneys out of the contingent fund of synod to the use of the publication-house in Philadelphia. This publication-house of our Church, partly on account of the controversy and partly on account of the hard times which began in 1873 was in straits financially. An effort was made to relieve it in this way. But this action gave great offense to the Old Reformed party. They declared that this was a perversion of funds, as the money was raised by them for contingent expenses and not for the publication interests which continually opposed them because it entirely favored the high-church party. They declared that if synod thus perverted money, they would not raise their apportionments.

Unfortunately at this synod, personalities entered into the bitter debate that took place. The president of synod was charged by the Old Reformed with ruling arbitrarily against them. The feeling became so strong among them that their rights were not cared for by synod and that they were always mistreated there that they started a movement to organize a separate synod on the ground of cultus, just as the German part of our Church had already done on the basis of language. A conference was held by them one evening of synod. It appointed a committee to confer about holding a convention to prepare a memorial to the General Synod, ask-

ing that such a separate synod be formed. This committee met at Collegeville, November 13, 1877. It decided that the calling of a convention for that purpose was not advisable, but appointed a committee to prepare an amendment to the constitution in the way of a memorial to the General Synod and decided that such an amendment should be submitted to a future conference. This memorial was prepared and is as follows:

“WHEREAS, Diversities of belief in regard to doctrine are known and acknowledged to exist in our Church, especially in the eastern portion of it, and these have been and are still the occasion of unpleasant differences of feeling; and

“WHEREAS, The experience of many years past testifies that this state of affairs mars the fellowship of the disagreeing parties brought together in synodical and other meetings, and that it seriously hinders fraternal co-operation in the various activities of the Church; and

“WHEREAS, It is believed that to remedy these evils, to prevent further harm from these causes and to promote a greater measure of peace, an amicable division of those entertaining the diverse views referred to, into distinct synods is desirable and should be effected.

“Therefore, with a view of gaining permission of General Synod and thus of the synods and classes directly interested, for the formation of a new district synod within the limits of the synod of the United States and of the synod of the Potomac, upon the principle already established in the case of the new German classes and synods, the following petition is respectfully presented:

“*Resolved*, That the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States to convene at Lancaster, Pa., in May, 1878, be and hereby is respectfully requested to submit to the several classes an additional amendment to article 46 of the constitution in form and substance as follows: ‘Provided further, that in the bounds of classes which are pre-vaillingly in favor of the doctrinal views represented in the Order of Worship (Eastern liturgy) of 1866, other classes may be organized, composed of those ministers and pastoral charges in favor of the doctrinal views represented in the liturgy or Order of Worship (Western) of 1869; and so also conversely in the case of classes prevaillingly in favor of the doctrinal views represented in the liturgy or Order of Worship other classes may be organized in the same way.’ ”

This amendment followed almost literally the request of the Germans for separate organization. They hoped therefore it would be more easily adopted. It was proposed that this memorial be adopted by Philadelphia and North Carolina

classes at special meetings to be held previous to the meetings of the General Synod. We do not find anywhere any such action coming up to the General Synod of 1878 from these classes. The measure was evidently for some reason held in abeyance, perhaps because the next General Synod was to be held in the East, where the high-churchmen might be in control.

A complaint was made that the devotional services of the Potomac synod (1876) were all liturgical. All special devotional services were omitted, such as had been customary years ago. It was the custom in our Church not many years before to have several hours of one or two sessions set apart for singing, prayer and addresses. We remember, says the writer, the deep and happy impressions of such services. But this synod knew no such thing as a prayer-meeting. Scarcely a prayer is offered except the strict form in the liturgy for the opening of synod.

SECTION 11. THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1878.

This Synod met at Lancaster. The election of the president revealed the strength of the two parties. On the first ballot there was a tie, but on the second Dr. Van Horne had one majority over Dr. Bausman. This threw the organization of the synod into the Old Reformed party. The defeat was felt all the more keenly because it took place at Lancaster, the seat and center of the high-church party.

The *Christian World** says that all hands are tired of the controversy, that there is a general feeling that the inner dissensions were bringing ruin on the Church unless a remedy be speedily applied. This feeling culminated in the propositions offered by Rev. Dr. C. Z. Weiser on Monday evening, May 20. He suggested that a commission be created which should decide the differences. (This was modeled after the famous commission to settle the political controversy about the presidency of our country between Hayes and Tilden in 1876-7.) This commission was to prepare a basis upon which all parts of the Church could meet. This proposition met with favor at

*May 30.

once. A number of delegates regardless of party lines advocated the adoption of the resolution. After a long discussion the plan was adopted, and a committee was appointed to consider it. They approved it and the General Synod authorized the creation of such a commission, the different synods to elect their delegates, due regard being paid to minorities in the synods. The General Synod also adopted the following action:

WHEREAS, Under the guidance of the great Head of the Church this General Synod with cordial unanimity has inaugurated measures to restore harmony and peace within its bounds; therefore,

Resolved, That the ministers and members represented in this Synod be admonished to use their official and personal influence for the cultivation of mutual confidence and peace.

Resolved, That the editors of our Church periodicals be requested, as far as possible, to infuse a spirit of conciliation and concord into their publications.

Resolved, That the professors of our classical, collegiate and theological institutions be requested to cultivate such a spirit of charitableness and peace in the minds of their students as are contemplated in the aforesaid conciliatory measures adopted by this synod.

Resolved, That this General Synod most earnestly requests the members of all the ecclesiastical bodies under its supervision in the deliberations and decisions of their regular and special meetings to have a due and charitable regard for each other's conscientious convictions and as far as possible to conduct their business so as to cultivate and advance the cause of peace and good will among the congregations and people of our Reformed Zion.

As to the basis of representation in the Commission, it took action, that General Synod earnestly recommends to the district synods that in the appointment of their respective delegations to this Commission, they pay due regard to a minority tendency where such exists.

Several events at the synod were significant. Immediately after the election of Dr. Van Horne as president, the large cross which had stood on the altar of the church was removed and kept out of sight during the entire session of the General Synod. The new tide of feeling also showed itself in a prayer-meeting by the Germans,—the first prayer-meeting at a General Synod.

At first there was some doubt as to whether the peace movement was a hearty one and would receive the endorsement by

the Church at large. The *Mercersburg Review* for July came out in its favor expressing full confidence in it.

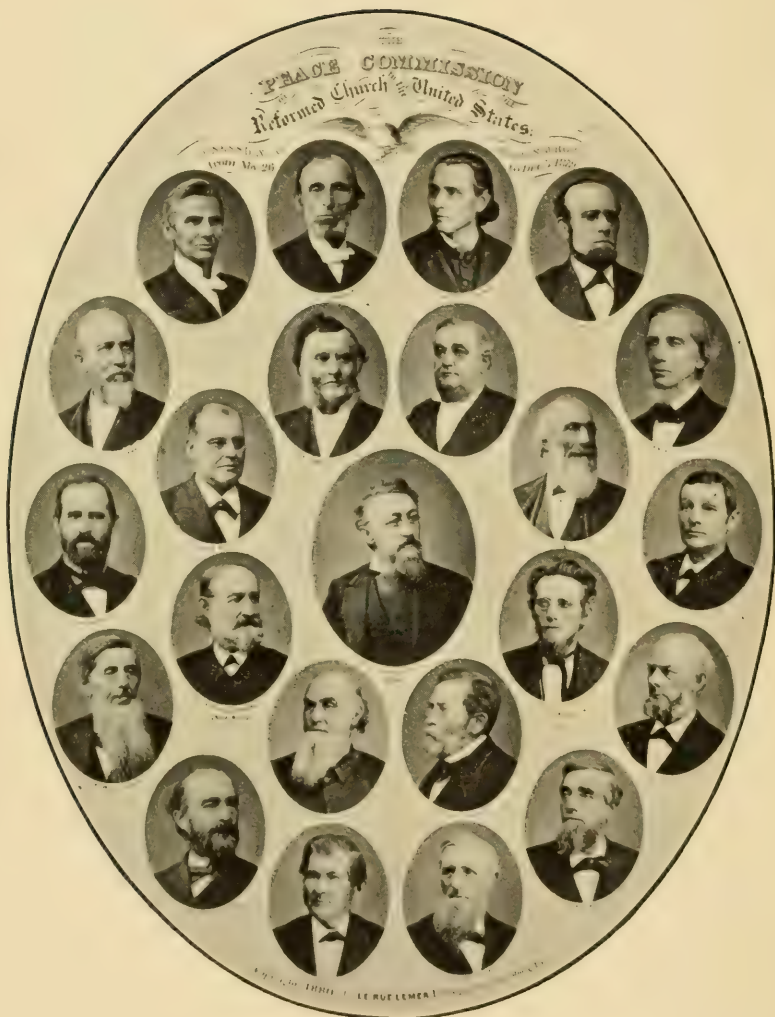
All agreed, it said, on the desirableness of peace, but not all were agreed on full faith in it. Some were inclined to wait and see what the commission would do before they embraced this faith. The restoration will come from the practical side rather than the theoretical, the first thing needed is confidence, the second we must show confidence. It urged all to unite on the *Mercersburg Review*.

The action of the Eastern Synod of 1878 did much to aid this feeling of confidence. It met in convention at Easton and elected Dr. Bomberger president. It endorsed heartily the action of the General Synod on the peace movement. It recalled the action of the synod of 1868 against Bomberger. This act did more to restore confidence than anything else. It commended Ursinus college, as did the Potomac synod.

THE
PEACE COMMISSION
Reformed Church of the United States.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
1864 May 26

NEW YORK, N. Y.
1864 May 26



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1864 May 26

PART III.

Events After the Liturgical Controversy (1878-1910.)

CHAPTER I.

IMPORTANT EVENTS.

SECTION 1. THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

The General Synod of 1878 requested the different synods to elect the members of the Peace Commission, giving due proportion to minorities within them. The different synods then elected their delegates as follows:†

Eastern synod.—Revs. Drs. Weiser,* T. G. Apple,* F. W. Kremer and Elders D. W. Gross,* Seibert* and Kelker.

Ohio synod.—Revs. Drs. J. H. Good and Kefauver* and elders Baughman and Kuhns.

Northwest synod.—Revs. Drs. H. J. Ruetenik and Greding and elders Scheele and Tons.

Pittsburg synod.—Revs. Titzel* and J. H. Apple,* and elders Bousch* and Craig.*

Potomac synod.—Revs. Drs. Callender* and Welker and elders Wirt* and Steiner.*

German Eastern synod.—Rev. Dr. Kuelling and elder W. G. Gross.

By a fortunate Providence this commission was equally divided between the liturgical and anti-liturgical parties. They met December 3, 1879, and drew up a Peace Compact on three points, doctrine, cultus and government. It declared that,—

In doctrine, the Reformed Church in the United States unites in the confession of her adherence to the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures as set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism, taking the same in its historical

†Those marked * are liturgical, the rest anti-liturgical.

(or original) sense: and declares that any departure from the same is unauthorized by the Church: and renewedly directs all her ministers, editors and teachers of theology "faithfully to preach and defend the same."

This act is not to be so construed as to forbid or interfere with that degree of freedom in Scriptural and theological investigation which has always been enjoyed in the Reformed Church.*

In presenting the above as a basis for peace in the Church, we are not unmindful of the fact that more than this might be expected. We believe that the theological contest that has gone forward in our Church for over a quarter of a century, with earnestness and zeal, has resulted, (now that it has substantially come to a close, as we hope), in bringing the Church to a deeper apprehension of the truth. It would seem proper, therefore, that an attempt should be made to summarize in some general way this result. We therefore submit the following, as embodying certain points on which this commission is able to harmonize, and thus contribute towards that substantial agreement throughout the whole Church in the peace period upon which we are now entering:

I. We recognize in Jesus Christ and his sacrifice for fallen man, the foundation and source of our whole salvation.

II. We hold that the Christian life is begotten in us by the Word of God, which is ever living and carries in itself the power to quicken faith and love in the heart through the Holy Ghost.

III. We do not regard the visible Church as commensurate and identical with the invisible Church (according to the Roman theory), nor do we think that in this world the invisible Church can be separated from the visible (according to the theory of Pietism and false spiritualism); but while we do not identify them, we do not in our views separate them.

IV. We hold that in the use of the holy sacraments the grace signified by the outward signs is imparted to those who truly believe, but that those who come to these holy sacraments without faith, receive only the outward elements unto condemnation.

V. We have come to a clearer apprehension of the fact that the Christian life is something broader and deeper than its manifestations in conscious experience.

VI. We hold the doctrine of justification through true faith in Jesus Christ, according to which only the satisfaction, holiness and righteousness of Christ is our righteousness before God, and that we can not receive and apply the same to ourselves in any other way than by faith only.

*The first of these paragraphs favored the Old Reformed, the second, the Mercersburg party.

VII. We hold the doctrine of the ministerial office, according to which the ministers of the Church are not lords of faith but servants, messengers, heralds, watchmen of Christ, co-workers with God, preachers of the Word and stewards of the mysteries of God.

VIII. We hold the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers over against all Romanizing tendencies to priestly power, while we also assert the proper recognition of the ministerial office in the Church of Christ.

IX. We affirm our confidence in the truth of Protestantism over against the errors of Rome on the one hand and against the errors of rationalism and infidelity on the other.

X. All philosophical and theological speculations (in the Church) should be held in humble submission to the Word of God, which, with its heavenly light, should illumine and guide the operations and researches of reason.*

In cultus, it recommended to the General Synod the appointment of a Liturgical Commission, representing, like the Peace Commission, the various parties in the Church proportionately so that it might in an unpartisan way prepare a liturgy suited to all parties in the Church and report it to the General Synod. In the meantime the different liturgies were to be allowed in use provided, however, that hereafter the liturgy is not to be introduced without the consent of the congregation and consistory. (This latter point the Old Reformed party had always demanded.—A.)

On church government, it requested the judicatories of the Church to consider fitness in their appointments (which tacitly meant that appointments were not to be made in a partisan way by either party.—A.) and that General Synod take steps for a proper revision of the constitution, rules, by-laws and court of appeal. It contains one provision which has never been carried out, as follows:

“To provide for a supervision by the General Synod over all the theological institutions of the Church, by the appointment of a duly authorized committee or board of visitors empowered at any time when deemed necessary to examine into the doctrine, cultus and management of said institutions, and to report to each session of the General Synod:

*Of these, I and II are general, III, V and IX echoed Mercersburg; IV, VIII, IX and X, the Old Reformed, VI and VII were compromises.

said board of visitors however not to interfere with any arrangement or authority of the respective district synods or their boards or committees." *

The General Synod of 1881, having received this report, appointed the Peace Commission to be the Liturgical Commission, ordering it to report at the next General Synod. The Liturgical Commission appointed a sub-committee which met five times from May 27, 1881, to November 20, 1883. Then the whole Liturgical Committee met November 23, 1883, and after a four days' session unanimously adopted the report of the sub-committee and recommended the Directory of Worship to the General Synod. Their session closed with a communion service, exceedingly impressive. Mr. Kelker declared it was like the day of Pentecost. The next General Synod (1884) adopted it's liturgy and sent it down to the classes. It also appointed a committee of five to publish it, with Kelker as chairman. At the next General Synod (1887) it was found that 39 classes had approved this liturgy (Directory of Worship) four more than the required two-thirds. General Synod then officially announced the Directory of Worship to be adopted. It therefore is the official liturgy of the Church. While the other liturgies are allowed to be used, the Mayer liturgy and the Directory of Worship are the only official liturgies of the Church because adopted by the classes as well as the synod.

This liturgy is a compromise between the two parties. Two kinds of service are given in it for the Lord's day worship, a free and a liturgical. The word "altar" is eliminated except in the form for ordination, where it is unimportant, but Lord's table is used elsewhere. And the phrases in the Provisional liturgy and Order of Worship objectionable to the low-churchmen were largely omitted.

The last of the three differences in our Church between the Mercersburg theology and the Old Reformed was on the con-

*This was a compromise, first part favoring Old Reformed, the last part, Mercersburg.

stitution. We have already noted the difference between them, the Mercersburg theologians holding to aristocratic Presbyterianism, the Old Reformed to democratic; the former emphasizing the authority of the upper courts as the synods and classes, the latter of the lower courts as the congregation and consistory. The former was based on the idea that church authority descended from above, from the higher court down to the congregation; the latter that it came up from below, from the congregation up to the higher courts. The former held that the lower courts had only such authority as was mentioned in the constitution, the upper court retaining the rights unmentioned. The latter held that the upper court had only the rights mentioned in the constitution, the lower court retaining what was not mentioned. In one respect, however, the constitutionalists of the Mercersburg school are contradictory. They give great authority to the synod, but less authority to the General Synod than the Old Reformed. This was due to the fact that they insisted that the synod should retain control of theological institutions. Whereas the Old Reformed have been consistent in being willing to place everything, even theological institutions under the control of the General Synod, even if it be only by veto power in the case of the election of professors of theology.

As these fundamental differences run out in many directions it was evident that the formation of a constitution would be a difficult task.

The General Synod of 1878 appointed a committee on the subject: Rev. S. R. Fisher, D.D., chairman. This committee reported a draft of a constitution to the next General Synod (1881). Dr. Fisher became sick (died soon after) and Rev. J. H. Good, D.D., the second member of the committee, reported Dr. Fisher's draft of the constitution, but called the attention of the General Synod to three important changes in our Church government that it proposed:

1. Annual sessions of the General Synod.
2. Election of delegates by synods instead of by classes.

3. Concentration of Church work under boards of the General Synod.

This General Synod sent it to the classes and synods for examination on these points.

The next General Synod (1884) appointed a committee of seven, one from each synod, to draft a constitution, referring to it the constitution reported in 1881 and the deliverances of the classes and synods upon it. This committee proposed a new constitution to the General Synod of 1887, by whom it was approved and sent down to the classes for adoption or rejection. The General Synod of 1890 found that it had not received the vote of two-thirds of the classes (27 out of 55 classes). Eleven classes did not report. So the General Synod was unable to decide and referred the constitution to a new committee for revision, this committee to take into consideration all recommendations and objections of classes and synods. To the General Synod of 1893 the committee reported a new constitution. This was adopted and sent down to the classes for adoption and rejection. At the next General Synod (1896), as there appeared a difference of opinion as to whether it had received the necessary vote of two-thirds of the classes, it was again submitted to them. To the General Synod of 1899 it was reported that 26 classes approved; 27 disapproved and two were unable to come to a decision. It was, therefore not adopted. The General Synod (1902) appointed a new committee to draft a constitution. They were to submit the draft to the classes for criticisms and suggestions. From these they were to give it final form and report to the next General Synod. The General Synod of 1905 adopted the constitution that they reported and sent it down to the classes for their vote. And the General Synod of 1908 found it had been approved by more than the required number of classes and so declared it the organic law of the Church.

Thus was closed officially the controversy with Mercersburg theology. On doctrine and liturgy freedom was allowed to either party, and on the constitution an agreement was reached by way of a compromise.

SECTION 2. SUMMARY OF THE LITURGICAL CONTROVERSY AND
CONTRAST OF THE TWO THEOLOGIES (MERCERSBURG AND
OLD REFORMED.)

In reviewing the liturgical controversy, it is very evident that it was not a question of personalities only, but one of great principles. Each party was fighting for certain fundamental views, doctrinal, liturgical and constitutional. The charge that it was merely a personal quarrel should be dismissed by this time. If it had been merely personal it would have died when the persons died or left the Church. But it did not do so, for behind the persons were great principles at stake. It was a battle-royal, finely fought; yet with the result usual in battle,—a great deal of unnecessary slaughter for which there was no commensurate return.

We now proceed to summarize the controversy in a contrast between the two parties in the shape of a parallel, as follows:*

MERCERSBURG.

OLD REFORMED.

ORIGIN.

1 was a development of the Mediating theology of Germany but not of the Reformed theology of that land. It emphasized progress in theological thought.

1 held to the confessional systems of the Reformed Church of Germany as found especially in the Heidelberg Catechism. It emphasized conservatism in theological thought.

2 viewed truth from the philosophical standpoint either of Hegel or Schelling.

2 viewed truth from the Biblical or doctrinal standpoint.

A. DOCTRINE.

The Bible.

1 lowered the authority of the Bible and elevated the authority of the Church and gave a place for the authority of tradition.

1 made the Bible the rule of faith and practice and rejected the authority of tradition as Romanizing.

*For a briefer outline of this kind by Dr. Bomberger, see *Reformed Church Monthly*, 1871, pages 366-7.

MERCERSBURG.

2 makes the Apostles' Creed of equal, yes even higher authority than the Bible.*

3. The Bible *contains* the word of God. The Bible does not give authority to Christ, but Christ to the Bible.

1 is the organic conjunction of the Godhead with man.

2 Christ united himself with generic humanity, that is, with the whole human race rather than with any individual.

3 The divine and human nature of Christ form a theanthropic person whose divine-human nature comes down to us. M. emphasizes the unity of Christ's person rather than the duality of his natures. It tends to merge them into one (Eutychianizing) rather than to keep them distinct.

*"The divine tradition which starts from the original substance of Christ only itself as it underlies the Bible meets us under its most authoritative character in the Apostles' Creed" (*Mercersburg Review*, 1849, page 339).

†An organism is governed by the laws of its being.

‡Here the rationalizing tendency of Mercersburg theology appears, although it seemed to emphasize the supernatural. The great controversy of the past century was 'Is Christianity under law (organic) or above law (supernatural)?'

OLD REFORMED.

2 makes all Creeds, the Apostles' included, subordinate to the Bible.

3 The Bible is the Word of God. Christ can have authority only as he gets it from the Bible. If the Bible errs about him, he can not be sufficiently divine to be authoritative.

The Incarnation.

1 is the union of the Son of God with humanity. It is not organic, for organic puts all under law.† But Christ is not under law. The incarnation is not according to law. The incarnation was a unique thing—the great exception to law. It was not according to the natural, but according to the supernatural. It is not a natural process but a gift of God to reveal his mercy.‡

2 Christ united himself with individual humanity as found in Mary,—"seed of Mary"—"of Abraham"—"of David."

3 Christ's two natures are distinct in one person. It avoids the pantheizing tendency of M., which blends the natures so closely that the proper distinction between God and humanity is minimized.

MERCERSBURG.

4 The incarnation was the necessary development of the God-head and would have taken place even if man had not fallen and needed redemption.

The Application of Redemption.

1 Redemption is Christ's theanthropic or divine-human life coming down to us organically through the Church and the sacraments.

2 Just as the sin of the first Adam comes to us, so the redemption of the second Adam comes organically to us by infusing the substance of his theanthropic life into us. It touches the centre of our soul at regeneration.

3 The incarnation is the central doctrine. "Only a superficial study of Christ makes it fundamental."* The central position of the atonement is incompatible with the central position of the Creed.

4 Redemption is a life rather than penal (that is a satisfaction for sin to a law). The old view of the atonement makes us to be saved by a dead Christ, but redemption is living not dead.

5 Justification is by virtue of our organic conjunction with the

OLD REFORMED.

4 The incarnation took place because of sin and because of the need of redemption for sin. The Bible gives no other reason for it.

1 Redemption is not organic or by law, it is above law—a free act of grace or unmerited favor of God to us, unworthy sinners.

2 Redemption does not come to us exactly as sin came to us, for sin is inherited, whereas salvation must be chosen by a free, conscious act of the will. Anything less than this would make it ethically unworthy of salvation. Regeneration is not organic but the free act of the Holy Spirit who works when, where and how he pleaseth.

3 The atonement is the central Christian doctrine. It is "incarnation in order to atonement." Christ made it central. He left no sacrament of the incarnation as he did of his death.

4 Redemption is a life, but a life by the Holy Spirit who applies the atonement to us. We are saved by a "dead Christ" only because he was living before his atonement and after it in glory. The atonement as redemption included the incarnation and also the resurrection and the ascension, but the atonement is the centre of them all.

5 Justification is a forensic act of God charging over to our ac-

*"Christ involves in his person the reconciliation."

MERCERSBURG.

incarnation through the theanthropic life of Christ. It is by participation in Christ's life. It is not forensic as the Old Reformed held (that is, the merits of Christ are charged over to us by God.) Justification is internal, subjective, within the Christian.

6 Regeneration is the implantation of a substantial portion of the theanthropic life into the core or centre of human personality. This is done at baptism. The outward or sacramental is emphasized even at the expense of the internal religious experience. Hence Gerhart was charged with denying the necessity of faith. At least faith as a definite act was minimized. Conversion comes by education, not by a sudden change of heart.

The Church.

1 The Church is the organ for the transmission of this theanthropic life to men for their redemption. "Christianity is only another name for the divine-human life of Christ."

2 It views the Church as collective rather than as individual.

3 The visible Church is emphasized as the medium through which the life of Christ comes and the invisible Church is minimized.

OLD REFORMED.

count the merits of Christ, (Heidelberg Catechism, Ans. 60). Salvation is therefore a gift (Romans 6: 23). Justification must not be confused with sanctification, but it leads to sanctification and is therefore not merely calling a sinner righteous but making him so. Justification is external to the Christian, at the cross of Christ.

6 Regeneration is an act of the Holy Spirit. The visible evidences of this are a conscious change of heart, feeling and life. The inward or experimental is emphasized. There must be a personal experience of divine forgiveness. (Heidelberg Catechism, Ans. 1 and 21.)

1 The Church is made up of all in all ages gathered, defended and preserved by Christ through his Spirit out of the whole human race (Ans. 54) and who agree in essentials of the true faith.

2 It views the Church rather from the individual standpoint ("made up of all") though it does not ignore the importance of the visible Church.

3 The invisible Church has been the external medium through which salvation has historically come down to us. But the Holy Ghost is emphasized as the medium rather than any thought of the Church.

MERCERSBURG.

OLD REFORMED.

The Sacraments.

1 The sacraments are potential in themselves,—grace is present where not excluded by unbelief. The sacraments are saving ordinances.

2 The sacraments convey the theanthropic life to man from the Church. They not merely bear the benefits of redemption, but are themselves redemption, for by them the very substance of Christ's life passes over to man. The sacraments have objective force which the subjective does not put into it. They are saving ordinances because they bear regeneration and grace.

3 The objective is emphasized.

1 The sacraments are potential only when faith is present. The sacraments are not saving but sealing ordinances. (Answer 65.)

2 The sacraments are signs and seals of redemption to the believer. They are not in themselves redemptive, but they bring to us the benefits of redemption. Christ was the redemption and they are the channel confirmatory of it (Ans. 65). They are not saving ordinances but sealing ordinances. The sacraments and the Word go together, alike in their effects.

3 The subjective is emphasized,—faith is always necessary in order that the grace in the sacrament may be effective. Without faith there is no benefit.

Baptism.

1 Baptism conveys the very substance of the theanthropic life of Christ to us,—it translates us from the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God. It produced deliverance from the power of the devil, forgiveness of sins and the gift of the new life'' (Order of Worship).

2 It implants a germ of new life within us.

1 Baptism is the sign and seal of regeneration, of the covenant in which the child is born of Christian parents. It is not regeneration, but must be followed by conversion at the proper age, to which it looks forward.

2 It does not implant a germ, for the Holy Spirit is not under the law of the organic and grace does not grow like a germ in nature,—the Holy Spirit is free to act as he wills. But he is specially present to those in the covenant, of which baptism is the seal.

MERCERSBURG.

3 It makes infants Christians. (See Gerhart's Catechism.) Faith is not necessary. When the name of the trinity is used over the child, there is grace. The objective rules.

The Lord's Supper.

1 The Lord's Supper conveys the theanthropic life of Christ to us so as to nourish our souls.

2 The humanity of Christ is present in the theanthropic life, but spiritually.

3 The memorial aspect is minimized and the idea of the communication of life is most prominent. The phrases "broken bread" and "poured out wine" are left out.

4 It is also especially viewed as under the aspect of an offering up of a sacrifice to God.

OLD REFORMED.

3 It does not make infants Christians but is only the seal of the covenant by which they will become Christians if true to the covenant. Grace is present in proportion as there is faith, but baptism is not regenerative.

1 The Lord's Supper is the sign and seal of the spiritual nourishment of believers by the Holy Spirit.

2 The humanity of Christ is not present, as it is in heaven, though mediated to us by the omnipresent divinity of Christ (the Holy Spirit, "which is in Christ and in us," Ans. 76). The communicant is told by the liturgies to lift his mind from the elements up to Christ in heaven.

3 The most prominent aspect of the Lord's Supper is as a memorial of Christ's suffering on the cross—his broken body and shed blood symbolized by the bread and wine. The vivifying aspect is also brought forward, but it is not by the sacrament but by the Holy Spirit at the sacrament.

4 It is a renewal of our vows of confirmation.

The Ministry.

1 The office of the ministry flows directly from Christ as the fruit of his resurrection and ascension,—it invests him with the power of the office—for "the communication of such great force." He is the organ through whom God communicates the grace of regeneration and salvation.

1 The ministry is of divine origin. (But it emphasizes the ministry as an office and not the power of the office). There is power with the office only wherever the Holy Ghost and faith were present but not otherwise.

MERCERSBURG.

2 It sets the ministers apart from the congregation as an order by themselves—priests.

3 Emphasizes the priestly office of the ministry.

4 No one can be sure his sins are pardoned unless it is officially declared to him by the minister as the representative of God.

OLD REFORMED.

2 The ministry is an office of the Church, but not a separate order from the congregation.

3 Emphasizes the prophetic office of the ministry.

4 No man can forgive sin, only Christ, and no man is allowed as a priest to come between the believer and his Saviour.

The Future Life.

1 Mercersburg held to a Middle State (the echo of Schaff's early aberration at synod of 1846). It is variously described and we are uncertain as to exactly what they mean by it.

1 It held that the believer at death goes immediately to heaven (Ans. 57). And those who die unsaved (if heathen) are left to the mercy of God and (if in Christian lands) to his justice.

B. WORSHIP.

Worship—The Sabbath Services.

1 demanded a fixed or read liturgical form of worship.

2 The worship centered in the Apostles' Creed. No service was complete without it.

3 demanded an altar and an altar-liturgy.

4 used frequent responses.

5 Used confession and absolution.

6 Used the litany.

7 Used the Seraphic Hymn, the Benedictus, Magnificat, Gloria, Te Deum, etc.

8 Repeated audibly the Lord's Prayer.

1 used a free service. Only at sacraments, marriages and ordinations was a liturgical form used.

2 The Apostles' Creed was sometimes used, but the Mayer liturgy, officially adopted by the synod, did not have it.

3 had no altar but had instead a communion table. It used a pulpit-liturgy.

4 had no responses.

5 Used no confession and absolution.

6 Did not use the litany.

7 Did not use the Seraphic Hymn, Benedictus, Magnificat, Gloria, Te Deum, etc., although since the controversy some of them, as the Gloria, are often used.

8 Did not repeat audibly the Lord's Prayer, although now it is commonly done.

MERCERSBURG.

OLD REFORMED.

The Special or Extra Services.

1 At the Lord's Supper the service was long and ornate, with litany, etc.

2 Confirmation was semi-sacramental.

The vow was made to the Creed. They were charged with omitting the reference to the Bible as in the old form.

3 Ordination is made a semi-sacrament.

1 At the Lord's Supper the worship was simple, Biblical and after the old custom of the Reformed.

2 Confirmation was not a sacrament.

The vow was made to the Bible and the Heidelberg Catechism.

3 Ordination is not sacramental but an investiture of office not of the power of the office (as Mercersburg held) unless faith present.

C. GOVERNMENT.

1 Is aristocratic Presbyterian,—power in the upper Church courts.

2 The character and direction of the worship is in the hands of the minister because of his priestly office and authority.

3 Classical assessments were morally binding on congregations and must be paid before money is given to other objects of the Church.

4 The theological seminary was under the control of the synod. The teachers of theology were a separate office from the ministry and they were elected by the synod.

1 Is democratic Presbyterian,—power in the lower courts except what was delegated to upper.

2 The minister alone could not decide the character of the worship—but any changes must be ordered by the consistory and congregation.

3 Classical assessments were not taxes; the congregation was at liberty to give where it pleased. Assessments should be met when constitutionally and Scripturally ordered.

4 The theological seminary has the General Synod as the ultimate court of appeal in cases of constitutional controversy. The professor of theology is not a separate office from the ministry. Ordinarily the professors of theology should be elected by the synod, yet the authority for each minister to teach theology had never been repealed.

SECTION 3. WORSHIP.

The worship of the Church has been so fully considered in the liturgical discussions that nothing remains to be stated except one minor peculiarity of worship, which did not come up prominently in the discussions. This was the publication of the hymn-books.

In 1859 Dr. Schaff published his excellent German hymn-book, which is still in use. Of English hymn-books the Mercersburg party published in 1874 "Hymns for the Reformed Church," (arranged entirely according to the Church year). This led the Old Reformed to publish their hymn-book, "The Reformed Church Hymnal," in 1878. Both were superseded by "The Hymnal of the Reformed Church," published in 1890 by a committee of the General Synod and approved by it.

Of Sunday school hymn-books, Harbaugh published a high-church one in 1861, "Hymns and Chants for Sunday Schools." Bomberger, in reply to it, published his "Prayers and Hymns for Sunday Schools," 1867. Later Van Horne published "Companion of Praise," 1873. The German synods published a "German Sunday School Hymn-book," 1876. Strassberger published "Sunday School Hymnal," 1878. Alice Nevin published "Hymns and Carols," 1879. Liehliter published "Service Book and Hymnal," 1886. The last two were high-church. Finally came the last and best, "The Sunday School Hymnal," published 1899, by the Sunday School Board.

SECTION 4. CHURCH GOVERNMENT.*

The first constitution of our Church was that adopted at the coetus of 1748 and was Boehm's constitution for a single congregation (1725) with additions. When the coetus became a synod (1793) it adopted a set of regulations (not a constitution), which legislated only for the synod. It had no reference to the classis or the congregation and was simply a set of rules by which the synod was to govern itself. At the next

*We have forgotten in the first part of this book, on the Early Church, to give the early history of our Church government, so we place it here in connection with the later history of that topic.

synod (1794) several additions seem to have been made in order to prevent disorder and schism as excluding any unordained minister forever from the synod who had previous to ordination administered the sacraments,* also forbidding any individual member from ordaining another unless ordered to do so by proper authorities. Another article was proposed at that time, requiring all who enter the ministry to have a requisite knowledge of the languages, theology and moral philosophy; but evidently there was opposition to it, for it was postponed till the next synod and there dropped. This constitution was published and has the following peculiarities:

1. It does not give the Heidelberg Catechism as the confession of the Church. This may be explained by the fact that this was not a constitution but simply a set of rules, and it was, of course, taken for granted that the Heidelberg Catechism was the Creed of the Church especially as so adopted at the coetus of 1748.

2. It ordered a separate session of the ministers without the elders, where the individual characters of the ministers were inquired into and where investigation was made if charges were brought against any of them.

3. Yet although it was not intended as a constitution for classes, it allowed room for their organization, a provision which was not however carried into effect until 1820.

This set of rules continued in force until 1819. Then the decision of the synod to divide the Church into classes compelled new regulations. These were divided into: 1. The classes; 2. the synod. In 1820, when the synod decided to establish a theological seminary, the constitution was again found to be inadequate. In 1821 an overture came from West Pennsylvania classis asking for a constitution better adapted to the wants of the Church. Synod appointed a committee. But it reported that instead of framing a new constitution it would be better to abide by the old with such alterations as would adapt them to the existing state of things.

*Yet this did not hold forever, for Aurandt, as we have seen, was ordained although he had baptized before ordination.

Synod was not satisfied and appointed another committee. This committee reported to the synod of 1825 a constitution. Their report was referred to a special committee with instructions that if they approve of the proposed constitution they should have it printed and distributed among the ministers for their revision. This committee did not report until the synod of 1827, when they asked that it be recommitted so that some amendments might be added. In 1828 this constitution was adopted by synod.

In 1838 the classis of Philadelphia overtured synod for a revision of the constitution and synod appointed a committee consisting of J. C. Becker, Hoffeditz and B. C. Wolff. In 1839 this committee reported, giving a history of the previous efforts to prepare a constitution.* They suggest instead of a constitution the preparation of a digest. In 1840 the committee reported and synod enlarged the committee. In 1841 it reported that it had gathered considerable material. In 1842 it again reported progress. In 1843, as the committee was not ready with a constitution, the synod took it out of their hands and appointed another committee, consisting of B. C. Wolff, A. Helffenstein and S. R. Fisher. In 1844, the committee reported and was continued, with orders to publish in the *Messenger* any additions for the information of the Church. In 1845 they reported a constitution, which was adopted by the synod and sent down to the classes. In 1846, synod, finding that it had been adopted by the classes, declared it adopted. It was also reported at that synod that the Ohio synod had adopted the constitution.

This was a complete constitution, with regulations for everything connected with the Church. It declared the Heidelberg Catechism to be our official Creed. It was divided into the following parts:

*But according to article 21 of section 2 of part 2, as Hoffeditz says in his report to the synod of 1839, it was not the intention of the synod that this constitution should exclude the old constitution of 1793. According to his view the regulations of 1819 and 1828 were rather amendments to the original constitution which had never been repealed. We do not know whether his position is correct or not.

1. The offices of the Church, ministers, teachers of theology, elders and deacons.

2. The ecclesiastical judicatories, consistory, classes and synod. (It is to be noticed that their order begins with the lower church court and goes up and not from the highest court down, as claimed by the Mercersburg theology.)

3. Discipline.

4. Customs and usages.

When the General Synod was formed certain amendments were made to it to provide for such a body. It was under this constitution of 1846 that the decisions of the liturgical controversy were made. The later history of the constitution is given in a previous section, entitled the Peace Movement.*

SECTION 5. RECENT THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

The first development would not deserve mention were it not for the prominence of the individual—the leader of the Mercersburg theology, Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., who died at Lancaster in June, 1886, aged 84. Gradually he more and more neared Swedenborgianism. He was naturally mystical. He had been mystical on the sacraments. This love for mysticism he now transferred to the Bible as he accepted Swedenborgian views. He held† to an internal and external sense of the Bible. “This is so because the mind of God is really and truly in the Bible as a present inspiration and not merely as a past inspiration. In 1882, he says: “The living Word of God is at once both this Word and its own vision in our souls from the Lord himself.” For saying this, Dr. Bomberger charged him in the *Reformed Church Monthly* with Swedenborgianism. One of the most interesting analyses of Dr. Nevin and his theological views was written by his pupil and fellower, Rev. Prof. William M. Reily in his review of the *Life of Dr. Nevin*, by Rev. T. Appel. He traces with a masterful hand the German, then the Anglican and finally the Swedenborgian, influences on Dr. Nevin. He says,‡ “Much that must be called Swedenborgianism shows itself

*See pages 585-6.

†*Reformed Church Review*, 1879.

‡See *Magazine of Christian Literature*, September, 1890.

in his later writings. He found in the writings of Swedenborg a system of thought and religious belief far more comprehensive, more fully rounded out and complete than that of Rothe" (by whom he had been influenced before.—A.)

The truth was that Dr. Nevin, having once departed from the firm foundations of the Old Reformed faith when he went into Mercersburg theology, lost his moorings and was swept from one system to another. He was a profound thinker but vacillating in judgment, inclined to be speculative, and easily impressed by new systems of thought. He was, like his own method in the Mercersburg theology, a "historical development," first from Calvinism to Nevinism and finally to Swedenborgianism. But one thing he clung to in it all, and that was the supernatural, both in the Bible and in the sacraments. He would look with surprise, yes, with horror, on some of his pupils and his successors, who in their broad-churchism and rationalizing minimize the supernatural in Christ and the Bible. He was a speculative mystic at first, but later his mysticism overcame his speculativeness and he rested in simple faith in God's Word. We shall hereafter quote some of his words defending the supernatural against some of his successors of to-day.

Another development in theology was the appearance of a broad-church party, holding to what is called the new theology. In 1884, Rev. W. Rupp sounded the first distinct note in an article in the *Reformed Church Review*, entitled "Freedom of Theological Thought," in which he claimed that there should be liberty to reconstruct old dogmatic systems. This was demanded by the spirit of Protestantism, which he claimed was a spirit of progress. Two years later the editor of the *Review*, Prof. T. G. Apple, D.D.,* felt called upon to sound a note of alarm as, in publishing Rupp's article on "Probation after death," he added to it a note, saying that it was to

*Prof. T. G. Apple was the clearest of all the theologians of the Mercersburg School in his statements of their views, and in the peace and liturgical commissions he was the fairest and broadest-minded of the Mercersburg leaders. He represented the later Mercersburg rather than the earlier Mercersburg of Nevin, Gans, etc.

be remembered that the *Review* was not responsible for the views of its individual writers. This note reveals a divergence of views between them. It is all the more remarkable that Dr. Apple should do so in connection with an article on "Probation after Death," for it was generally understood that Mercersburg held to the Middle State, Dr. Schaff having introduced that view, for which he was brought before the synod of 1846.

Dr. Rupp's influence became more prominent as he became professor in the theological seminary at Lancaster. His election was looked upon by some as a counter-influence to the high-church tendencies in that seminary. His inaugural address on "The Church Question" indicated his more liberal position. His appointment as editor of the *Reformed Review* increased his influence. In it he continued his articles on the new theology. He was also joined by other writers. In 1890, Rev. J. C. Bowman, now the president of the theological seminary at Lancaster, came out in his adherence to the new theology in an article on "The Wane of the Doctrinal Confessions." Others wrote in favor of it, as Weber. Prof. G. W. Richards, in his review of Lobstein's "Virgin's Birth," also revealed his sympathy with these views. No one who holds to the old orthodox view could have written as colorless a review of the book as he did. A true Evangelical could not help severely condemning Lobstein's denial of the Virgin-birth. Still such views were in harmony with the newly-rising Ritschlian School of theology in Germany. In 1891, Bowman claimed that these liberal views were rapidly increasing among the ministry and laity. The new lines of divergence, as revealed in their writings, were mainly along the following lines,—

1. The Broad Church position, which in Church history always has tended to be confessionless (that is without a creed) and so demanded a lowered authority of the creeds of the Church. Bowman (1891),* claims that denominations have

*These references are to the years of the *Reformed Church Review*.

outgrown confessions. Weber (1895) says the old doctrinal standards must give way to new and fuller forms of statement as the expanding life of truth demands fuller expression.

2. The Evolutionary position that evolution applied not only to natural science but to all truth,—was the solution of all problems. Rupp (1888) endorsed evolution. In 1891, Bowman claimed that evolution found its true interpretation in the Christological principle.

3. The Critical position, which declared itself for the higher criticism of the Bible. Rupp, in 1888, had an article on it, in which he virtually denies Christ's omniscience and declared for its views about Jonah. In 1897, Prof. Gast, of the Theological seminary at Lancaster, stated and taught its principles, in which he is followed by his successor, Prof. De Long. Rev. C. Z. Gerhard, D.D., applied its principles dogmatically to the resurrection in his book, "Death and Resurrection." Of course, with these views of higher criticism came lower views of inspiration.*

But while this new school of theology was appearing, there were not wanting among the Mercersburg party those who attacked these newer views. Professor Rupp's article on "Probation after Death" was severely arraigned by Strassburger (1887), who charged him with being a Pelagian and with holding to universalist ideas. Evolution also was attacked by Beam, Brendle, Cort and Titzel, the latter being especially severe on Gerhard's book "Death and Resurrection." Leader defended the old view of Inspiration (Higher Criticism, 1899), as did A. H. Kremer in 1879. And finally, Prof. E. V. Gerhart came out in a severe attack on the philosophical principles of the newer view of science as revealed by Prof. Schiedt in his article on "Limitations of the Scien-

*We have not referred to attacks on the old Anselmic doctrine of the atonement as stated in the Heidelberg Catechism by T. G. Apple, Gerhard, Gerhard and repeatedly by Rupp. Nor have we referred to the doctrine of the Middle State, for both have been virtually accepted by the Mercersburg theology.

tific Method." The new theology had by 1900 the majority of the professors in the theological seminary at Lancaster.*

Thus the Mercersburg men split into two parties, the old Mercersburg and the newer Ritschlianizing. Mercersburg theology had had its origin in the Mediating theology of Germany, founded by Schleiermacher. Schaff brought it over here and it was accepted at that time as good Reformed doctrine by many of our unsuspicious fathers in the Church. But it was not Reformed, for Schleiermacher aimed to mediate between pantheism and orthodoxy and between Lutheranism and Reformed. In so doing he had to make concessions which led him away from the Old Reformed doctrines. But the Mercersburg theology was an outgrowth of the right wing of the Mediating theology, that is, the party that inclined toward orthodoxy.† But the new theology of our day is descended from the Mediating theology of the left wing, that is, inclined toward rationalism with elements of Ritschlianism in it. Whether in its aberrations from old Reformed orthodoxy it will continue to follow German theology any farther as into the new historico-critical school, which is at present the baldest naturalism and rationalism, remains to be seen. It is a serious thing when any tendency in a Church or any individual minister cuts loose from the old position of the Church. They never know where they will ultimately end. Only by sticking to the Old Reformed doctrines or coming back to them will these speculative minds again find a firm foundation in God's Word.

The relations of this new theology to the Mercersburg theology, which preceded it, ought to be noted before we leave this subject. Historically it was a development out of Mercersburg theology. Its adherents were trained in that school and they were but carrying out the principles of its method. Mercersburg theology was founded on the idea of historical development. Now, however, it developed beyond itself and be-

*We have not referred to the two other theological seminaries, the Central, at Dayton, O., and the Mission-house in Wisconsin, which have remained true in their type of theology to the positions of the Old Reformed theology.

†Whose leaders were Ullman, Lange and Dorner.

yond the ideas of its founders. Thus the new theology was a development out of Mercersburg theology,

1. In its emphasis on evolution, it was but developing the idea of the organic in Mercersburg theology. Indeed, one of its writers claimed that Rauch had antedated Darwin in his doctrine of evolution.

2. In its views on the higher criticism and inspiration, Mercersburg theology had claimed a departure from the traditional views of the Church on inspiration. Prof. T. G. Apple had repeatedly declared that "the Bible *contained* the Word of God" instead of *was* the Word of God. He declared that "the Bible was life rather than letter." This view proved to be the dictum of the new theology although it went far beyond what Dr. Apple intended.

3. Dr. Nevin and others made the atonement a life rather than an act. This prepared the way for the modern ethical view of the atonement which sets aside the substitutionary character of Christ's death.

Thus Mercersburg theology has developed beyond itself and in this was consistent, for it held to historical development; only in this the new theology has gone beyond it. In course of time (if the present drift of theological thought away from it continues) it will be known only by its publications in the *Review* and *Messenger*, by "The Theological Institutes" of Prof. E. V. Gerhart and by Harbaugh's famous hymn, "Jesus, I live to Thee."* Dr. Nevin, when he so severely attacked the old traditional theology of our Church, set in motion a movement of whose theological results he never dreamt and whose end no one can foretell.

And yet, while this new theology is an outgrowth and development of certain views in Mercersburg theology, it is also a reaction against much of it. Thus it is a reaction against the narrowness of Mercersburg theology in its views of the Church and the sacraments. Rupp's pamphlet, "The Church

*Whose original reference by Harbaugh was to the special doctrine of Mercersburg—the theanthropic life of Christ. But those of us who hold the old theology can also sing this beautiful hymn, putting into it our views of the life of Christ in us by the Holy Spirit.

Question," shows its departure from their older views. The truth was that many of the adherents of the Mercersburg theology reacted, having been held so strictly to the narrow tenets of its school for so long a time; and when the reaction finally came for larger liberty and sympathy, some of them jumped the traces clear over to the other extreme. At the same time the increasing influence of higher criticism and Ritschlian theology came in to help on this tendency. As a result on the doctrine of the Church, the sacraments and the supernatural, they have left behind them the views of old Mercersburg. Compare, as an illustration, their recent utterances on inspiration and the authority of the Scriptures* with what Dr. Nevin wrote in 1882 and the vast difference is seen. Nevin thus says, "The Spirit of the Word is none other than Christ himself. He is the universal sense of the Creed, its inward life and soul." This is very different from the later views of his successors, who hold according to the higher criticism that the Bible is literature and must be treated like any other book. Nevin himself† is strongly against the higher criticism and its unfortunate results on the Bible. We are doubtful whether Drs. Nevin and Schaff, with their high value of the supernatural in the Bible and the Church, would feel at home in the camp of the new theology. We are inclined to think they would feel more at home in the camp of their former enemies, the Old Reformed party, who have always held to the Old Reformed views of the Bible and the supernatural.‡ This can be the more easily done, as the controversy about the liturgy is now well out of the way.

In 1906 a controversy in the opposite direction began to appear among the Germans in the West,—a tendency not toward rationalism, as the new theology noted above, but a tendency to a form of extreme Calvinism, called in Germany Kohlbrüggianism. Rev. Herman F. Kohlbrügge was born in Holland in 1803. After entering the ministry of the Lutheran

**Reformed Review*, 1890, page 143.

†*Reformed Church Review*, 1883, pages 23-5 and 29-30.

*The author has frequently in recent discussions lined up with his old opponents the high-churchmen in the defense of the supernatural.

Church he was converted and then joined the Reformed Church, becoming later pastor of the Free Reformed Church at Elberfeld, 1848. His works began to appear in this country about thirty years ago, being recommended by the *Evangelist*, our Western Church-paper. They found more favor among the German Presbyterians than among the Reformed. But among the Reformed some of the Russian immigrants in Dakota had become disciples of Kohlbrügge before they came to this country. His Presbyterian and the Reformed adherents founded a church-paper (*Wächter*) in 1894 at Dubuque, Iowa, as their organ.

In October, 1905, and January, 1906, Rev. H. A. Meier, D.D., professor in our Mission-House at Franklin, Wis., attacked Kohlbrüggianism in the *Theological Zeitschrift*, the organ of that institution. The *Wächter* replied vigorously to him, beginning December 1, 1905, charging him with being a higher critic on the Bible, Arminian, yes Pelagian and Manichaean on Anthropology, and Eutychian on Christology. The South Dakota classis in 1906, at the request of the Eureka congregation, entered complaint before the synod of the Northwest against Professor Meier for holding and teaching such views. This synod referred the complaint to the board of directors of the Mission-House. They reported to the Northwestern synod (1907) that the complaint was irregular because Professor Meier had not been notified of it officially by either the Eureka congregation or the South Dakota classis. They denied that he taught the errors charged against him and asked the synod to support the Mission-House.

Kohlbrüggianism has been described as "personification of the Word of God and identification with Christ." To this might be added an emphasis on justification as almost to minimize sanctification. The peculiar doctrines of the Kohlbrüggians as revealed in this controversy seem to be:

1. On the Word of God—that the Word of God had inherently in it the power of the Holy Spirit; while the Reformed held that the written Word was a medium in the hands of the Holy Spirit. In this Kohlbrügge reveals the influence of his previous Lutheranism, which magnified the power of the

Word especially in connection with the sacrament. They claimed that the words of the Bible were inspired whereas they said that Dr. Meier held that only the thoughts were inspired.*

2. On original sin.—According to Kohlbrügge, man was not created entirely in the image of God, and the Holy Spirit must be added to his natural gift in order to make him such. The Old Reformed theology held that man was created in the image of God. This view the Kohlbrüggians called heathenism and said it has come from the Catholic Church. They claimed that the fall caused man to lose the gift of the Holy Spirit and man therefore was imperfect as at present.

3. On the incarnation they held that Christ took upon himself not our humanity as it was before the fall, (this was the view of the Reformed,) but our humanity as fallen. They deny, however, that there was any moral taint in Jesus. He was sin—not sinful.

4. On justification,—they identify sanctification with this doctrine. They so magnify justification in Christ that sanctification in the believer is lost sight of. Hence they are charged by their enemies with antinomianism,—with holding to only the two first parts of our Catechism but virtually rejecting the third.

SECTION 6. REVIVALS.

This period of our history (1844-1878) has been characterized by an absence of revivals in the eastern part of our Church and by their continuance in the West (except among the Germans), and in North Carolina. Ohio synod in 1849 took action on New Measures:

1. That prayer-meetings are not to be stigmatized as new, but as in accordance with the Word of God and the standards of the German Reformed Church.

2. It exhorted ministers and congregations that have not encouraged prayer-meetings to introduce them. But it discountenanced all disorder, noise and confusion in public worship such as more than one praying

*We do not know whether the latter would accept this statement of his views.

at one time, shouting during public preaching, etc., all rant and wild-fire as not in accordance with the Bible and the Church. It desired ministers to avoid formalism on the one hand and fanaticism on the other.

In the East, notwithstanding the influence of the publication of Dr. Nevin's "Anxious Bench" in 1843, revivals were occasionally mentioned. Lebanon classis (1843) urged pastors to introduce prayer-meetings and in 1844 it called the roll of its ministers to find out if the monthly concert of prayer had been held. It also rejoiced (1844) that the cry against protracted meetings and prayer-meetings, though still heard, yet no longer produced the impression it had. But the trend against revivals due to the influence of Mercersburg theology became so strong in the East that gradually they were almost unknown. Even Dr. Bomberger wrote down the revival system in his "Liturgical Movement" in 1862. Long's tent at Lancaster, where he held evangelistic services, produced some controversy in the *Messenger*. He was attacked by the Mercersburg men, but was defended strongly by some of the Reformed in Lancaster. In 1866 a revival is reported at Klopp's Church and one in Bedford County. In 1872, West Susquehanna classis took action against the new-measure system. Rupp wrote articles on "Conversion" in the *Mercersburg Review* of 1873, in which he made it all a process and not a sudden transition. It was all educational, not revival. A revival is noted at Heidelberg Church in Philadelphia in 1873.

Quite a crisis on the subject arose when the Moody and Sankey meetings began to create widespread interest in 1876. The boast of the Nevinites had been as late as 1877 that there were no revivals in the East. The Mercersburg men opposed the movement of Moody wherever they could, if not openly they did it quietly. It did not accord with their theory of educational religion. Thus Higbee says "the fact that the city of Washington wants Moody and Sankey is a humiliating confession of weakness on the part of the Church there." The *Messenger* did not openly condemn Moody and Sankey, but it published articles from other papers against them.

In 1875 and 1877, it however came out against Moody. Others, as Callender, wrote against revivals as being unscriptural and pernicious, the result of false emotionalism.

In addition to their doctrinal opposition to revivals, what was especially offensive to them was the fact that Moody preached without ordination, which was entirely contrary to their high-church ideas of the ministerial office. Another point of attack was the new idea of singing religion, as revealed by Sankey in his *Gospel Hymns* and in his singing of sacred solos so as to lead to conversion. It was claimed that the Bible nowhere said the Gospel could be sung as an appeal, but that it was always to be spoken. On the other hand, the *Christian World* wishes for 10,000 Moodys, although Rev. F. W. Kremer, in the East, opposed revivals in his articles on "Unsound Revivals" in 1876, but was answered by S. A new defender of Moody and Sankey appeared in the *Christian World* in 1876, writing a series of articles, entitled "My good Lord, Moses, forbid them." He applied this scene in Moses' life to Moody's work. The articles were an exceedingly strong defense of Moody's work and created a sensation. It was not known who was writing them until some years later it was found that their author was Rev. Dr. Welker, of North Carolina. By 1877, almost no revivals were held in the East, except by a few ministers, as Knipe, Klopp, Shenkle, Lindaman and J. I. Good. The rest were opposed, indifferent or afraid to do what was then derided as Methodism. Gradually, however, a more liberal spirit began to appear in the East. Although the educational system of catechization has been emphasized, yet protracted services have become common enough in our churches, especially before communion seasons. Prayer-meetings, too, are no longer stigmatized as un-Reformed and Methodistie, as they once were by the extreme men of the Mercersburg wing, although as late as 1886 the author of this work had a controversy with the high-churchmen in defense of revivals when he gave them the history of Pietism in the Reformed Church of Germany.*

*See his *History of the Reformed Church of Germany*, pages 307-411.

His historical arguments for pietism and revivals in our Church have never been answered by the high-churchmen.

An interesting fact to be noted in connection with revivals is that our Church was a factor in leading to a revival far away. Rev. C. Bonekemper, a graduate of the Theological seminary at Mercersburg, went back (1855) to Russia to take charge of his father's Reformed congregation at Rorschach, near Odessa. He remained there ten years. During that time there was a revival in his congregation. During this revival several Russian peasants attended the services and were converted. Out of their efforts sprang the Stundist movement of Russia, which has brought so many to Christ and which grew in twenty-five years to several hundred thousand, though later greatly persecuted and scattered by the Russian government.

CHAPTER II.

UNION AND DISUNION.

A. UNION.

SECTION 1. UNION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND OHIO SYNODS.

We have already noticed that the Ohio synod was represented at the two Triennial Conventions with the Dutch in 1844 and 1847. Although the Dutch retired from that arrangement, yet the Ohio and Eastern synods kept it up. The third Triennial Convention met at Chambersburg August 14, 1850. There were present from the Eastern synod Revs. Wolff, Rebaugh, A. Nevin, J. W. Nevin, Mesick and Fisher and Elders Bucher, Besore and Heyser; from Ohio synod, Revs. Conrad and Ernst. Dr. Conrad was chosen president and Fisher, secretary. A committee was appointed to formulate a statement of principles, by which the union could be continued after the Dutch had gone out. It ordered a triennial meeting, six delegates (one-third being elders) of the two synods to compose a quorum. It was to have no judicial authority, but must submit its proceedings to the two synods. Reports were heard of the state of the Church, east and west. It commended the new Theological seminary at Tiffin and also the Theological seminary at Mercersburg and urged the cause of beneficiary education.

The fourth Triennial convention was held at Columbus, O. There were present from Ohio, Rev. D. Winters, of Miami classis; Rev. Williard and Elder Blaine, of Lancaster classis; Rev. Hoffmeier and Elder Zimmerman, of Westmoreland classis; Rev. Dr. Gerhart, of Tiffin classis, and Rev. Stump, of Sandusky classis. From the Eastern synod there were: Revs. Schory, of East Pennsylvania classis; M. Kieffer, of Lebanon classis; Feete and Elder Roller of Virginia classis, and Rev. Mesick, of Lancaster classis. At first there was a deficiency of elders, but Rev. Salters, of St. Joseph's classis, and

Elder Kroh, of Tiffin, appeared and an organization was effected by the election of Gerhart as president and Williard as secretary. A committee was appointed to report on the condition of each of the synods; also a committee on missions. Rev. E. Kieffer and Elder Pontius of Susquehanna classis; Revs. Gutelius and Wiest, of Zion's classis; Rebough of Mercersburg classis, and Elder Leonard of Lancaster, O., then appeared. A committee was appointed on church extension. Their reports urged progress on missions, church extension, correspondence with Germany, etc.

The last Triennial Convention met at Winchester, Va., October 3, 1856. There was no quorum present. There were present: from Zion's classis, Rev. Miller; from Susquehanna, Rev. Dole; from Maryland, Rev. Shuford; from Virginia, Rev. Martin and Elder Souder; from Mercersburg, Dr. Schaff; from Miami, Rev. Prugh and Elder Baughman; from Westmoreland, Rev. Russell, and from Sandusky classis, Excell. As there was no quorum (there were not enough delegated elders present, one-third being necessary), they resolved themselves into a free conference, with Martin as president and Russell as secretary. Committees were appointed on the condition of the Church, on missions, education and miscellaneous business. It suggested a triennial general synod, the change of the name of the synod of the U. S. to Eastern synod and of Ohio synod to Western synod, and the appointment of a financial agent to create a fund for disabled ministers. Revs. Gerhart and Kieffer were appointed a committee to go to North Carolina classis and get them back into our synod. It appointed Pittsburg, October, 1859, as the time and place of the next meeting.

But in 1858, the Triennial Convention was dispensed with by the Eastern synod. That synod sent down to the classes, amendments to the constitution so as to form a General Synod. At the synod of 1859 it was reported that it was not adopted by a constitutional majority of the classes. But as there was a general desire for some measure to be adopted, it was referred to a committee, who submitted to the synod of 1860, certain amendments to the constitution, which were sent down

to the classes. At the Eastern synod of 1862, it was reported that eleven classes approved of them. A committee was appointed to confer with a similar committee of the Ohio synod about arrangements for the holding of the first meeting. It reported to synod of 1863 that it was arranged that the General Synod meet at Pittsburg on the third Wednesday in November, 1863. Thus the Ohio and Eastern synods were united in a General Synod.*

SECTION 2. UNION WITH THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

The correspondence with the Dutch Church ceased from 1853 to 1863, when it was renewed in that Terecentenary year. Finally, in 1870, the Ohio and Northwestern synods, as we have seen, made overtures for a closer union which finally led the General Synod of 1872 to appoint a committee of three from each of the five synods to confer with a similar committee of the Dutch Church on union. These committees met at the Race Street Church, Philadelphia, on November 17, 1874. The following delegates were present from the Eastern synod: Drs. Gerhart, Bomberger and Elder Fluck; from the Ohio synod, Revs. Reiter, Mease and Williard; from the Northwestern synod, Revs. Ruetenik and Kessler; from the Pittsburg synod, Revs. Russell, Swander and Levan; from the Potomac synod, Revs. Miller, Eschbach and Elder I. Loueks. From the Dutch Reformed, Rev. Drs. Ganse, Van Zandt, Corwin, Gordon, Taylor, Peltz, Van Cleef and Elders Pryn and Sturgis. The chairmen of the two committees, Gerhart and Ganse, presided conjointly. The morning and afternoon were spent in discussing the points of agreement and of difference. All could unite on the Heidelberg Catechism, although there were differences in customs.

At the close of the afternoon session, a committee consisting of Drs. Gerhart, Miller and Bomberger, with Drs. Ganse, Van Zandt and Taylor, was appointed to draft a paper expressive of the sentiments on organic union. It brought in a report which declared that there were likenesses sufficient to warrant the hope of an ultimate union,—that some differences as confirmation, and the use of festival days were being mini-

*See pages 418-420.

mized but there were differences less easily adjustable, as in the doctrinal standards; and that the differences in doctrinal views between many parts of the two churches would make an organic union unacceptable. It declared, however, that this conference had been a real advance toward union in its brotherly acquaintance; but union must be left for the workings of providence in the future.

The *Messenger* acquiesced in the decision, referring especially to the barrier of the confessions but was hurt by the remarks made by church-papers of other denominations in attributing the failure of union to Mercersburg theology. Some one said the Dutch were not willing on account of Mercersburg; another, that Mercersburg was not willing on account of the Dutch. Dr. Fisher says the writers of such statements, were wise above what was written. The *Christian World* says the Union movement failed, not only because of the confessions but also because of Mercersburg theology and that the only persons who did not regret the failure were the Mercersburg men, who would have been largely in the minority if it had happened.

Another effort toward union was begun by our General Synod in 1887. Five classes overtured the General Synod (Philadelphia, Northern Illinois, Iowa, Eastern Ohio and Mercersburg) in behalf of closer union with other Reformed Churches of the presbyterial government. It appointed the following committee to meet a similar committee of the Dutch Church. Revs. Drs. T. G. Apple, J. I. Good, G. W. Williard, H. J. Ruetenik and J. S. Kieffer. The Dutch Church also took action favorable to union. Two of its classes (Philadelphia and Monmouth) overtured its General Synod, which appointed a committee of four ministers and three elders. The former were Revs. Drs. W. J. R. Taylor (chairman), De Baum, Elmendorf and Scott. The joint committee arranged for a conference at Philadelphia, April 3, 1888.* In 1890, the two committees reported to both General Synods that it fa-

*See published proceedings of this Conference.

vored a Federal synod.† Both synods appointed a commission of sixteen members. These two commissions met at Catskill, September 2, 1890, and June 2, 1891, and a plan of federal union was drawn up. Our General Synod held a special meeting at Philadelphia, June 4, 1891, which adopted the plan and sent it down to the classes, who adopted it by a vote of 53-2. The Dutch General Synod also adopted it and sent it down to the classes. But their General Synod of 1893 found that the majority of the classes disapproved of the union.

Thus the third attempt at union between the churches, originally under the same mother Church, the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, and so alike in name, doctrine and government, failed. Correspondence, however, has been continued between them with the greatest cordiality. We might add a historic fact that caused the Dutch Church finally to hedge in 1891. After the plan for union had been provided and approved, Rev. Prof. E. V. Gerhart's "Institutes of Theology" appeared. These were at once seized upon by the extreme Calvinists of the Dutch Church—the Hollanders of Michigan and the West, who charged Dr. Gerhart with not being a Calvinist but an Arminian. They threatened secession if the union were consummated, and the Dutch General Synod, to prevent that, finally voted against union. Thus Mercersburg theology was again the reason assigned for keeping apart the two churches as in 1847. But for Mercersburg theology we believe the two churches, Dutch and German, would be one to-day.

SECTION 3. CORRESPONDENCE AND UNION WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS.

At the beginning of this period (1844) both of the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church were interchanging delegates with both the Eastern and Ohio synods. This continued until 1854, when the General Assembly of the Old-School Assembly broke off relations with the Eastern synod because of the Romanizing tendencies of Mercersburg the-

†The original plan for this was drawn up by Dr. De Baun and modified by the committee.

ology. When the Reformed Church of Germantown went over to the New-School Presbytery, it was expected there might be a dissolution of relations with them. But although there was a strong party in that General Assembly that favored dissolution for the same reason as in the Old-School, yet it continued interchanging delegates with the Eastern synod. The Ohio synod continued in fraternal relations with the Presbyterians without any such break. In 1863, at the union of the Eastern and Ohio synods to form our General Synod, exchange of delegates was continued with the New-School General Assembly. The reunion of the two Presbyterian Churches, Old- and New-School, was effected in 1869, and correspondence with the General Assembly of the United Church began in 1881 and has been unbroken since that year. In addition, we might add that our Ohio synod in 1847 received an overture from the Presbyterian General Assembly for closer union and it appointed a committee to meet with the Presbyterians, but nothing came out of it.

In recent years the conviction has been growing that all the churches of the Reformed and Presbyterian family should come into closer relations and more complete co-operation in all their work. Several conferences between committees appointed for this purpose had been held, beginning with 1902. At a conference held in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1905, three members of the Reformed Church in the United States were present, upon invitation, as advisory members. In March, 1906, a further conference of these committees was had at Charlotte, N. C., in which a committee of the General Synod of the Reformed Church, appointed in 1905, took part.

The committees of the Reformed Church and of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, met jointly after the conference at Charlotte, N. C., March, 1906, and while the committee of the Reformed Church had no authority to enter upon negotiations with the Presbyterian Committee, it was thought to be expedient to adopt a joint resolution, asking the highest courts of both bodies to appoint a committee to consider the subject of closer relations, whether federal or organic, between the Churches. Our General Synod at its next

meeting in 1908 approved of this overture from its committee and appointed a committee to meet with the Presbyterians on the subject of organic union. The committee appointed was Rev. Drs. J. S. Kieffer, J. I. Good, G. W. Richards and A. E. Dahlman and Elder Albert Ankeny. The committees of the two Churches are now in conference.

SECTION 4. CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Correspondence was regularly kept up by the Eastern synod with the General Synod of the Lutheran Church and also with the Pennsylvania synod, and when the Lutheran Ministerium, or General Council, was formed about 1860, it kept up correspondence with that body. After the Galesburg rule had been adopted by the General Council (1872 and 1875)—that Lutheran pulpits were for Lutheran ministers and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants, there was considerable discussion about discontinuing correspondence with them at the Eastern Synod of 1876. It was, however, continued until 1880, when that branch of the Lutheran Church by its own action discontinued it. When the General Synod of our Church was formed in 1863 it did not open correspondence with the General Council and Ministerium of the Lutheran Church. But it continued regular correspondence with the General Synod of the Lutheran Church by delegates.

The first General Synod (1863) decided to have correspondence also with the Moravian Church and with the Synod of the Evangelical (United) Church (the German body in our country corresponding with the United Church of Germany, which is composed of both Lutherans and Reformed.) With the former Church there has been occasional correspondence by delegates; with the latter Church, quite regularly.

SECTION 5. ALLIANCE OF THE REFORMED AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

In 1875 an overture was sent to our General Synod asking our Church to join this Alliance. It declared our satisfaction with such movements but as it supposed that only those Churches as held to the Westminster Confessions could enter

the Alliance, it did not feel like appointing delegates to it. But it declared it would be glad to join with a broader movement looking toward a union of all branches of the Reformed Church. At the General Synod of 1878, Dr. Schaff was present and explained more fully the object of this movement, correcting the error that only Churches holding the Westminster standards could belong to it. So our General Synod decided to enter it and appointed delegates to its next meeting at Philadelphia in 1880. Since then to the various councils of that Alliance, at Belfast, 1884, London 1888, Toronto 1893, Glasgow 1896, Washington 1899, Liverpool 1904, New York 1909, our General Synod has regularly sent delegates and some of its members have taken part in the program of those councils. It has also been continually represented in the Western section of that Alliance.

SECTION 6. CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN BODIES.

The Eastern synod of 1845 appointed a committee of correspondence with Germany, so as to import ministerial students from Germany for our churches. They corresponded with the Mission-Houses at Langenberg, Germany, and Basle, Switzerland, and several young men came over into our ministry. By the synod of 1853, Prof. Schaff was given a commission to bear fraternal greetings to the sister Churches of Germany and Switzerland. He did so to the German Diet at Frankfort in 1854 and to the Pastoral Aid Society of Basle. Prof. Schaff was criticised by some of the Germans in the Ohio synod for his actions at that diet,—that he fraternized with the ministers of the United or Evangelical Church rather than with the Reformed ministers of Germany. He replied that he had attended the conference of the Reformed ministers held at Frankford at that time, but had taken no part in their business as they were concerned with matters of a local nature, as the inroads of the Lutherans into the Reformed Church of Hesse. They also criticised him for getting an endowment for an Evangelical seminary in Missouri and not for the Reformed Church. He replied that he was not responsible for that endowment-action of the

diet, but that he had had a society organized at Basle to aid a professorship at Heidelberg college. The Eastern synod decided to open correspondence with the German Church-diet and it had representatives at the diet at Lubeck in 1856 and at Hamburg in 1859.

The Ohio synod of 1855 also appointed a committee on correspondence. It reported to its next meeting that it had not been able to do anything and it somewhat criticised the Eastern synod for going ahead in its correspondence with Germany alone. It declared that if the Eastern synod wished to satisfy the feelings of the Reformed in America, it must keep clear of all unionistic efforts in America. This reveals the difference between the Eastern and the Ohio synod, the former led by Dr. Schaff, inclined to fraternize with the United Church of Germany, the latter, with the Reformed of Germany.

The German Church-diet suggested to the Eastern synod of 1857 the formation of a German Church-diet in America, but the synod replied that it was not able to carry out this idea. The Eastern synod also decided to open correspondence with the Reformed conference at Elberfeld and the Pastoral Conference of Switzerland. It, in 1858, accepted the offer of a tutorship from Germany; by which Dr. Bethman von Hollweg supported a student of our Church while studying in Germany. To the synod of 1860 was reported the tutorship fund of \$6,500., of which the basis was the \$2,000. given by that gentleman. The Swiss Evangelical diet had quite a discussion when correspondence with us was broached,—as to whether they as a voluntary body had the right to correspond with a Church and the matter was referred to the Basle consistory. The synod of 1865 appointed a committee to correspond with the Reformed ministers of the Wupperthal, the Basle Mission-House, St. Chrischona and the Pastoral Conference of Switzerland so as to obtain young men for our ministry. The Ohio synod appointed Dr. Ruetenik to convey its greetings to the Reformed bodies abroad. He reported to the next synod the organization in different places, as Elberfeld, Lippe, Bremen, Emden and other places, of societies to aid pious young men for the ministry in our country. The East-

ern synod in 1867 received a communication from the German Church-diet and appointed a committee to send a fraternal letter to that body. The Eastern synod of 1869 appointed a committee to open correspondence with the Swiss and with Lippe-Detmold. The Northwestern synod in 1868 appointed a committee to correspond with Germany for more ministers. Dr. Ruetenik was ordered to correspond with societies at Elberfeld, Detmold and Bremen. The synod of 1874 ordered correspondence with Germany about a school at Mühlheim.

When the General Synod was organized, it appointed a committee to open regular correspondence with the Reformed Pastoral Conference of Switzerland and the Reformed Conference of Germany. The next General Synod (1866) appointed another committee to correspond with them. This was again done in 1869 and 1872, but there was no report from the committee. In 1875 it discontinued the committee. In 1887 the correspondence was renewed and fraternal greetings sent to the Reformed Alliance of Germany and also a delegate. The General Synod of 1890 appointed a committee to correspond with the Reformed Alliance of Germany and the Swiss Evangelical Union. Since then our Church has had delegates at the meetings of those bodies and this committee has regularly reported to the General Synod. In 1902 the committee reported correspondence also with the classis of Amsterdam in Holland and with the Reformed Church of Geneva, in 1905 also with the Reformed Church of Hungary. At times small grants of money were made by the General Synod as to the Swiss Evangelical Union, which was used at Bellinzona and to the Reformed Church of Pressburg, Hungary.

SECTION 7. THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

When this organization was first formed (1846) it was derided by Dr. Nevin, who declared its idea of union to be a false one because not organic. He prophesied that therefore it would be ineffective. Later, in 1869, Dr. E. V. Gerhart began a series of articles against the Week of Prayer (the first week of the new year), which had been approved by

the Evangelical Alliance. He said that this Week of Prayer was merely the invention of man, because it does not recognize the supernatural—the church-year. It is arbitrary and incongruous because it occurs just at the season of Christmas. Circumcision and Epiphany,—“what a mockery,” he says, “to call on God’s people to fast as such a joyous season,”—it was an effort to supplant Passion Week. He then criticised the topics of the Week of Prayer—that the name of Christ occurred only once in their program—that it had no recognition of the facts of Christ’s life—Pelagius, Socinus and Channing could have voted for its Christless topics. He then attacked the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in their program because it intimated that the Holy Spirit was absent and must be prayed for, whereas he held that the Holy Spirit was always present—believers do not pray for the Holy Spirit but in him. (In this Dr. Gerhart approaches the heresy of the Plymouth Brethren.—A.) He said that the treatment of the Holy Spirit in the program of the Week of Prayer is a denial of Pentecost. He was replied to in the *Reformed Church Monthly* that the Order of Worship in its Christmas service had confession and humiliation even at that joyous season and that the Order of Worship had in it prayer for the Holy Spirit to come.

Dr. T. G. Apple, in 1870, also attacks the Evangelical Alliance because it is a union merely of individuals in the churches (independent Christianity) and not of synods (organic Christianity), and because it had adopted the doctrine of the right of private judgment, leaving out tradition. However, after Dr. Schaff became connected with the Evangelical Alliance as one of its officers (even though he at first had agreed with Nevin against it), the opposition of the Mercersburg men weakened somewhat. They were still further placated when Dr. Nevin was asked to take part in the Evangelical Alliance meeting at New York in 1873, where he read a paper on “Christianity and Humanity.” He later defended that meeting against Episcopalian attacks, although there was some criticism of it in the *Messenger* by other Mercersburg men.

B. DISUNION.

SECTION 8. THE INDEPENDENT SYNOD OF OHIO.

The Ohio synod, having broken off from the old or Eastern synod was destined to have a part break off from it. If the Eastern synod had its free synod, the Ohio synod had its Independent synod, only later (1846-52). The cause of it was the difference between the conservatives and the progressives. On June 3, 1846, Columbiana classis, by a majority vote, declared itself independent. Sonnendecker, Hamm, Herbruck, Ruhl, Zwisler and Weber voting for independence. Keller, A. Stump, F. Stump and Paltzgraff voted against it and remained with the Ohio synod. The latter met and reorganized the classis. The independents formed themselves into a synod and drew up a long statement, which declared that they became independent because of innovations that had entered the Ohio synod, that doctrines contrary to the Heidelberg Catechism were taught, such as sinless perfection, that customs like the anxious bench and noisy prayer-meetings were permitted. Schlosser says that their declaration was more sweeping than their assertions at the classis which were only against the anxious bench.

When the matter came before the Ohio synod in 1846, it lamented the course of the independents as contrary to the dictates of conscience and to the constitution of the Church,—that if such facts were true, the orderly way would have been to have brought charges against the guilty. At the same time it granted that some irregularities had occurred and revoked its own action of 1844, when it granted permission to organize English congregations within the bounds of German charges and vice versa. It appointed a committee of three to meet the brethren of the independent synod in conference. Because the Ohio synod acknowledged its error by rescinding its former action, Sonnendecker and Zwisler went back to the old synod, leaving only Hamm, Herbruck, Ruhl and Weber in it. This independent synod sought to unite with the synod of Pennsylvania or the Eastern synod of

our Church, but was refused by that body and recommended to return to the Ohio synod. It continued in existence until 1852, when, by invitation of the Ohio synod, it again united with it as the North German classis. The independent synod was active in home missionary work and started to publish a church-paper called the *Evangelist*, with Kabus as editor. But its first number proved to be its last. Herbruck did considerable work in educating young men for the ministry under that synod. He taught G. Ziegler, John and George Rettig, Philip Becker and Ruhl.

But even after its reunion with the old synod, trouble ensued and the ministers of the North German classis threatened in 1853 to again secede if Columbiana classis were not dissolved. Synod then ordered it to be dissolved and a new classis created. But when Columbiana classis refused, November 30, 1853, to allow itself to be dissolved by a vote of 6 to 1, Mahnenschmidt refused to join the North German classis. The friction continued. The North German classis wanted all to be German, but all the congregations of the Columbiana classis except one understood English. So the synod of 1854 dissolved both classes. They then met and together formed two new classes, St. John's and East Ohio.

That there was some truth in the charge of heresy by the independent synod is evident. A peculiar controversy arose within the part of Columbiana classis which had remained with the Ohio synod. At the session of 1850 several members declared that they would not subscribe to the Heidelberg Catechism because they could not agree to original sin in the tenth answer and because such subscription was at the bottom ecclesiastical tyranny. After a discussion of from 5 to 6 hours, the motion to subscribe to the Heidelberg Catechism was passed by a vote of 10 to 3. A. Stoner and Paltzgraff appealed to the synod against this. The former tried to get back to the Lutheran Church but was refused. He then published a pamphlet, entitled "A brief survey of the Government of the Church of Christ," in which he attacked all Church authority.

SECTION 9. THE STIELY SYNOD OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This movement began in the northwestern part of Schuylkill County, Pa. In 1841, Rev. Isaac Stiely, of Mahantongo, declared himself independent and invited other ministers and congregations to join with him to form a Free Synod. In 1842, Susquehanna classis deposed him for false doctrine disorder and falsehood. In 1842, Rev. Frederick Herman joined himself with him. They together ordained Philip Stiely, a cousin of Isaac Stiely's in a private house (Mr. Clouser's) near Llewellyn, Schuylkill County. These three ministers held their first meeting at Artz's school-house in Hubley's township of that county, where they received a Mr. Schmeckenbecher who after preaching a short time in Tioga County, disappeared. They next ordained a worthless, half-witted German named Friehe, who also soon passes out of sight. Rev. Mr. Hassenger also joined them and Rev. Andrew Hoffman, a deposed Reformed minister, pastor at Falkner Swamp; Rev. Horatio Daniel and Rev. William B. Sandoe were for some time connected with this synod, but later joined the regular synod.

The synod continued for a time, but in 1860, Rev. Isaac Stiely was received back into Susquehanna classis, "repentant and with tears," says Harbaugh. The other Stiely served a number of congregations on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, but was a bad man and his congregations went to pieces, so that East Susquehanna classis sent a missionary there to recover the ground.

A few other individuals declared themselves independent, but do not seem to have either joined this synod or formed a synod, as Rev. William Pauli, of Reading, about 1844 (joined also by his brother, Rev. Augustus Pauli), Rev. William Seibert, 1852, Rev. S. K. Gross, 1860, both of Goshenhoppen classis, and Rev. Isaac Miese, of Bern Church, Berks County, 1862. After the latter had seceded, Lebanon classis asked Prof. Harbaugh to prepare a pamphlet on the evils of schism, which, according to their high-church views, was a heinous sin. Harbaugh did so and published "Schism and

Independency," in which in scathing terms he wrote down all the independent synods of the Reformed Church in this country, but by this, doing often great injustice to the Free synod (1822-37). Rev. J. E. Hiester published the book in a German translation.

CHAPTER III.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH.

SECTION 1. THE SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF MINISTERS.

This was the oldest benevolent organization of the Church. As early as 1755, Mr. Schlatter suggested a Widow's Fund. The coetal letter of 1773 called the attention of the Holland fathers to the subject, and they sent \$100. The society seems to have been formally organized in 1775. After the organization of our synod this society seems to have lapsed somewhat, for in 1802 it had in its treasury only \$1.35. It was chartered in 1810, when ministers of Pennsylvania were made its beneficiaries. By 1832 its membership had fallen to three and they requested the synod to appoint a committee to look into the affairs of the society. The synod of 1834 decided to perpetuate the society and appointed a committee to make such changes in the charter as were needed. In 1835 new life was infused into it, many becoming life or contributing members. In 1865 an appendix was added to the charter, and its invested funds in 1864 were \$5,000. In 1894 it had \$30,000, and had received the previous year about \$14,000. Its report to General Synod of 1908 was: receipts (1905-8), \$24,091., and it had aided 34 ministers and 52 widows during the period. It had invested funds amounting to \$73,000.

In 1902 the General Synod appointed a committee to draw up a plan for a ministerial society for the whole Church. This committee reported to the next synod (1905) a plan which it accepted and it elected a board of Ministerial Relief, whose report to the General Synod in 1908 is as follows: \$2,649. had been received 1905-8, seven ministers and four widows had been aided.

Two of the German synods, the Northwestern and Central synods, also inaugurated work along this line, each forming

a society. The latter, however, has merged itself into the General Synod's Board.

SECTION 2. THE HOME MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH.*

We have already traced the history of Home Missions up to 1844. Before 1845 there had been but one board of Home Missions, the board of the Eastern synod. In 1845 the Ohio synod elected a board, so that there were now two boards. But the board of the Eastern synod had not been prospering. In 1845 it had no missionary. The classes supervised all missions and left nothing for the board to do, either in money or work. In 1842 the Eastern and Ohio synods came into correspondence through interchange of delegates. This brought their home missionary work closer together. In 1848 the delegates from the Eastern synod to the Ohio synod came back from the West with new missionary zeal. As a result, both boards united in sending out an exploring agent, Rev. Samuel Miller, who traveled through southern Indiana, southern Illinois, northern Kentucky and Missouri. But he resigned at the end of nine months. About the same time some of the stronger congregations in the East began especially to aid particular mission congregations in the West, as Easton aided Cincinnati. Tiffin also was aided thus. In 1857 the Eastern synod with, however, the hearty approval of the Western synod, appointed Rev. W. K. Zieber superintendent of missions in the West. He traveled, often amid many privations, through Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, remaining in office two years. He opened five new fields in Iowa and to the east of it. For forty years the Church raised an average of \$900. a year. In 1859, \$4,000. was raised, an average of about 6 cents a member.

When the General Synod was organized in 1863 a board of Home Missions was created and the boards of the East and West were to be dissolved. It ordered the election of a superintendent and a traveling secretary. The two boards were consolidated in 1865 at Philadelphia, the Eastern board

*See Whitmer "One Hundred and Fifty Years of Home Missionary Activity."

transferring 52 missions and the western, 15. The General Synod board dropped ten of them and added fourteen new ones, so that there were 71, 30 of whom were German. Rev. L. D. Leberman was elected secretary. But though this united effort promised large things, gradually the debt of the board increased to \$4,000, and in 1868 Leberman resigned. By 1869 the debt of the board was \$5,000, and there was a lack of unity and confidence in the Church. Some of the classes took charge of the missions within their own bounds. The liturgical controversy was dividing the Church. The two parties began quarreling about home missions. Apple wrote in the *Messenger* charging Bomberger, the president of the board, with being unwilling to appoint Mercersburg men to western missions. This the latter indignantly denied. The quarrel between the two parties about Iowa missions deepened the feeling. Some of the liturgical men were sore at the West for opposing them and refused to support western missions. When the General Synod of 1869 did not re-elect Bomberger a member of the board, his friends of the low-churchmen reacted against the board. The Northwestern synod then asked Ohio synod to join them in electing a missionary superintendent. Ohio synod in 1870 elected its own board of Missions auxiliary to the General Synod's board. The Eastern synod in 1871 created its own board too. The German board had in 1870 appointed Rev. Max Stern superintendent of missions, but at the end of a year he resigned on account of failing health. By 1872 the management of Home Missions was in the hands of the district synods' boards. The three eastern synods united (1873) to form a Tri-synodic board and elected Rev. F. K. Levan as superintendent. (Pittsburg synod in 1870 had had him as its own superintendent of missions. In 1871 it elected Rev. G. H. Johnson but the next year Mr. Levan again.) The Tri-synodic board simply continued him in office. This Tri-synodic board labored within the territory of the Eastern synod and then leaping over the Ohio synod began work on the Pacific coast in California and Oregon and in 1882 in Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa. In 1877, Mr. Levan's term expired and Rev. Theodore Appel was

made superintendent, 1878, followed by Rev. A. C. Whitmer in 1886. In 1886 it adopted the plan of Church-building Funds for the erection of mission churches.

Meanwhile the Ohio and Northwestern synods were pushing their work against many discouragements. In 1876, Rev. J. M. Kendig was elected superintendent of Missions, but resigned 1879. In 1880, Rev. S. P. Myers was elected but resigned in 1882. But the classes did much of the work and it was difficult to get ministers to open their charges to the superintendent. Nevertheless the work went on. In 1868 the synod of the Northwest organized its own board of Missions and in 1882 the Central synod joined with it to form a bi-synodic board of Missions. In 1875 the board of Home Missions of the Eastern German synod was organized, and in 1887 the board of the synod of the Interior was organized. In 1873 the Ursinus Union was organized by the low-churchmen in the East who did not want to aid work under the Tri-synodic board. The movement for unification under the General Synod began in 1884, when it appointed a committee to submit a plan for carrying on the work under the General Synod.

In 1887, when the peace compact was completed by the adoption of a liturgy and it was hoped peace would come, the tendency toward unification under the General's Synod's board strongly increased. Ohio synod transferred its missions to the General board in 1889. The same year, the Pittsburg synod withdrew from the Tri-synodic board and transferred its missions to the General Synod's board. Ursinus Union did so too in 1890. Finally, in 1891, the Eastern and Potomac synods transferred their missions to go into effect April 1, 1892. But it continued its existence as a bi-synodic board as advisory in regard to missions within its own bounds and also so as to nominate a superintendent for the eastern district to be elected by General Synod's board. It thus continued its existence though the other synods gave their's up outright. The supposition by the low-churchmen was that their opponents in this way hoped to get control of the Home Missions

of the Church. It would have been better if the bi-synodic board, like the boards of the other synods had been dissolved, as it would have prevented undue prejudice, avoided much expense and made the management of our Home Missions simpler. Thus all the English synods were unified under the board of the General Synod. The German synods, however, have continued their work independently of that board, although reporting through that board to the General Synod the statistics of their work.

The General Synod's board, in addition to its work among the English and the Germans, has added two additional fields of labor. In 1884, Rev. C. H. Ebert was appointed harbor missionary at the port of New York to labor among the immigrants arriving at our shores, especially the Germans. This work since 1887 was directly overseen by the German synod of the East, though the General Synod board paid the salary of the harbor missionary, but later it was turned over to the General Synod's board. In 1890, Rev. Mr. Ebert was succeeded by Elder (now Rev.) Paul Sommerlatte who in turn was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Paul H. Land in 1905.

The Home Mission board has also found another field among the Hungarians and Bohemians of this country, especially the former. The work among the Hungarians, begun in 1890, was at first quite successful, as they responded quite eagerly and gratefully to the efforts of our Church. But later the Reformed Church of Hungary began organizing a branch of itself in this country and drew away quite a number of our Hungarian ministers and congregations, although some still remain with us. A Hungarian classis has also been organized. The Bohemian work has not been so successful because of peculiar difficulties.

The statistics of our Home Mission board, as given to the last General Synod (1910) are 182 missions, of which 112 are in English synods, and 57 in the German synods, to which must be added 9 Hungarian, 3 Bohemian, 1 Japanese and the harbor mission in New York City. Total receipts, (1908-11), \$234,000.

Western Pennsylvania.

In western Pennsylvania the Reformed a half-century ago were pushing missionary work in the northwestern part of the state and around Pittsburg. A great loss to our Church occurred in Pittsburg in 1849. Three rationalists were elected into the Church board of that congregation. Rev. Mr. Koehler refused to install them and resigned the following Sunday, preaching his farewell sermon on April 29. He, however, recalled his resignation and when he was about to ordain the other three who had been elected, the three rationalists came forward also. He ordained only the first three and the others left the Church. On the following Sunday, May 20, as he was about giving out the second hymn, one of the rationalists took his station at the chancel rail and denounced him as a tyrant and as a Robespierre. He jumped over the railing and proceeded to lay hold of the minister. The man was stopped amid much confusion and the pastor was conducted in safety to his house. The rationalists thus drove out Mr. Koehler and the Church has ever since been independent, although it was previously reported in the roll of our classis, and its delegates were full members thereof. It is now served by a minister who is virtually a Unitarian. But an English Reformed Church (Grace) was later organized at Pittsburg and has proved a centre from which many congregations have been organized. Indeed, the whole of what is now Allegheny and St. Paul's classes was once missionary ground.

Several special home missionary movements need special attention. The first was the settlement of the Reformed from the County of Lippe in Germany in Wisconsin.

In 1847, there came to Sheboygan, Wis., and to northern Illinois, colonies of Reformed settlers from the County of Lippe in Germany. That district had just passed through severe persecution by the rationalists, who had gotten control of the state-Church. The Heidelberg Catechism was supplanted by a rationalistic book of instruction. Seven hundred heads of families protested as did five ministers, one of whom was removed from office. Many of them therefore de-

cided to go to America. A colony left Bremen May 4, 1847, and landed at Quebec. Fourteen families kept together and became the nucleus of our Church at Franklin, Wis. They were not at first aware that there was a Reformed Church in America. Their first minister was Rev. Mr. Plüss. Dr. Bossard came to them in 1854, and Sheboygan classis organized them as a congregation with him as their pastor. Rev. Mr. Winter labored among these colonists and organized thirteen congregations. He conceived the idea of a Mission-house in order to train young men for the ministry and it was founded in 1860. Bossard became professor of Church history and Muehlmeier professor of dogmatics and also the house-father. It was received under the care of the Northwestern synod in 1867, having been previously under Sheboygan classis.

Another important colony was the Russian in Dakota. In 1870 the Russian government recalled the privileges granted to the colonists from Germany who had settled along the Volga. Many of them were devoted members of the Reformed Church. Some of them had been Lutherans from south Germany, where the forms of worship were, like the Reformed, very simple, and as they did not feel at home in the ritualistic service of the Russian Lutheran Church, many of them therefore became Reformed. Their emigration to this country began in 1873 and continued till 1890. Two colonies came in 1874, one going to Clay County, Nebraska, and the other to Yankton, Dakota. Rev. Mr. Kuss was sent to the latter in 1875. These colonies are now found in Kansas, Nebraska, Northern and Southern Dakota, where they now form several of our classes. Among them has labored Rev. C. Bonekemper, the founder of the Stundist movement in Russia.*

An effort was made to plant missions on the Pacific coast, in California, by Rev. Mr. Fundeling and in Oregon by Rev. Mr. Gantenbein in 1876. The former soon failed, but from the latter work the Oregon classis has been formed. A Japanese Reformed Church has recently been founded in San Francisco under Rev. Mr. Mori.

*See *Reformed Church Magazine*, September 1893, for Bonekemper's work.

The Mission in Canada was begun in 1892. An earnest elder, Mr. Doern, of Gretna, Manitoba, wrote to his former pastor in Galatia in Europe, stating the great need of ministers and asking for a Reformed minister. The latter forwarded his letter to our harbor missionary, Rev. Mr. Sommerlatte, and in 1894 Rev. Mr. Steinecker went to Canada, preaching especially at Saskatchewan and Winnipeg. In 1896 he was joined by Rev. Mr. Zenk and Rev. W. W. Hansen, and now a classis has been formed.

SECTION 3. THE FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH.

The first impulse toward our foreign missionary work seems to have come from a visit of Rhenius, the prominent missionary from India, in 1837 to America.

Rev. Dr. Heiner, in the report to the synod of 1837, said that Rhenius and his associates on the distant shores of India as well as other Churches are expecting us to co-operate in missions.

Our Home Missionary Society asked the Eastern synod that year to found a foreign mission,* but the synod did not join with the Lutheran Church in founding an Evangelical or United Church mission in India, as was suggested by Rhenius. It, however, appointed a committee of five ministers to prepare a plan for a missionary society of our own Church and asked all who desired to do so to contribute to the American Board so as to support Rhenius at Tinnevely in India. The synod of 1838 selected the first foreign missionary board, auxiliary to the American Board of Foreign Missions.† The sum of \$945, was contributed or pledged at that meeting, Heiner, Berg, Zacharias, Wolff and D. Ziegler each agreeing to raise \$120. Up to the synod of 1839 the receipts were \$811. It was decided in 1840 that Rev. Dr. J. W. Nevin be our representative on the American Board, which position he held until 1865, when he resigned.

It was soon felt that we would be able to raise more money if we had our own missionary in connection with the American

*See Buettner's History of our Church, page 53.

†For agreement, see Buettner, page 55.

Board and Rev. Benjamin Schneider, of Broosa, Turkey, was appointed our representative. Dr. Schneider was originally from our Church and was at that time a member of the Newcastle Presbytery. He then came into our Church, joining the Maryland classis, in which he continued till he died.

He was born at Falkner Swamp, Montgomery County, January 18, 1807.* He labored at Broosa, in Asia Minor, up to 1849. It was a difficult field, but in that year he was appointed missionary to Aintab, in southern Turkey, where he labored with remarkable success, his audiences rising from 100 at first to 1,500. In 1856-8 he was in America visiting many of our Churches and ecclesiastical bodies. He returned to Aintab in 1858, where he labored until 1868. He then returned to America in feeble health, but in 1874 returned to Turkey to be professor of theology in the Theological seminary at Marsovan. His health, however, failed the next year, and he returned to America, where he died September 14, 1877. He was a fine linguist, a most godly man, full of prayer and the Holy Ghost.

He was the missionary of our Church until 1865-6. In 1859 our Eastern synod instructed our board to open correspondence with the American Board about transferring Aintab to our Church as its own mission, but the mission at Aintab was not willing to leave the American Board and our Church was not at that time raising sufficient funds to support it. Besides, Dr. Schneider's sympathies were known to be decidedly anti-liturgical and anti-Mercersburg, which made many of that party somewhat lukewarm in his support. Laboring, as he did, among the Armenians in the East, he could not but be opposed to high-churchism, for that Church had had its life killed by its forms. Besides the doctrine of the middle state or "hades" of the Mercersburg theology seemed to him too much like the doctrine of purgatory of those eastern Churches, against which he had to continually protest. So, finally, our board withdrew from the American Board with the approval of our synod. There had also some

*See Life of Rev. B. Schneider, D.D., published in 1907 by our Foreign Board.

criticism appeared in the *Messenger*. "Seldom," with his high-church views, criticised the methods of the mission at Aintab. He criticised Dr. Schneider's right to teach theology at Marsovan without being elected to that position by a synod and also his right to ordain evangelists when there was no classis as yet. He declared these acts of Dr. Schneider to be irregular and disorderly. This shows the feeling against Dr. Schneider on the part of many of the Mercersburg men. It was evident that a breach was opening between them and Dr. Schneider's mission. So our Church withdrew from the American Board. For about fifteen years our Church did nothing officially for foreign missions, though some money was still raised for the American Board in a private way.

The subject of foreign missions was, however, brought up before the Eastern synod in 1869 by an appeal of the German Evangelical Mission Society of New York. The committee to whom it was referred brought in an adverse report, that as our home missionary work was crippled, they did not see the way clear for foreign work. But Rev. Dr. Busehe, of New York, pled so hard for the society, saying that for four years our Church had done nothing for the heathen, that synod finally commended its work to our congregations. Rev. Oscar Lohr, a member of our New York classis, was sent out to India and also Rev. J. Hauser, who later returned to America. The field of labor in India was at Bismampore.

About this time, while our Church was doing nothing for the heathen in foreign lands, Sheboygan classis, October 11, 1876, decided to open missionary work among the Indians. By 1878, \$239. had been raised for the mission and Rev. J. Hauser, who had returned from India, was elected missionary. He visited the different tribes of Indians and in 1878 the classis decided to begin work among the Winnebagoes, in Jackson County, Wisconsin, near Black River Falls. As the Indians were very poor, they needed considerable charitable help. On December 30, 1878, a school of ten scholars was opened with John Stacy as helper. The missionary lived at first in Black River Falls. On January 5, 1879, Rev. Mr. Hauser preached his first sermon. He also did pastoral work

but laid the greatest stress on teaching. He moved into a house at the mission station, June 30, 1880. A chapel was erected instead of the school-house. In 1883, Mr. Hauser was seconded by Stucki, who was made helper in 1895. In 1897, the first Indian was baptized. Stacy was baptized in 1898. In 1900 a medicine-man, George Low, was baptized with his whole family. The mission has had a slow but sure growth under the efforts of the Sheboygan classis. Rev. Mr. Stucki is now the missionary, and there are fifteen members.

During the liturgical controversy the attention of the Church was diverted from foreign missions. Gradually, however, about \$5,000. accumulated in the hands of the treasurer of our foreign board, Mr. R. F. Kelker. When the peace movement was inaugurated at the General Synod of 1878, it gave new impulse to work among the heathen. The board had before that time decided upon Japan as its field. It sent out in 1879 the first missionary, Rev. A. D. Gring, who located at Yokohoma.* In 1883, Rev. J. P. Moore was sent out. Both Mr. Gring and Mr. Moore opened chapels in Tokio. In 1885, Rev. W. E. Hoy was sent out, who located at Sendai, in northern Japan, where a considerable congregation under Rev. Mr. Oshikawa came into our Church. At the same time our Church in Japan joined the United Church of Japan, composed of the missions of the Dutch Reformed, Northern and Southern Presbyterians. There is now at Sendai, the North Japan College, a Theological seminary and the Girls' School, together with the Industrial Home. Our field in Japan is divided into four fields: Sendai, which is the largest, Fukushima, Yamagata with Akita and also Tokio.

Our Church was later moved to open another mission in China. The General Synod of 1899 directed the board to do so, but owing to the Boxer rebellion our mission did not get started there till 1901, when Rev. W. E. Hoy was transferred from Japan to China and opened a mission at Yochow city, in the province of Hunan, in central China. In 1904, the mission station at Chenchow, in the province of Hunan, in charge

*He later(about 1891) went into the Episcopalian Church.

of Rev. William Kelly, was received under the care of our board. So there are now two stations in China, one at Yochow, the other at Chenchow, each have a hospital, boys' school and girls' school.

The statistics of the Foreign board in their report of 1911 are: 19 ordained missionaries, 3 unordained, 15 ladies, 3 physicians; total, including wives of missionaries, 62. There are 15 ordained natives, total native helpers, 67. There are 65 stations and outstations, 2,308 communicants, 10,000 adherents; also 6 schools, with 663 students. The income during 1910 has been: from the home church, \$103,000.; in the field, \$2,000.*

SECTION 4. THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

The Reformed Church in the United States, like her mother Church in Germany, has always emphasized education. We regret that owing to the fact that our book has already grown to such a size, we have only space to name the various educational institutions of our Church.

The Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. We have before given the history of the founding of this seminary.** It was located first at Carlisle (1825-9), at York (1829-37), at Mercersburg (1837-71), and now at Lancaster.†

Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. The early history of Marshall College and its union with Franklin College we have previously referred to.‡

Heidelberg University, Tiffin, O. The founding of Heidelberg College has already been given.§ It was changed from a college into a university in 1890.||

*See Hand-book of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in the U. S.

**See pages 21-117.

†See Appel, "The Beginnings of the Theological Seminary."

‡See pages 76-7 and 295-298. For additional data, see Dubbs' "History of Franklin and Marshall College."

§See page 173.

||See "History of Heidelberg College," by Williard; also, "The Life of Henry Leonard."

Heidelberg Theological Seminary, Tiffin, O. The account of its origin has also been given.* In 1907 it was united with Ursinus School of Theology and the united seminary was called the Central Theological Seminary. It was at Tiffin, 1907, and removed to Dayton, O., 1908.

The Mission-House, Franklin, Wis., founded by Sheboygan classis, 1860. It was transferred to the Northwestern synod in 1867.†

Catawba College, Newton, N. C. We have already referred to its founding.‡ It lost a large part of its resources by the Civil War and after the war was opened as Catawba High and Normal School, but was later raised to the grade of a college again.

Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. We have already referred to its founding and the controversy about the opening of its theological department.§ Its theological department was removed to Philadelphia, 1898, and in 1907 united with Heidelberg Theological Seminary to form the Central Theological Seminary now at Dayton, O.

Mercersburg College, Mercersburg, Pa. This was founded 1865, and continued till 1880. When the Theological seminary was removed from Mercersburg to Lancaster, 1871, a theological department was started in it, 1873-80. It is now a flourishing preparatory school, under the presidency of W. M. Irvine, Ph.D.

Palatinate College, Myerstown, Pa. This was really a preparatory school. It flourished for a number of years from 1864 but was finally sold, 1896. Calvin College, Cleveland, O., was started 1863 as a school to train ministers to preach in both the German and English languages, but given up about 1900. College of Northern Illinois, Dakota, Ill., was started as a college, 1882, and changed, 1902, into the present Interior Academy. Wichita University, Wichita, Kan., was

*See pages 117-122.

†See "Geschichte des Missionshauses.

‡See pages 298-303. See also "Historic Sketch of North Carolina," page 86.

§See pages 456, 510 and 537-544.

started before 1887, when it was received under the care of the synod of the Interior, but ceased to exist in 1895.

Several collegiate institutes might also be mentioned, as Clarion Collegiate Institute, Rimersburg, Pa., opened 1859; Juniata Collegiate Institute, Martinsburg, Pa., 1867-1892; Henry Seminary, Illinois; Blairstown Academy, Iowa; International Academy, Portland, Ore.; Masanutten Academy, Woodstock, Va., opened 1899.

There have also been several female colleges, as Mt. Washington Female College, near Baltimore. We have already referred to the controversy between Staley, its head, and Dr. Heiner, about the use of the liturgy.* (But between the Church controversy and the political troubles of the war it lost its prestige and passed out from our control about 1864.) Greensburg Female Seminary, 1875-1888. Allentown Female College, founded 1866, chartered 1867, and is prospering. Claremont Female College, Hickory, N. C., which was opened 1880, was undenominational until 1907, when it came under the care of North Carolina classis. Woman's College of Frederick, opened 1845, leased by the Potomac synod 1893 and chartered 1897.

SECTION 5. THE PUBLICATION WORK OF THE CHURCH.†

The beginning of the publication work of our Church was when the board of Home Missions began publishing, in 1827, at York, the *Magazine of the German Reformed Church* in English, with Dr. Mayer as editor. In 1828 it was removed to Carlisle, and in 1829 to York. In 1832 its name was changed into the *Messenger of the Reformed Church*. It was published as a monthly until July, 1834, then as a semi-monthly till July, 1835, when it became a weekly. During all this time, except for a brief period, when edited by Rev. Daniel Young, its editor was Prof. Lewis Mayer, D.D. In 1835 it was removed to Chambersburg.

Rev. S. Helffenstein, D.D., published *Die Evangelische*

*See pages 356-7.

†See Fisher's "History of Publication Efforts of the Reformed Church."

Kirchenzeitung at Philadelphia, 1829-30. Rev. Mr. Dreyer, of Baltimore began *Die Evangelische Zeitung* for both Lutherans and Reformed in 1831, but it fell into other hands, became disorderly and was disowned by the synod in 1833. In 1834, Rev. Mr. Zacharias published *Der Herold* at Harrisburg but soon discontinued it. Finally, two German papers started which were destined to continue. Rev. B. S. Schneck, at Gettysburg, began *Der Christliche Herold*, 1835, and Rev. J. C. Guldin, in Chester County, Pa., began *Die Christliche Zeitschrift* in 1837. In 1837 these papers thus privately started were transferred to the board of Missions and called *Die Christliche Zeitschrift*, of which Rev. S. Gutelius was editor. It was published at Gettysburg. In 1837, Rev. L. Hinsch published the first church paper of the Ohio synod, called *Die Christliche Zeitschrift*, at Piqua, O. It continued for several years.

In 1840 the first printing establishment of our Church was started at Chambersburg, Pa. *Die Christliche Zeitschrift* was transferred from Gettysburg to Chambersburg and Dr. Schneck was editor, 1840-64, with Dr. Gehr as assistant, 1849-52. The publication establishment at once began the publication of English and German catechisms, and in 1842 of a German hymn-book. Up to 1844 the printing establishment at Chambersburg, begun 1840, was under the board of Missions, but then a board of Publication was created by the Eastern synod. It was not financially successful and in 1848 three ministers came forward and offered to manage the publications of our Church at their own risks, paying also a bonus to the synod for the privilege. Their names ought to be remembered, for they saved the Church in a critical time from a bankruptey of \$16,000. They were Rev. M. Kieffer, D. D., S. R. Fisher, D.D., and B. S. Schneck, D.D.. They formed the printing establishment of "M. Kieffer & Co." This firm was to have charge of the publications for five years and pay synod annually \$300. The title of the *Messenger* was changed to *Reformed Church Messenger* in 1848, and of the *Christliche Zeitschrift* to *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung*. Rev. S. R. Fisher was editor of the former and had associ-

ated with him from 1848 to 1852 Rev. B. S. Schneck, 1852-57 Rev. Samuel Miller, 1858-1861 Rev. B. Bausman. The *Kirchenzeitung* was edited by Rev. B. S. Schneck 1848-1852, by Rev. S. Miller 1853-1859, and again by Schneck 1857-63, then by Rev. N. Gehr, 1864-73. In 1874 the German Philadelphia classis took the *Kirchenzeitung*, which had not prospered because most of the Germans were not in sympathy with the publication house on account of its strong Mercersburg views. In 1876, Dr. Kuelling became its editor. In 1875, it was removed to Cleveland, where Ruetenik and Gehr were the editors. Praikschatis was editor 1881-1896, and since then Rev. Mr. Doleh. In 1848, Dr. Schaff founded the *Kirchenfreund*, a union church-paper for both Lutherans and Reformed. It continued till 1853.

Returning to the Publication board, the contract with M. Kieffer ended 1853, but was renewed by synod. The firm agreed to give the synod an equal interest in the property and earnings, provided synod gave all its printing to it and would use all proper means to secure the co-operation of the Church for it. This was to continue for ten years from January 1, 1854. In 1857, the publication house had an estrangement from the liturgical committee, which published the Provisional liturgy through another house. The German hymn-book was also published in 1857 by another house. This produced a controversy 1857-9 at the synods. It seems that synod ordered the German hymn-book to be published by the publication house. This was resisted by Dr. Schaff, the chairman of that committee, unless they agreed to pay copy-money to synod. This Kieffer & Co. resisted, as they were already paying half the profits to the synod. The synod of 1858 was unable to decide and gave over the whole matter to a committee to report at the next synod. So Prof. Schaff asked permission to withdraw the hymn-book and later published it as his own private property. In this condition it was sent to the synod of 1859. The matter was finally compromised by the firm of Kieffer & Co. surrendering their right to publish it. But synod paid them \$1,000 for this privilege as over against their share of the profits, this sum to be

paid at the time when the contract with them expired. In 1864, at the expiration of the contract, synod took the publication establishment from them, paying them \$5,000., adding to it between \$4,000. and \$5,000. more. The synod's board then started out to enlarge the plant, but just then the rebels came to Chambersburg and on July 30, 1864, laid it in ashes, and with it the printing establishment. The loss, as afterwards counted up, footed up \$43,000. At the time of the fire the printing establishment was in debt \$25,000. The synod of 1864 resolved to try and raise \$60,000. for publication purposes. Of this over \$20,000. were secured. This, with the sale of the lot at Chambersburg and some money of the \$500,000. appropriated by the legislature of Pennsylvania for those who had suffered at Chambersburg, was sufficient to relieve it of its liabilities and start a small beginning of a book establishment.

As there was no place to publish it at Chambersburg after the fire, it was transferred to Philadelphia in 1864, where, in 1866, it opened a book-store at 907 Arch street. In 1863, it assumed the publication of the *Guardian*, which from 1850 had been published by Rev. H. Harbaugh, first at Lewisburg, then at Lancaster. Dr. Bausman then became its editor, followed by J. H. Dubbs and H. Kieffer.

In 1865 the board began publishing the Sunday school papers, the *Child's Treasury* as successor of *The Pastor's Helper*, which had been published by Rev. G. B. Russell, at Pittsburg. Since 1859 Dr. Harbaugh was the editor of this paper. In 1866 it adopted the publication of the *Lammerhirt* (which before had been published by the Orphans' Home at Bridesburg), as its German Sunday school paper, Rev. J. C. Beinhauer being its editor. Dr. Russell became co-editor with S. R. Fisher of the *Messenger* in 1867 and resigned at the end of 1871. Dr. Fisher was editor till 1875, when Rev. P. S. Davis, D.D., became editor till 1888; Rev. C. G. Fisher, D.D., 1888-96, and Rev. C. J. Musser, D.D., 1896.

The *Mercersburg Review* was begun 1849 and continued till 1861. It was revived in 1867 with Harbaugh as editor, then

Rev. T. G. Apple, D.D., later Rev. William Rupp, D.D., now Rev. George W. Richards, D.D.

The Ohio synod in 1848 established a board of publication and issued the *Western Missionary* at Lancaster, Rev. J. H. Good, editor. In 1850 its place of publication was changed to Tiffin, where the editor had become professor. In 1855, Rev. G. W. Williard was elected editor and its place of publication was changed to Columbus, O. In 1867, Rev. T. P. Bucher became editor and Dayton became its place of publication. The name of the paper was changed to *Christian World* in 1868. In 1868 its publication was changed to Cincinnati. In 1870, Rev. S. Mease became its editor. In 1878 Dayton again became the place of its publication. In 1882, Revs. E. Herbruck and M. Loucks were elected editors. In 1894, Herbruck retired, leaving M. Loucks editor till 1897. In 1898, Rev. C. E. Miller became editor; in 1899, Rev. D. Burghalter. In 1905, it was removed to Cleveland and published by the Central Publishing House, and Rev. J. H. Bomberger, D.D., became its editor. The Ohio synod's board of publication also for a number of years published lesson leaves and also a child's paper, *The Leaves of Light* (1873-1901).

The *Hausfreund* was started at Reading, Pa., by Rev. Dr. Bausman in 1867, as a church paper for the Pennsylvania Germans. The synod of 1865 had given permission for its publication, although the Reformed Publication board had protested against it, fearing it would interfere with the circulation of the *Kirchenzeitung*. It was merged with the *Kirchenzeitung* in 1906. Dr. Bausman was its editor during its entire period, assisted by its publisher, Daniel Miller.

The *Reformed Church Record*, Reading, Pa., was started 1888. At first there was some opposition in the synod, because it used the name "Reformed Church" in its title, though not approved by the Eastern synod. But it has continued in successful circulation up to the present time. Daniel Miller was editor up to the end of 1907, and was succeeded by Rev. I. M. Beaver.

The *Evangelist*, the German Church-paper of Ohio, was published 1856 by Rev. Dr. Ruetenik. In 1859 it was re-

moved to Cleveland. In 1875, it was united with the *Kirchenzeitung*, the German paper of our eastern Church, and is still published at Cleveland, O.

On August 27, 1858, the German Book Society was organized at Galion, O., by the first conference of our Western German ministers. Ruetenik was elected the first agent of this society. In 1860 it was removed to Cleveland, where it erected a publication building and is still prospering. The *Reformed Wächter* was begun by Book Society of the Germans of our Church in the West. Dr. Ruetenik was editor (1865-85), succeeded by Rev. Mr. Nau up to 1890, when its publication was discontinued.

The *Reformed Church Monthly*, Collegeville (1868-76), Dr. Bomberger, editor, has already been referred to. It was merged into the *Christian World*. The *Reformed Church Herald*, Rev. I. K. Loos, editor, was published at Allentown, 1872-76. Rev. Mr. Brendel was also editor. The *New Era*, Pittsburg, 1873, was begun by Rev. G. B. Russell. In 1876 it was merged into the *Messenger*. The *Reformed Missionary* was published by Rev. Mr. Cort 1870-6. The *Reformed Church Magazine* was published by Rev. J. I. Good, D.D., editor, Reading, 1893-6. The *Reformed Church Herald*, the organ of the synod of the Interior, was begun 1895 and had continued under various editors the organ of our Western Church. The *Reformed Church Standard*, Newton, N. C., the organ of our Southern Church, was begun 1892. Its present editors are Revs. Messrs. Rowe and Lyerly.

The *Korrespondent*, 1894-1900, was published by the Alumni of the Mission-House. The *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1904-1911 has been published by the theological faculty of the Mission-House.

SECTION 6. THE ORPHANS' HOMES OF THE CHURCH.

The first orphans' home opened was on September 21, 1863, by Rev. Mr. Boehringer, at 702 Morris street, Southwark, Philadelphia.* By 1864 it had twelve inmates and soon thirty-one. A property was purchased at Bridesburg, Phila-

*See "History of Bethany Orphans' Home," by Yundt.

delphia, 1864. Rev. Mr. Boehringer died that year and Rev. J. Gantenbein was elected superintendent. By January, 1867, there were 95 orphans and \$12,000. a year were required for the running expenses. Rev. D. Y. Heisler was elected superintendent in 1866. In 1867 the Home was removed to Womelsdorf, Pa. In 1868, Rev. D. B. Albright was elected superintendent and remained in that position for more than seventeen years. In 1881 the main building was destroyed by fire but rebuilt on a larger scale. In 1886, Rev. T. M. Yundt was elected superintendent. Other buildings were added and the plant enlarged. Rev. W. F. Moore was elected superintendent in 1904. It reported to the General Synod of 1908 149 inmates and \$124,000. raised in 1907.

St. Paul's Orphans' Home was established by St. Paul's classis in 1867 and chartered in 1888. It was located at Butler, Pa., but is now at Greenville. It has had as its superintendents C. A. Limberg, 1867-71; J. B. Thompson, 1871-78; T. F. Stauffer, 1878-82; P. C. Prugh, 1882-1903, and D. H. Leader, 1903. Its report for 1908 was as follows: 75 inmates and receipts for three years, \$30,000.

The Orphans' Home at Fort Wayne, Ind., was started by the Germans in 1883. Its superintendents have been Rev. John Rettig, 1883-99, and Rev. B. Ruf, 1899. In 1908 it had property worth \$85,000. and had 93 orphans. During its history 375 have found shelter.

Another Orphans' Home was started at Crescent, N. C., in 1906. Its report (1910) is that it has 22 orphans and a house on a fine farm of 115 acres.

Still another Orphans' Home was founded 1909, called the Hoffman Industrial Orphanage. It is located five miles from Littlestown, Pa.

SECTION 7. THE SUNDAY SCHOOL WORK OF THE CHURCH.

The earliest Sunday school in our Church seems to have been organized in the First Reformed Church, Philadelphia, April 14, 1806, with 40 scholars. In 1825, Zion's at Allentown, in 1828 Lebanon, in 1830 Chambersburg are among the

earliest schools. About this period other schools were organized, as in Baltimore, Hagerstown, Lancaster, etc. In some places, as at Reading, union schools were first organized, from which the Reformed later separated. There was considerable opposition at first in many congregations, especially in the country, to Sunday schools, many preferring the old parochial school. Often at first Sunday schools were not allowed in the church, or if in the church sometimes in the basement, (at Reading it met at first in what was almost the cellar,) but the Sunday schools won their way in spite of an action of East Pennsylvania classis (1829) against them, and in 1835 the synod formed a Sunday School Society. In 1841, the Eastern synod appointed a committee to choose and prepare books in German and English for use in the Sunday schools, each book, however had to obtain the unanimous vote of the committee. Up to 1848 eight books had thus been published.

The General Synod of 1863 created a Sunday School board, but nothing was done by it.

In 1875, the Reformed Church Publication board of the three eastern synods began the issue of Sunday school literature and at about the same time, English Sunday school lesson helps and papers were issued under the direction of the Ohio synod. The Central Publishing House, Cleveland, Ohio, representing the three German synods, began to publish and still continues the publication of German lesson helps.

The General Synod in 1887 re-established the Sunday School board. Under the direction of this board, the *Heidelberg Teacher*, published at Dayton, Ohio, as early as 1873, took the place of the *Guardian*, and began its enlarged sphere of usefulness January, 1888.

At the suggestion of the board, the General Synod of 1893 created the office of General Secretary of Sunday School Work, and Rev. Rufus W. Miller, D.D., was elected to the position. He entered upon his duties January 1, 1894, being publicly inducted into office February 1st of that year in the historic First Reformed Church, Philadelphia. Dr. Miller

still continues in the office of General Secretary, as well as editor of the Sunday school periodicals.

The board is supported in its educational and missionary work by freewill offerings, the General Synod and all the synods recommending an annual offering on Children's Day.

The board began the systematic gathering of Sunday school statistics, organized the general work through the district synods and the classes and aids in all forward movements, such as the establishment of the Home Department and Cradle Roll, Teacher Training Classes, Rally Day, etc.

The work of Sunday school missions became a distinct department. By the employment of Sunday school missionaries, by grants of literature and by co-operation with the board of Home Missions, new Sunday schools are started and weak and destitute schools are aided. Since 1894 the board has organized a total of some forty new schools, reorganized six, out of which thirty congregations have been established and hundreds of schools have been aided with grants of literature. The offerings for this work have average \$11,000. for each triennium. Rev. J. C. Horning was the first Sunday school missionary. After the General Synod of 1896, this board acquired from the board of Publication of the three eastern synods and the Reformed Publication Co., Dayton, O., the publication of Sunday school literature and Sunday school supplies. It has had large success in the great improvement and increase of Sunday school periodicals. During the period from 1896-1910 it created a capital by its earnings of \$34,000., and out of its earnings during this time, appropriated more than \$8,000. to Sunday school missionary work and to the erection of the Reformed Church building some \$30,000. and, in addition, paid as royalty to the Reformed Church Publication board some \$12,000.

The board became incorporated in 1897. Rev. J. S. Stahr, D.D., was selected in 1896 as the representative of the Reformed Church for the International Lesson Committee. He served until 1908. At the present time Rev. C. Clever, D.D., president of the Sunday School board, is a member of this

International Committee of the International Sunday School Association.

In 1908 the Sunday School board erected the Reformed Church building in Philadelphia, a seven-story office building, at a cost of \$150,000. and in 1910 additional ground adjoining the building was purchased. The Sunday school membership has practically doubled since 1894. The statistics of 1910 report: Number of schools, 1,736; officers and teachers, 27,969; scholars, 265,113.

APPENDIX I.

THE REVIVAL AT YORK.*

Dear Brother: In your last letter you intimate a wish to learn something respecting our late protracted meeting, and having a few leisure moments, I know not why I should not give you the brief narrative. You well know from statements made privately as well as publicly in my report to classis, that though among a kind-hearted people I have been much discouraged by the coldness and indifference which has prevailed for years in this place on the subject of vital godliness. Satisfied finally in my own mind that nothing but a special effort in dependence on God could bring about a better state of things, I resolved to hold a protracted meeting at my fall communion season. And fully convinced that even a special effort can succeed only through the divine blessing, a prayer-meeting on Sunday mornings was commenced sometime in the summer, the special object of which was to supplicate the outpouring of God's Spirit upon the congregation. At the same time the necessity and means of promoting a revival was publicly discussed in the pulpit. The time for holding the meeting having been fixed upon, a number of brethren were invited; but to my regret the answers of all excepting one (and this came to hand too late) were such as left it exceedingly uncertain whether they could attend, so that I was afraid to inform the congregation of my intention lest they should be disappointed, the injurious effects of which you well know. The appointment was therefore made for the communion as usual, services to commence on the Friday previous. The day arrived and but one of the brethren came. It was our dear brother from Chester County (Guldin). But though he came alone his heart was encouraged, for it soon became evident that he had come in the fullness of the gospel.

He commenced preaching at the appointed time, viz, on Friday evening and on Saturday and Sunday preached three times a day, during which days our faith was severely tried. For though the word was preached with the utmost pungency and much of the time intervening was spent in wrestling with God in prayer, it seemed as far as we could then see, to produce but little effect; so that on Sunday after the sermon, we debated the matter sometime in the pulpit, before we ventured to make another appointment for the following day,—when we came to the conclusion at length to make another appointment for the morning in the lecture-room, which was done, and a blessed season

*From *Messenger*, February 9, 1837.

it proved. It was on this morning during the preaching of our brother that God came down in his power. The congregation was melted down. And our invitation being given to the anxious to come forward (though the audience was by no means large), twenty or thirty immediately presented themselves kneeling about the rostrum, some weeping aloud and all in tears desiring an interest in our prayers. O, it was a glorious sight and one which shall never, I trust, be effaced from my mind. I have seen the Spirit of God poured out before, but never under circumstances so calculated to make a deep and lasting impression upon my own mind. I was among the people for whose spiritual welfare I had felt special concern and in the place where my prayers had so often ascended for such a manifestation of God's power.

After this the preaching was of course continued and we had the regular service three times a day, besides a prayer-meeting in the morning, throughout the week and on the Lord's day following,—the brother doing (with a few exceptions) all the preaching, being sustained under the labors in a truly remarkable manner. And at the close of almost every successive sermon, new subjects appeared among the anxious, so that on the last evening when an invitation was given to as many as had during the meetings given themselves up, or might be disposed to do so, to meet us in the lecture room, the room was literally filled. Of course, some of them were Christians, who had anew dedicated themselves to the Lord, and others may have been brought in by curiosity, yet the greater number we had reason to believe had been truly wrought upon and were more or less concerned for the salvation of their souls. How many of these have been really brought into the kingdom I will not venture to say,—would indulge the hope, however, of a considerable number, some of whom at least have so far given all the evidence of a real change that could be reasonably looked for. I could detail to you several cases peculiarly interesting, did time and space permit.

But the number of conversions, in which the meeting may have immediately resulted, is not the only thing to be looked at in estimating the good which it has been, I trust, instrumental in effecting. It has been the means of increasing the number of teachers in our Sunday-school, for want of which we heretofore suffered much. Our prayer-meetings during the week are much better attended and, of course, are more solemn and interesting. Besides, two private prayer-meetings have been commenced—one composed entirely of females and the other of males. The female prayer-meeting numbers already twenty, all of whom are pledged to take part in the exercises. The male prayer-meeting is as yet small, but though a little band I look to it with great expectation. Thus has the Lord remembered us, for which his name be praised.

But while we have this to encourage us, we have also still much more over which to mourn. While some pressed into the kingdom, others

stood entirely aloof,—came not within the reach of the truth or else steeled their hearts against it, so that they are now harder, it is to be feared, than they were before. O that the Lord would continue to manifest his divine power in our midst until every proud sinner shall be humbled at the foot of the cross. Brethren, pray for us.

Yours, &c.,

J. CARES.

York, January 30, 1837.

APPENDIX II.

LETTER OF REV. SAMUEL HELFFENSTEIN ABOUT THE LITURGY.*

GWYNEDD, December 14, 1857.

Dear Brother: In reply to your letter of the 7th instant, I will observe:

1. You inquired how the religious services were conducted in our Church by myself and the other ministers of our Church as far back as my knowledge extends and whether the service proposed in the new liturgy for the regular worship of the Sabbath is that which obtained in the early part of our Church in this country. I answer that the religious services were always conducted as they are now conducted by our ministers generally and as they were conducted at the meeting of synod at Allentown. Again, you wish to know my opinion in relation to the introduction of the new liturgy in our Churches. I would reply the new liturgy, containing a litany similar to the litany of the Episcopal Churches to be used in our churches, does not meet with my approval. The Episcopal Church with its liturgy is no rule for our Church and is in some respects very objectionable. The liturgy and other forms to which you allude would be something new in our Church. I know of no responses, repeating of the Creed by the congregation or kneeling at the regular services of the Church, together with confession and absolution, as proposed in the new liturgy. I have in my possession the Agenda or the liturgy of the Swiss Reformed Church, published at Basle, in the year 1701, but it has no litany. This liturgy is similar to the Palatine and its form of preparatory service is verbatim the same.

I would observe here that the word litany is derived from the Greek *litaneia* supplication, *litaneo* to beseech. Litanies were not used at stated times were but only employed as emergencies required. They were at first employed to avert the judgments of God. In about the year 400 they were used in processions, people walking barefooted, and repeating them with great devotion for the purpose of delivering them from great calamities. Then they were used every month throughout the year. By degrees they came to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays and finally used in the Episcopal Church every Sunday.

*From the *Messenger*, March 17, 1858. (We could duplicate this letter by many more found in the *Messenger* and elsewhere.)

The use of the liturgy in our Church, as observed before, would be something new. Its use would lead to formality, would take up the time which would be employed for other purposes, and would create dissatisfaction and divide the Church. It would be especially objectionable to our German congregations and consequently answer no good purpose.

A suitable liturgy nevertheless is desirable and would be much in use in families and for ministers, especially for young ministers, to be used as a guide in the administration of the sacraments and other ministerial duties.

From what I have now said you will see that I am not in favor of the use of a liturgy nor of the new forms to which you refer, but prefer the good old way of conducting our church services.

Yours respectfully,

SAMUEL HELFFENSTEIN.

P. S.—The new liturgy is now in my possession and I have commenced examining it. I saw Rev. Schlatter once only. But he always, when he ministered in Philadelphia, conducted the services as we do. At least I know nothing to the contrary.

S. H.

APPENDIX III.

THE REFORMED AND THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

An additional fact in regard to the influence of our Reformed Church for Pietism and revivals has been forgotten in the earlier part of this book and needs to be mentioned. For it we are indebted to Rev. A. Stapleton, D.D., the historian of the United Evangelical Church. It is that not only did the Pietism of our Church lead to the starting of the United Brethren Church, but also to the founding of the Church of the Evangelical Association. We had hitherto supposed that Albright, the founder of that Church, had come out of the Lutheran Church, but Dr. Stapleton gives the following facts: That Albright, though ancestrally Lutheran, was not a member of Church and was not converted, until the death of a number of his children in close succession solemnized him and placed in him the desire to prepare for eternity. It was under the preaching and spiritual guidance of Rev. Anthony Hantz of our Church, who later went to New York State, that Albright was converted. This occurred about 1790. Albright afterwards founded the Church of the Evangelical Association, now the Evangelical Church, which divided about twenty years ago into Evangelical and United Evangelical.

Thus the pietism of the Reformed Church led to the founding of both the United Brethren and the Evangelical Churches. If our Church had been wise enough to have controlled these movements and retained them within herself, she would be more than twice as strong as she is, judging by the number of members now belonging to these Churches.

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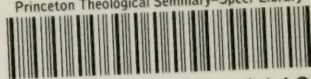
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